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# THE JOURNAL
OF
# GEORGE FOX

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME TWO

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
C. F. CLAY, Manager

Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET
London: HEADLEY BROTHERS, Bishopsgate
Berlin: A. ASHER AND CO.
Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS
Philadelphia: THE JOHN C. WINSTON CO.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., Ltd.

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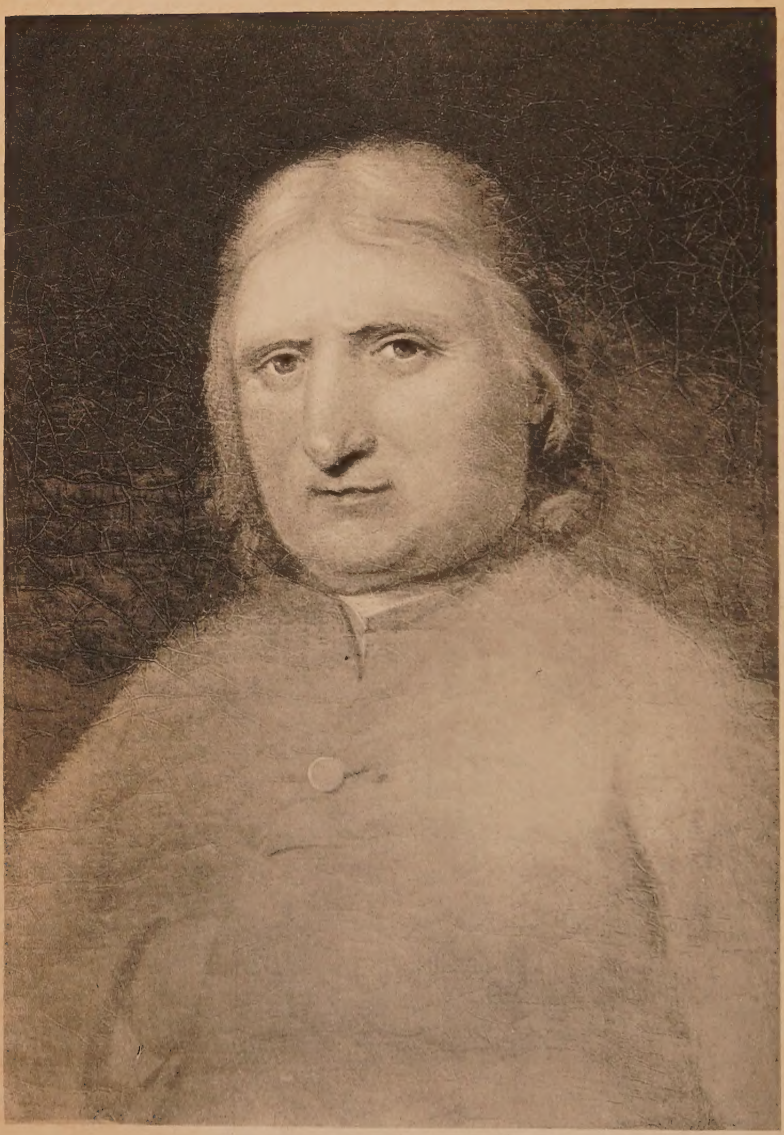

*George Fox*

*From a photograph of a painting by Sir Peter Lely*
*now at Swarthmore College Pennsylvania*

# THE JOURNAL

OF

# GEORGE FOX

EDITED FROM THE MSS

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Cambridge :
at the University Press
1911

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65876

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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NEW YORK

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From Holmes's engraving of Honthorst's picture, painted in 1654.

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## VOLUME II

George Fox . . . . . *frontispiece*

From a photograph of a painting by Sir Peter Lely now at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

[The painting was purchased in England in 1858. Upon removing the ancient frame, the words "Geo. Fox" were found written on the canvas. There is no external evidence that Fox ever sat for his portrait, and it does not seem probable that a court painter of renown would devote time and skill to a subject so far removed as was Fox from the outward position occupied by many other persons painted by Lely.]

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# THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX

[1][1660. And ye Independants baptists & presbyterians had a tendernesse at there first rise & cryed tyths were antichristian & was caled housecreepers butt when they was gotten uppe & gotten many members {& ye steeplehouses}[a] they begann to make lawes & orders & sayde hitherto shalt thou goe: & when they gott farther Into ye outward power: then they all gott {into} steeplehouses & tyths: & then these thinges were Jure divino with $y^m$: & for God & ye Church as though God or ye church of Christ had neede of earthly tyths: butt had ye saide they had beene Jure humano wee coulde better have beleived $y^m$.

And then they begann to Imprison & persecute freindes because $y^t$ wee woulde not give $y^m$ tyths & many thousands of our ffreinds in there days {suffred Imprisonements}: & many thousande pounds worth of goods were taken away {from $y^m$}: soe $y^t$ they mad many widowes & fatherlesse ffor many dyed in prison $y^t$ they had caused to bee cast Into prison.

Butt when ye Kinge came in they was {most of $y^m$} turned out off there place both magistrates & preists {but $y^m$ $y^t$ conformed} & $y^t$ which they had persecuted us for not conformeinge unto: to wit there Chuch faith & there directory they durst not stande to it $y^m$ selves: but some of $y^m$ conformed to ye Common prayer: & some of there hearers sayde they must bee content with breade made of pease if they coulde not gett wheate {breade}.]

Soe ye Lord God brought his Judgements upon all our olde persecutors & Will: Simpson[2] was moved of ye Lord to goe three yeeres naked & barefoote: both to marketts

[a] This insertion is in another handwriting, which appears occasionally.



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courts toundes & cittyes preists houses & great houses & tell y^m^ soe shoulde they bee all stript naked as hee was stript naked: & sometimes to putt one hayre sackcloath & smutt his face {& to say}: soe woulde the Lord God [smoote[a] &] besmeare all there religion as hee was besmeared & that they should change there coate & much sufferinges did this poore man goe through & whippinges with horse whipps & coach whipps stoneinges & Imprisonements three yeeres before ye Kinge came in butt ye maior of Cambridge[1] did noblely {to him} hee putt his gownde about him & tooke him Into his house.

And there was another freinde one Huntingeton[2] whoe was moved of ye Lord to goe Into Carlile steeplehouse with a white sheet about him amongst ye great presbyterians & Independants to shew unto y^m^ how ye surplus was comeinge uppe againe & hee putt a halter upon his necke to shew unto y^m^ y^t^ {a halter} was comeinge upon y^m^ which was fulfilled upon some of our persecutors when ye Kinge came in.

And Rich. Sheilds[b] neere Chester they sendinge a freinde home by a passe hee beinge Constable gave ye freinde his passe: whoe was convinct {by him} & they {after} cast him In{to} prison[3].

After which hee was moved to goe to ye steeplehouse when they were in there lecture & carry those persecutinge preists & presbyterians a lanthorne & candle as signe of there darknesse & they cruelly abused him being darke professors & putt him in there prison caled litle Ease: & they squeesed [& skrued uppe] his body {therein} soe y^t^ not longe after hee dyed.

But God brought his Judgements upon all those persecutinge preists & magistrates y^t^ when ye Kinge came in they was turned out of there places & benefices & thus ye spoilers were spoiled though [I & my] freinds was moved to warne [c]O: C: & his parlaments & courtes & magistrates & preists of ye Lords day longe before Itt came upon y^m^: & for soe doeinge many times they woulde cast us in prison & abuse us & call[c] us giddy headed Quakers.

[a] This word is not clearly written; perhaps as above.
[b] *Richard Sale* according to Ellwood editions.
[c]...[c] Ellwood editions read *that Generation; which they not only rejected, but abused Friends, calling*

But when ye Kinge came in wee askt y^m^ {then} whoe was ye giddy heads nowe.

And many then did confesse wee had beene true prophetts to ye nation & had wee cryed against some preists they woulde have liket us: but seeinge wee cryed against all they disliked us: but now they did see y^t^ those preists y^t^ were looket upon {then} to bee ye best were as bad as ye worst [& this when ye Judgements & day of ye Lord was come upon y^m^ some of y^m^ was made to confesse].

And preist Hewish of Plymouth[1]: whoe prayde in O: P: days y^t^ God woulde putt it Into ye heartes of ye Cheife magistrates of ye nation to remove this cursed toleration: & others prayde to remove this Intollerable toleration: but after when ye Kinge came in & Hewish was turned out of his great benefice: for not conformeinge to ye Common prayer: then a freinde of Plymouth [one Jo: Light[2]] mett with Hewish & askt him: whether hee woulde account & call toleration now cursed: & whether hee woulde not nowe bee glad of a toleration: but hee shaket his heade [& passt away from him]: & after many of y^m^ petitioned ye Kinge for meetinge places & toleration: & gave great sumnes for licences[3].

And after this I past Into severall Countyes visitinge freindes: butt att this time {of persecution} severall freinds dyed in prison[4]: & severall about ye Courte was loveinge to ffreindes.

And at this time I went to one Lord Aubney[5] & Informed him y^t^ wee had two women freinds in ye Inquisition prison in Malta & desired him to write to ye Magistrates there for there release: & hee promised mee hee woulde: & I shoulde come againe within a month: & hee woulde tell mee of there dischardge.

And I went againe att y^t^ time & hee thought his letters had failed because hee had noe aunswer: & hee promised mee to write againe: & hee did soe: & they was sett att liberty accordingely: to witt Kath: Evans[6] & Sarah Chivers[7].

[And great suffringes they underwent there as may be seene by ye booke of there suffringes[8] there.]

And a great deal of reasoninge I had with him: & hee did confesse y^t^ Christ had enlightned every man {y^t^ cometh

Into ye world with his spirituall light} & tasted death for every man: & y^t^ ye grace of God which brought salvation had appeared to all men: which if they did obey it It woulde teach y^m^ & bringe there salvation.

And then I askt him what woulde they[a] doe with all there relicts & Images if they did owne this light to beleive in & this grace to teach y^m^ & bringe there salvation: & hee saide Itt was but policy to keepe people in subjection: & a great deale of discourse I had with him whoe was very moderate: & I never hearde a papist confesse soe much.

[And att Pell Mell aforesaid there came severall great persons to ye meetinge there y^t^ was reacht: & there came an embassador {of some parte of Germany} & hee was convinct & hee woulde goe amongst freinds to learne to bee a {linnen} weaver {y^t^ hee might teach ye art of it in his owne Country when hee came home}: & I sent him Into ye Country amongst freindes: where hee stayde about a month: & learnt ye trade & after some time hee past away: receiveing ye truth & owneinge ye Lord Jesus Christ his teacher.]

And there came an[other] Embassador with a Company of Irish Collonells rude men to Pell Mell after ye meetinge was donne: & I was gonne uppe Into ye Chamber: & I hearde one of y^m^ say hee would kill all: ye Quakers [& baptists & presbyterians & Independants & monarchy people].

Soe I went downe to him: & was moved in ye power of ye Lord to speake to him & it came over him: & I tolde him ye Law saide an eye for an eye & a tooth for a tooth: but thou threatens thou wilt kill all & ye Quakers but heere is Gospell for thee heere is my haire & heere is my cheeke & heere is my shouldors & turned it to him: soe y^t^ hee & his company was soe amased y^t^ they said if y^t^ was our principle & y^t^ wee were as wee saide then they never saw ye like in there lifes.

Soe I tolde him & y^m^ I was in life as I was in wordes & ye truth came soe over him y^t^ hee grew loveinge: & ye embassador y^t^ yett stoode {with}out came in & hee was alsoe presently convinced & loveinge to ffreindes.

And hee saide hee was such a desperate man y^t^ hee feared hee woulde have donne us some mischeife & therfore

[a] Ellwood editions insert (*the Papists*)

hee durst not come in with him but hee was glad to see him soe moderate & thus ye Lords power came over {y^m^} all.

And about this time John Love was putt to death in prison att Rome: & Jo: Parrott[1] runn out: & Ch: Bailey[2] butt I was moved to give foorth a paper how ye Lord woulde blast y^m^ all both him & his followrs: & y^t^ they shoulde wither like ye grasse on ye house toppe & soe they did[3].

And about this time wee had sevrall freinds in prison in New Englande[4] under ye sentence of death: & some was putt to death.

And when they was putt to death {as} I was in prison att Lancaster I had a perfect sense of it: as though it had beene my selfe & as though ye halter had beene putt about my necke: butt wee did procure an order from ye Kinge y^t^ those {other} y^t^ were under ye sentence of death {as there was many att y^t^ time} y^t^ they & there accusers might bee brought over to Englande & tryed before ye Kinge & his Councell y^t^ if they had donne any thinge worthy of death y^t^ hee might {examine ye matter & try whether they had donne any thinge worthy of death: they beinge his subjects & soe} give sentence[5]: for they was sentenced to death there onely for beinge quakers.

Soe after wee had gotten this order from ye Kinge wee sent it to ye Courte att Boston & freinds was after sett at liberty [as by ye order may bee seene & ye relation in Will. Codringetons[6] booke: whoe is governor of Roade Islande & a freinde].

And after this severall of new englande magistrates came over & one of there preists & wee had severall discourses with y^m^ at severall times.

And they was ashamed to stand to there bloody actions: of hanginge & murderinge our freindes ye servants of ye Lord.

And after I appointed another meetinge with y^m^ where was Symon Broadestreet[7] one of there magistrates: & I went to Governor Wintroppe[8] whoe saide hee had noe hande in puttinge our freinds to death: & persecutinge of y^m^ but was against itt.

And when I came to ye meetinge I askt Sym: Broadestreet & ye rest of New England magistrates by what law they putt our freindes to death & whether they woulde

acknowledge y^m^ selves to bee subject to ye lawes of Englande (& if soe) by what lawe of Englande did they putt y^m^ to death.

And they saide they were subject to ye lawes of England & governed by y^m^: & they had putt our freindes to death by ye same law as ye Jesuites were putt to death {in england}: then I askt them whether they did beleive y^t^ those our freindes were Jesuites or Jesuitically affected & hee said nea then said I: yee have murdered y^m^ if yee have putt y^m^ to death by ye Law y^t^ Jesuites are putt to death {heere in England} seeing thou says they were noe Jesuites: ffor by this it plainely appeares you have putt y^m^ to death in your owne wills without any law.

And soe hee & they beinge Insnared by there owne wordes hee said did wee come to Ketch y^m^. But I tolde y^m^ they had Ketcht y^m^ selves & they might Justly bee questioned for there lifes.

And if G:[a] Robinsons[1] father were in tounde hee woulde question y^m^ & bringe there lifes in Jeopardy.

And then they begann to cover it: & said there was noe persecution now amongst y^m^.

But ye next morninge wee had letters from New England howe our freindes were persecuted & wee went unto y^m^ againe: & shewed y^m^ our letters: but hee & ye rest of y^m^ were in a pitifull feare least some shoulde have prosecuted y^m^ {for there lifes}: & soe they gott out of ye Citty & gott home to new Englande againe.

For I askt Broadestreet whether hee had not a hande in puttinge to death those 4 servants of God[2] for beinge Quakers onely as they had nickenamed y^m^: & hee confest hee had att ye first from which wordes hee coulde not gett off beinge spoaken before many wittnesses & y^t^ made him ye more afraide.

And many of ye olde royalists were much offended with freindes because y^t^ they woulde not prosecute y^m^ butt wee tolde y^m^ wee left y^m^ to ye Lord & vengans was his & hee woulde repay it.

For these was a people y^t^ fled from ye Bishops Into New Englande: which Bishops made y^m^ pay {but} 12^d^· every first day for not comeinge to there worshippe heere & nowe

[a] More correctly *William*, as Ellwood editions.

these there made & fined freindes 5$^{s}$· a day: & spoiled ye goods of such as did not pay it: & whipt & Imprisoned & hanged such as woulde not Conforme to there will {worshippe} there. As ye bookes of freinds sufferinges in New England will largely shew[1].

And since ye Judgements of God has falen upon y$^{m}$ & ye Indians have beene raised uppe & have cutt of many of y$^{m}$.

[But ye Lord has a great people in those countryes.]

And about this time I had a very good booke was taken away out of ye printers hande[2]: [Itt was such a teachinge booke as hardely was ever given foorth] Itt beinge ye signification of all ye nàmes & parables & types {& figures} in ye scriptures[3].

And they was soe affected with it y$^{t}$ if wee woulde have given a great sumn of money for it wee might have had it againe & y$^{t}$ wee was loath to doe.

And about this time ye booke caled ye Batledore[4] was given foorth: there beinge above 30 languages in it: of ye plurall & singular language & howe y$^{t}$ thee & thou in all languages accordinge to all ye teachinge bookes & ye scriptures: was thou to a single person & you to a pleurall.

And some of y$^{m}$ was given to ye Kinge & his Councell: & to ye bishoppe of Canterbury[5]: & of London[6]: one a peice: & to ye Universityes: & many bought y$^{m}$ uppe: & ye Kinge saide Itt was ye proper language of all nations.

And they askt ye Bishoppe of Canterbury what hee thought of it: & hee was soe astonished at it as hee coulde not tell what to say to it for it soe confounded people y$^{t}$ few after was soe rugged against us: for sayinge thee & thou to a single person: which before they was exceedinge bad against us {for}: & in daunger many times of our lifes: & often beate for useinge those wordes: to some proude men: whoe would say: thoust thou mee thou ill bred clowne: as though there breedinge lay in sayinge you to a Singular: which was contrary to all there accidens & grammar & all there teachinge bookes y$^{t}$ they had taught & bred uppe youth by.

But this thou & thee was a fearefull cutt to proude flesh & selfe honor: though they woulde {say &} give y$^{t}$ to God & Christ which they woulde not receive to y$^{m}$ selves[7].

[1]And at London when there was soe much breakinge uppe of meetinges {after ye monarchy men had risen} & keepinge y^m^ out with souldyers [ffrancis Howghill & I went to] Mile end & ye souldyers had beene there & kept ffreinds out of there meetinge [& then wee went to another litle meetinge which was quiett.

And ye next first day wee went againe to Mile end but ye officers had beene there & woulde not suffer any meetinge & as wee past away there came a Company of souldyers with musketts: & when they had beene att ye house they followed us: till wee came neere Ratcliffe: & soe wee lost y^m^ in ye streets & escaped there handes.

And a sad time it was of persecution but] freindes stoode noblely in ye truth & valiant for ye Lords name: & at last ye truth came over all.

And in 1661: wee had many freinds went beyonde ye seas.

And Jo: Stubbs & Rich: Costroppe[2] & Hen: ffell was moved to goe towards China & prester Johns[3] country: & soe noe masters of shipps woulde carry y^m^ & soe at last they gott a warrant from ye Kinge & ye east Indy Company woulde not obey it nor ye masters of there shipps.

And then they went Into Holland & woulde have gott passage there: but noe passage there they coulde gett: & then they took shippinge to goe to Alexandra in Ægypt: & soe to goe by ye Caravans from thence.

And Daniell Baker[4] & Rich: Costroppe tooke another shippe to goe to Smyrna & Dan: Baker left Rich Costroppe sicke in a shippe where hee dyed: for hee went with Daniell contrary to his owne freedom & soe y^t^ harde hearted man [left him in his sicknesse but hee] lost his Condition.

But Jo: Stubbs & Hen: ffell came to Alexandria in Ægypt: & ye English consull banished y^m^ from thence: though they gave foorth many papers & bookes concerneinge of truth {to ye turkes & graecians}.

And they gave {ye booke caled} ye popes strength broaken[5]: to an olde ffryar to give to ye pope: & hee clapt his hande to his breast: & confest it was true but if hee shoulde confesse to it they would burne him but hee saide Itt was truth what was written therein & they returned to London againe: & Jo: Stubbs had a vision: y^t^ ye english

& Dutch woulde fall out whoe had Joined togeather not to carry y$^{m}$: & soe it came to passe [soone after].

And after a while I past from London Into Essex & doune Into ye east & to Norfolke: & had great meetinges: & from thence I past to Sutton & Into Cambridgesheere & there I hearde of Ed: Burroughs decease[1]: & from thence I past to Litle port & ye Isle of Ely: where {hee y$^{t}$ had beene} ye maior & his wiffe: & ye present maior of Cambridges wiffe came to ye meetinge.

And soe I came Into Lincolnesheere & Into Huntingetonsheere to Tho: Parnells[2] where ye maior of Huntingeton[3] came to see mee & was very loveinge.

[And there came one {from London} with a motion to mee after Ed: Burrough was deceased: It beinge a whimsey gott uppe Into her heade: & an Imagination gott Into her heade because Ed: Burrugh was deceased y$^{t}$ wee shoulde bee all taken away: soe ye power of ye Lord risse in mee & I was moved of ye Lord to tell her y$^{t}$ her motion was false & y$^{t}$ shee was deceived & soe sent her home againe.]

And from thence I past through ye Country till I came Into ye ffen Country: & there fell a great floude & it was daungerous to gett out where wee had large & great meetinges.

And soe from thence Wee went to Lyn where wee had a blessed meetinge: & ye next morneinge after ye meetinge was donne I went to visitt some prisoners & when I came backe againe I went to ye Inn to take my horse: & as I was rideinge out ye officers were come to search ye Inn for mee {though I knew nothinge of it then}: & a great burden fell upon my backe as I was rideinge out of ye tounde till I was with out there gates not knoweinge y$^{t}$ they had beene searchinge for mee but some freinds came after mee & tolde mee y$^{t}$ they had beene searchinge for mee {in ye Inn as I ridd out of ye yarde}: & soe by ye Immediate hande of ye Lord I escaped there cruell handes & great threatninge there was at Norwich when I came to Captaine Lawrens but ye meetinge was quiett.

And soe I past through ye Countryes visitinge freindes in there meetinges: till I came to London again [& freinds told mee y$^{t}$ Ed: Burrough saide if hee had beene butt an houre with mee hee shoulde have beene well].

And thus ye Lords power carryed mee & us over ye persecutinge spiritts & many daungers: & his truth spread & grew: {praises &} glory bee to his name for ever.

And after I had stayde a time in London: I past Into Essex & Midlesex & Colchester: & had very large meetinges & soe to Cocksell: where there was a preist convinct: & I had a meetinge att his house.

And soe after I had visited freindes in there meetinges & past through ye Countryes I came uppe to London againe [1661] where I had great service for ye Lord: & a great doore was opend: & many flockt Into truth: & ye Lords truth spreade mightily this yeere: though freindes had great travells & sore labors ye rude people haveinge beene soe heightned with ye monarchy mens riseinge before: but ye Lords power was over all: for wee had suffringes without & suffringes within by Jo: Perrot & his company[1] [but I tolde freindes ye Lords seede reigned over all & woulde weare[a] out all: & soe it did].

And after they begann to putt ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy to freinds as a snare to y^m^ because they coulde not sweare & thereby they premunired severall[2].

[3][1661] And there was a many papists & Jesuites {in this yeere alsoe} y^t^ made a boast & said: y^t^ of all ye sects ye Quakers was ye best & most selfe denyinge people: & it was great pitty y^t^ they did not returne to ye holy mother church: & soe they talkt & made a noice amongst people: & said they would willingely discourse with ffreindes.

And freindes was loath because they were Jesuites & thought it was daungerous or might bee esteemed soe by others.

But I said to ffreindes lett us discourse with y^m^ bee what they will: & soe a meetinge was appointed att Ger: Roberts house & there came two like Courtyers.

And soe they began to aske our names: & wee tolde y^m^ wee did not aske there names but understoode they were caled papists & wee were caled Quakers.

Then I askt y^m^ ye same question as I had formerly: off a Jesuite whether ye Church of Rome was not degenerated

[a] Perhaps as above; the reading of the word is uncertain.

from ye Church in ye primitive times from ye spiritt & power & practise y^t^ they was in in ye Apostles time.

And one of y^m^ said hee woulde not aunswer mee beinge subtile & I askt him why but hee woulde shew noe reason: but ye other said hee would aunswer mee.

And hee said: they were not degenerated from ye Chuch in ye primitive times: & then I askt ye other whether hee was of ye same minde & hee said yes: soe I bid y^m^ repeate there words over againe: y^t^ wee might understande one another: whether ye Chuch off Rome now was in ye same purity practise power & spiritt ye Chuch was in ye Apostles times: soe then they presently denyed y^t^ & said it was presumption for any to say they had ye same power & spiritt y^t^ ye Apostles had.

Soe then I shewed y^m^ how different there fruites {& practise} was from ye fruites & practise of ye Apostles.

And therfore they to medle with Christ & ye Apostles wordes & to make people beleive they succeeded ye Apostles but not in ye same power & spiritt ye Apostles was in: they was all in a spiritt of presumption & rebuked by ye Apostles spiritt.

Then gott uppe on of y^m^ & said: yee are a company of dreamers nea said I: you are ye filthy dreamers y^t^ despises ye goverment of ye spiritt & ye power y^t^ ye Apostles was in & defiles your flesh & say it is presumption for any to say they have ye same power & spiritt ye Apostles was in {& if you have not ye same power & spiritt then Its manifest y^t^ you are led by another power & spiritt then ye Apostles & Chuch in ye primitive times}.

Soe I began to tell y^m^ how y^t^ evill spiritt led y^m^ to pray by bedes & to Images: & to putt people to death for religion: & to sett uppe nunneryes & ffryeryes & monasteryes.

And this practise of theres was below ye law & short of ye gospell ye power of God in which was liberty.

And soe they went there ways [doune ye stayres] & gave a charge to ye papists y^t^ they shoulde not dispute with us nor reade none of our bookes [for wee were a subtile people].

And many other disputes wee had with such like & with all ye other sects[1] as presbyterians Independants seekers Baptists[2] Episcoppall men Socinnians Brownists

lutherans Calvinists Arrians: & fifth monarchy men ffamilists[1] mugltonians[2] Ranters.

But none of y^m^ woulde confesse to ye same power & spiritt y^t^ ye Apostles had & was in.

And soe ye Lords power gave us dominion over y^m^ all.

And ye 5^th^ Monarchy men I was moved to give foorth a paper to y^m^: whoe lookt for Christ personall comeinge in :66: & some of y^m^ did prepare y^m^selves when it thundered & rained & thought Christ was comeinge to sett uppe his kingedome & then they thought they was to kill ye whore without y^m^ but I tolde y^m^ ye whore was alife in y^m^ & was not burnt with Gods fire: & Judged in y^m^: with ye same power & spiritt ye Apostles was in.

And they lookt for Christs comeinge to sett uppe his kingedome & there lookeinge was like unto ye pharisees loe heere loe there: but Christ was come & had sett uppe his kingedome above 1600 yeers since: accordinge to Nebuchadnesars dreame & Daniel prophesy: & hee had dasht to peices ye 4 monarchys & ye great image with itts heade of golde & sylver breast: & belly of brasse: & Iron leggs: & feet part Iron & part clay.

And they were all bloune away with Gods winde as ye Chaffe in ye summer threshinge floore.

And when Christ was come hee said his kingedome was not of this world if it was his servants shoulde fight but it was not & therfore his servants did not fight.

And therfore all yee 5^th^ Monarchy men y^t^ bee fighters with carnall weapons: yee are none of Christs servants but ye beasts & whores. And Christ saith all power in heaven & earth is given to mee soe then his kingedome was sett uppe & hee reignes: & wee see Jesus reigne sayd ye Apostle: & hee shall reigne till all thinges bee put under his feete though all thinges is not yett putt under his feete nor subdued.

[And Daniell said ye saintes shoulde take ye kingedome & John said hee was in ye kingedome: & ye Apostle saide they was heires of ye kingedome: & his kingedome is an everlastinge kingedome y^t^ stands in ye power of God before ye Devill was & in righteousnesse before unrighteousnesse was: & in ye holy ghoast before ye unclean ghoast was.

And though yee carnall weapond men: whoe are in ye

beasts whores pharoh & nebuchadnezars armor: sees it not: yett his kingedome remaines & changhes not & ye saintes takes ye kingedome: & ye least in ye kingedome is greater then John.]

And after a while when ye truth had gotten over againe I went foorth Into ye Country {with Jo: Stubbs} till I came to [Rutland &] Leistersheere: where I visited freindes: & soe came to Seilby where wee had a great meetinge.

And from thence wee past through ye Country visitinge freindes till wee came to Swanington in Leistersheere.

And Will: Smyth was with mee: & some other ffreinds but they past away: & at night there came one Lord Beamont[1] with a company of souldyers.

And as I was sittinge in ye hall speakeinge to a widdow woman & her daughter: they came slappinge there swords one ye doores & rusht into ye house with there swords & pistolls: cryinge [a]putt out candles & make fast ye doores: & they seised upon[a] ffreindes in ye house: & they askt if there were noe more about ye house & they sayde there was another man in ye hall: & there was some freindes come out of Darby sheere & one of y^m^ was caled Tho: Fawkes[2] & this Lord Beamont after hee had taken all there names bid y^m^ sett doune y^t^ freindes name {aforesaid} Thomas fox & hee said nea his name was faux & in ye meane time ye souldyers brought mee in & they askt mee my name & I tolde y^m^ my name was G: ffox: I was ye man soe caled & knowne: I[b] saide hee you are knowne all ye worlde over: yes saide I for noe hurte but good.

Soe hee putt his handes Into my pocketts & searcht y^m^ & pluckt out my Combe Case[3] & then hee commanded one of ye officers to search y^m^ farther for letters as hee pretended: but I tolde him I was noe letter carryer & askt him why woulde hee come amongst a peaceable people with sworde & pistolls without a constable for it was contrary to ye Kinges proclamation & ye late act ffor hee coulde not say there was any meetinge: I beinge settinge as aforesaid talkinge with a poore widdow woman & her daughter.

And soe after much reasoninge with him hee was

[a]...[a] In the margin opposite this line the date *1662* is given.

[b] That is, *ay* as in Ellwood editions.

somewhat doune: & soe hee gave ye constables charge of us y$^{t}$ night: & sett a watch of ye tounds people upon us: & ye next morninge wee was to bee brought before him by y$^{m}$.

And accordingely In ye morninge they had us uppe before him to his house a mile of Swanington & there hee tolde us howe wee mett contrary to ye act: & I desired him to shew ye act to us: says hee you have it in your pocket: then I tolde him hee founde us in noe meetinge then hee askt us whether wee woulde take ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy: soe I tolde him I never tooke an oath in my life: nor engagement nor covenant but still hee woulde force ye oath upon us: then I desired him to shewe us ye oath & lett us see whether wee were ye persons ye oath was to bee putt unto: & whether it was not for ye discovery of popish recusants.

Soe at last hee brought doune a litle booke: but wee caled for ye statute booke: but hee woulde not shew it to us: butt caused a mittimus to bee made: which mentioned y$^{t}$ wee was to have a meetinge: & soe hee delivered us to ye Constables: & when ye Constable had us to ye townde againe Itt beinge busy harvest time: there was few people coulde bee gott to goe with us: they beinge loath to goe with there neighbors to prison.

Soe at last they hired a poore laboringe man to goe alongst with us: whoe was loath to goe but woulde have given us our mittimus to have carryed our selves with it to ye goale: for it was usuall many times for ye Constables to give freinds there owne mittimus & they went y$^{m}$selves with it to ye goaler: they durst trust freinds with it: in most places.

But wee tolde y$^{m}$ though our frends had donne soe yett wee woulde not take this mittimus but some of y$^{m}$ shoulde goe alongst with us to ye goale: & soe as wee went wee past through ye people in ye feilds att there harvest: & in ye toundes: & wee declared ye truth to y$^{m}$ with our open bibles in our handes & ye two women they carryd wheeles one there lapps to spinn in prison: Soe wee ridd through {ye country to} Leister in y$^{t}$ manner five of us: & declared howe wee were ye prisoners of ye Lord Jesus Christ for his name & his truth sake & ye people was mightily affected.

And soe wee came to an Inn {in Leister}: & ye man of ye house beinge in Commission was greived y^t^ wee shoulde bee thus sent to prison: & {hee} sent for some Lawyers: & woulde have taken uppe ye mittimus & not have lett us goe to prison.

And wee tolde him wee did accept his love: & I tolde freinds Itt woulde bee great charghes to ly att an Inn: & many people & freinds woulde come to visitt us: & it may bee after a while hee woulde not bee able to beare it: soe wee were better goe to prison.

Soe ye next day wee came to prison in Leister & ye poore man gave ye goaler ye mittimus.

And when wee came to ye goale all our freinds were cast into ye Dungeon amongst ye felons. And there was hardely roome to lye doune they were soe thronge.

And wee stayde all day in ye prison yarde & desired ye goaler to lett us have some straw: & hee saide wee did not looke like men y^t^ woulde lye on straw.

And ye goaler had beene a very wicked Cruell man: soe there came a freinde {William Smyth to mee} & I askt him what roomes there was in ye house & what roome freinds usually had beene putt Into before they were putt Into ye Dungeon: & I askt him whether ye goaler or his wiffe was master: & hee aunswered his wiffe was ye master: whoe though shee was lame & sate in her chaire[a] yett shee woulde beate her husband if hee came within her reach if hee did not doe as shee woulde have him doe.

Soe I desired him to goe & speake to her: & if shee woulde lett us have a roome I woulde give her somethinge for it: & besydes if shee woulde lett all our friendes come uppe out of ye Dungeon into there roomes {as formerly} & leave it to y^m^ to give her what they woulde: it might bee better for her soe after a great deale of a doe with her att last shee condescended to it.

For I considered y^t^ many freinds woulde come farr to visitt mee & if wee had a roome It woulde bee better for y^m^ to come to mee & I to speake to y^m^ as I had occasion to speake to y^m^.

[And soe after wee was come Into our roome] they tolde

[a] Ellwood editions add *not being able to go but on Crutches*

us ye goaler woulde not suffer us to fetch any drinke out of ye tounde but what wee might have from him: but I tolde $y^m$ I woulde cure all $y^t$ for wee woulde gett a paile of water & a litle wormewood once a day & $y^t$ served us: soe wee woulde have none of his drinke & ye water hee coulde not deny us.

And on ye first days when six or seven freinds $y^t$ was in ye goale did meete togeather & pray to ye Lord: the goaler woulde come uppe with his great Quarter staffe & mastiffe dogge & pluck $y^m$ doune by ye haire of ye heade: & strike $y^m$ with his quarter staffe but his mastife dogge when hee strucke ffreinds woulde take ye quarter staffe out of his handes in steade of falinge upon freinds.

And soe when ye first day came I bid one of my fellow prisoners carry doune a stoole & sett it in ye yarde: & give notice to ye debtors & felons there woulde bee a meetinge in ye yarde & any $y^t$ woulde heare ye worde of ye Lord they might come there.

And soe ye debtors & prisoners & wee went doune Into ye Courte & had a very pretious meetinge & hee never medled.

[For I saide to my fellow prisoners if any of $y^m$ had anythinge from ye Lord to speake to ye people they might & if ye goaler came I might speake to him.]

And soe every first day wee had a meetinge there as longe as wee was in prison & severall came out of ye Citty & Country & was convinct: & {many there} received ye Lords truth & stands to this day.

And soe when ye sessions came wee was had uppe before ye Justices with many more freinds $y^t$ was sent to prison to us whilst wee was there to ye number of abut 20.

And beinge brought uppe to ye sessions the goaler putt us in ye place where ye theifes were putt: & then some of ye Justices begann to tender ye oaths to us of Allegians & Supremacy.

Soe I tolde $y^m$ I never tooke oath in my life: & they knew wee coulde not sweare because Christ & ye Apostle forbadd it & therfore they putt it as a snare to us: & they saide wee must take ye oath $y^t$ wee might manifest our allegians to ye Kinge but I tolde $y^m$ I was sent uppe out of $y^t$ tounde by Coll: Hacker for goeinge to meetinges under pretence $y^t$ I plotted {there} to bringe in Kinge Charles.

And soe if they coulde prove y^t^ after Christ & ye Apostle had forbad swearinge y^t^ they did after command to sweare: then wee would take thes oaths: or else wee were resolved to obey Christs commandes & ye Apostles exhortation.

Soe I desired them to reade ye mittimus wherein it was signifyed y^t^ wee was to have a meetinge: & hee y^t^ was caled Lord Beamont coulde not by y^t^ Act have sent us to goale with out wee had beene founde att a meetinge {& founde to bee such persons as ye act speakes of}.

And wee therfore desired y^m^ to reade ye mittimus & see howe wrongefully wee was imprisoned but they woulde not but caled a Jury & Indicted us for refuseinge to sweare: & take ye oaths of Allegians & Supremacy as aforesaid.

And there beinge a great Concourse of people there was one y^t^ had beene an alderman spoake to ye Jury & bid them have a good conscience as they went out soe some of ye Jury beinge peevish cryed to ye Justices there was one affronted ye Jury upon which they caled him uppe & tendred him ye oath alsoe: & hee tooke it.

And as wee was standinge in ye place where ye theifes used to stande there was a Cutt purse had his hande in severall freinds pocketts: & freinds declared it to ye Justices & shewed them ye man: whoe caled him uppe before y^m^ whoe upon examination coulde not deny it: yett did they sett him att liberty.

And soe ye Jury came in & brought us In guilty.

And soe after many wordes the Court bid ye goaler take us doune to prison againe & ye Lords power was over y^m^ & his everlastinge truth which wee declared boldely amongst y^m^ & most of ye people followed us: soe y^t^ ye cryer & bailiffes was forct to call ye people backe againe {to ye Courte}.

And wee declared ye truth doune ye streets all alonge till wee came to ye goale ye streets beinge full of people.

And when wee came Into our Chamber againe ye goaler desired all to goe foorth y^t^ was not prisoners: & when they was gonne hee saide gentlemen Itt is ye Courts pleasure y^t^ you shoulde all bee sett att liberty except those for tyths: & there is fees dew to mee you knowe but I shall leave it to you to give mee what you will.

And soe wee were all sett at liberty & after wee were sett att liberty Leo: ffell beinge with mee: ye rest past every one Into there service: & wee {two} came againe to Swanington & I had a letter from him they call Lord Hastinges[1] which hee had writt doune from London to ye sessions for y^m^ to sett mee at liberty: & I beinge sett at liberty did not give it to ye Justices but carryed it to him caled Lord Beamont that sent us to prison: & hee broake it open & was much troubled: butt at last hee came a litle lower: but threatned us if wee had any more meetinges at Swanington hee woulde breake y^m^ uppe & sende us to prison againe soe wee went to Swanington: & had a meetinge {with some freindes y^t^ came to see us} butt hee came not nor sent not to breake it uppe.

And [before wee was taken] wee came to {a place caled} Barnett Hills in Leistersheere where one Capt: Browne[2] a baptist after ye act came foorth for persecution hee left his house & tooke a place on these hills: & many other preists it beinge a free place[3]: for his wiffe beinge convinct hee was afraide shee woulde goe to meetinges & bee cast into prison: & soe to prevent it hee tooke this place & said his wiffe shoulde not goe to prison.

And when wee came Into his house to see his wiffe I askt him howe hee did: howe doe I: saide hee: ye plauges & vengans of God {is to mee} a runnagate a Cain {I am}: God may looke for a witnesse for mee & such as mee: for if all were noe faithfuller then I: God woulde have noe witnesse left in ye earth: ye man was soe plauged & Judged in himselfe for flyinge & draweinge his wiffe Into y^t^ private place[3] for feare shee shoulde bee cast Into prison: whoe woulde neither stande to truth himselfe nor suffer his wiffe & in this Condition hee lived on breade & water & thought it was to good for him & at last gott home with his wiffe to his owne house: to Barrow: & came to bee convinced of Gods eternall truth & dyed in it & saide though hee had not borne a testimony in his life hee woulde beare a testimony in his death & woulde bee buryed in his orcharde: & was {soe} whoe was an example to all ye flyinge baptists in ye time of persecution & yett persecuted us when they had power.

And soe wee past through ye countryes to Warwickesheere where wee had brave meetinges: & afore wee came

Into Warwickesheere at a place caled Twy Crosse where y^t^ great man whome ye Lord God had raised uppe {from his sicknesse}[1] whose man came with a drawne sworde to have donne mee a mischeife : hee & his wiffe came to see mee.

And I past from thence through ye Countryes till I came Into Northampton sheere {& Bedforde sheere} visitinge freindes till I came to London[2].

And after I had visited freinds in there meetinges at London I travailed through ye Countryes visitinge freinds till I came to Bristoll faire : & Alex: Parker was with mee & Jo: Stubbs : & wee hearde y^t^ the officers woulde come to breake uppe our meetinges : & Alex: Parker went Into ye meetinge[a] before mee & was speakeinge : & ye officers came in & tooke him away [& they askt for mee but they went away with A: Parker] : & after A: P: was taken away I stoode uppe in ye Lords eternall power : & It came over all & ye meetinge was quiett : & I stayde in Bristoll all ye weeke where many hundreds of freinds came to {visitt & to} see mee : & ye magistrates threatned they woulde have mee ye next day: & they woulde raise ye trained bands to accomplish it : & ye next first day ye trained bands was raised uppe : & many freinds perswaded mee not to goe to ye meetinge but I was moved of ye Lord God to goe to ye meetinge : alacke saide freinds what wilt thou goe Into ye dragons mouth but I bid y^m^ stande by : soe I went Into ye meetinge & it was full[b] : & declared ye everlastinge truth : & when I had donne I was moved to pray: & when I had prayde I was moved to speak a few wordes & soe I was goeinge aways : & I was moved to turne againe & to say: they might see there was a God in Israell y^t^ coulde deliver : & as I was goeinge doune out of ye meetinge place: they saide ye souldyers was comeinge but wee past away all cleere a meetinge of about two thousand people : & ye souldyers this time had beene breakeinge uppe [ye Independant & baptists] meetinges & soe mist ours [{& came to late to apprehende us : as by this followeinge letter more fully appeares}].[c]

[a] Ellwood editions add *at Broadmead*

[b] Ellwood editions insert *Margaret Thomas*[3] *was speaking; and when she had done, I stood up*

[c] Narrative continued on page 22.

[1]*[j. stubs to m ff 1662*

Dear M.

This day being the 28 Instant & the second day of the week I received thy first letter which thou wrote and I did read it to him; &c.

In my last I mentioned of his goeing to a Meetting within 7 or 8 Miles from Bristol, but it proved otherwise; for hee was at Bristol meetting; and it was beyond all sence and reason y^t^ he should Escape from being taken by them; he went to Edw: Piots upon the 7^o^ day of y^e^ week; and I went to him upon the first day in the Morneing; where were severall friends; and after a while he bid mee goe along with friends before; and soe when friends and I came within a few doors of the Meetting; wee Mett a sergeant (I think) Marshing before about a file of Musqueteers; and Doctor B{o}urn[2] and I being behind the rest of friends a litle distance; the Sergeant very soberly spoke to us, & said I would have you to go Back, for I am sorry to trouble you. So he passed away from us with his party towards a Baptist Meetting where hee took the speaker and another, &c.

And the Aforesaid friend and I returned again to G at Edward Pyots; where we related the thing to him; and he bid the Doctor returne again to the meetting; and bid him Meet him in the fields, about the 12^o^ hour. and so Gober Sikes[3] and {I} passed a litle before G. and he came after us within sight of us along with Edward Pyots Eldest Boy[4]; and a litle before he came to y^e^ City Doctor Bourn according to Direction came to him; and a litle after him came Dennice Hollester[5]; So Dennice and G. came along together {asking him whether he would goe in y^e^ very mouth of y^e^ destroyer}: and Gober and the Doctor and I passed before to the Meetting; where Edward Pyotts wife[6] and another friend was standing waiteing to receive George [a]att the doore of y^e^ Meetting.[a7]

Soe we 3 goes up to the Meetting, which was the greatest; one said {so}, y^t^ ever he saw except one; where was Thomas Kent[8] speaking; and [b]within a litle[b] after G.

[a]...[a] This passage has been altered from *att another doore in y^e^ meetting beside the Common doore, and to take Notice if any came &c.*

[b]...[b] Altered from *within lesse then one hour*

Came, and indeed his first Comeing in strook friends into an Admiration {he being not Expected there}; and the glory of the lord did over shadow the Meetting att his first entrance amongst us; and so he passed through to the usual place of standing; and when he came in a woman friend[1] was speaking; and as soon as he came to the place, he stept up, and the friend Immediatly stopt; and so he spoke in great Majesty to the Satisfaction and refreshing of y^e^ whole Meetting; which was very Numerous; friends from severall parts of the Nation {being} there; the satisfaction and the greatness of this glory in this particular, I cannot Express in writeing nor words.

Well after he had spoken and prayed, and spoke again A pretty while, in Comes a pretty friend, one who is husband to one of Anne Curtices sisters[2]; just when he had cleared him selfe and was stepping down; and the said friend being a quick spirited young man, comes rushing through the Concourse of people towards Georg; and I seing him I spoke to Gober to speake to him to Come away; but as I said before he had then done, yet Gober stept to him, and bid him come away: this friend aforementioned who came thus rushing in, as soon as G came in to y^e^ Meeting passed away towards the Guards; and when he came there, he found the Maiors officers with others in a preparation to come; and heard one of them say to another, I warrant wee shall fetch {him} down {& shall have him}; and then the friend came away in hast as aforementioned.

When G passed away I followed him and Georg Bishopp with some others; and he bid us keep in the Meetting {& stay a while and not run in heaps} and so we returned; and within a very litle space after, there was word came up the staires y^t^ friends might depart {for they intended to break up the Meetting}; and so quietly and in good order friends departed neare the usual time; and so I came to him to Joan Elyes[3], and severall friends with much gladness of heart came to him; and then at night he was over the water at another friends house, who Marryed another of Anne Curtices sisters[4]; and there Many friends came to him; and had a fine Meetting amongst them when it was late, and then he came into the Citty where Now hee is.

I think about the Middle of y^e^ week wee may come from this place towards London. Severall friends desired to be remembred to thee as John Fordam[1] and his wife, and Georg Bishop to thy selfe and Daughters and to John Rouse[2].

So with my tender respects to thy self and daughters and John Rous and Dear Margret Drinkell[3], and Dear Harry: in Great hast farewell.

John Stubbs.

Bristol the 28^th^ day of the
5 month, being the 2^o^ day
of y^e^ week. 1662.

It was beyond the reason of all friends y^t^ ever he should Escape; but yet he felt in him selfe y^e^ life was over; and y^t^ something should be refreshed.

He is going to Edward Pyots this night] Edward was a dying man to all apearance when we came first to his {hous} [and George Ordred him to take things; and he was subject to him] and now he is fine and well; his ague hath left him [the thing is much noysed amongst friends, he being before so weak, and no likelyhood of his life[4]].

[a][1662] And I stayde most part of ye next weeke in Bristoll & they had not power to medle with mee.

And on ye next first day I went Into ye Country to a meetinge: & after ye meetinge was donne some ffreinds came to mee from Bristoll: & saide ye souldyers had besett ye meetinge house rounde at Bristoll: & saide they woulde have mee.

And soe they kept freindes[b] in ye meetinge place as prisoners [& tooke one freinde & cast him Into prison]: & they was greiveouslly tormented that they had not gotten mee but I had a vision off a great mastiffe dogge y^t^ woulde have bitten mee but I putt on hande above his Jawe & ye other belowe & toare his Jawes to peices soe ye Lord by his power toare there power to peices soe as I escaped y^m^.

[a] Narrative continued from page 19.

[b] The Short Journal states that there were *five hundred friends* present.

Soe I past through ye Countryes visitinge freindes in Wiltsheere & Barkesheere till I came to London & had great meetinges & ye Lords power was over all: & a blessed time it was for ye spreadinge of his glorious truth: & It was ye immediate hande & power of ye Lord y$^{t}$ did preserve mee out of there handes & over ye heads of all our persecutors: & ye Lord alone is worthy of all ye glory: whoe did upholde & preserve for his name & truths sake: & soe att London I stayde some time where meetinges was large & ye Lords power was over all.

[1663] And after a while I past Into Kent: & Tho: Briggs went with mee[a]: & wee came to Cramborough where one ye first day wee had a blessed meetinge & Quiett.

And [upon ye 3$^{d}$ or 4$^{th}$ day after] a meetinge was appointed at Tenterdalle where many freinds came from severall parts: & a many of ye worlds people was there: & was reacht with Gods truth.

And when ye meetinge was donne I walkt into ye feildes: & bid y$^{m}$ gett our horses ready: & I espyed a Capt: & his Company comeinge with light matches to ye meetinge.

And hee sent a Company of souldyers unto mee & they brought mee to there Captain & hee bid ye officers secure mee: & soe woulde not lett any of ye people passe away till hee had taken whome hee pleased.

Soe at ye last hee had us uppe to ye maiors house where hee & other magistrates was gathred & after a great debate with y$^{m}$ Concerneinge of truth: & ye law then in force which did not concerne us: they came to bee very civill to us: & saide if they sett us at liberty wee woulde laugh att y$^{m}$: & wee saide nea: but wee should rather pitty y$^{m}$: for ye act {was to} take holde off such onely as mett to plott & contrive Insurrections against ye Kinge & wee were noe such persons as many of y$^{m}$ coulde witnesse there neighbors were noe such persons: & soe after a great debate they sett mee at liberty [& then after they caled Tho: Briggs & Jo: Moore[1] & I tolde y$^{m}$ they came alonge with mee from London & they sett y$^{m}$ att liberty alsoe & all ye rest] but they woulde have had us to have promised y$^{m}$ to have had

[a] Ellwood editions add *and we went to Ashford, where we had a quiet and a very blessed Meeting:*

noe more meetinges in there tounde & wee tolde y^m^ wee coulde not doe y^t^ for by soe doeinge wee shoulde make our selves transgressors which wee were not.

[And soe ye Lords power came over y^m^ all: & freinds was much refresht {as may more fully appeare by this following paper}.][a]

And soe from thence wee past Into Sussex to Newne [which formerly had beene a Citty] where there were {some} freindes which wee visited: & from thence wee past through ye Country visitinge freindes & haveinge great meetinges: & all quiett & free from disturbans exceptinge some Jangelinge baptists till wee came Into Hampsheere to Southampton & [b]{neere} Ringewoode[b]: where there was a monthly meetinge: & many ffreindes came thither from {South}hampton & {from} Poole: [& after I had set a while in ye morninge with y^m^] & it begann to bee very hot I walkt out [& desired freindes to prepare there barne for ye meetinge place]: & soe a younge man came & tolde mee ye trained bandes was raised & they woulde come & breake uppe our meetinge: & I askt him what houre it was & hee said betwixt 8 or 9 of ye clocke. And Itt woulde bee about ye 11^th^ houre before there meetinge woulde bee gathered.

Soe I walkt out of ye orcharde Into a feilde [& when I had turned uppe by ye hedge I looket & saw souldyers all about ye house: & I hearde y^m^ enquireinge for mee].

Butt they came not out of ye orcharde Into ye close to mee.

And they tooke two or three men freinds y^t^ was comeinge to ye meetinge: & soe went thereways about a mile & halfe.

And soe it grew towards ye 11^th^ houre & freindes then began to come in apace: & a large glorious meetinge wee had & ye everlastinge seede of God was sett over all: & ye people setled in ye new Covenant of life: & upon ye foundation Christ Jesus.

[a] Both text and margin indicate the presence of some separate sheet or sheets, but such are not now included in the Spence MSS. The fuller account given in the Ellwood editions may have been taken from the missing sheets.

[b]...[b] Ellwood editions read *a place called Pulner in the Parish of Ringwood* Eighth edition has *Pouner*. Modern name is *Poulner*.

And soe betwixt one or two in ye afternoone there came a man in gay apparrell & lookt Into ye meetinge & away hee went & It came Into mee what hee was goeinge to doe: & it came Into mee thou hast a mile & halfe to goe: & when thou comest to Ringewoode thou hast ye drum to beate to call ye souldyers togeather & soe much to come backe againe: soe to ye tounde hee goes & tells ye magistrates y$^{t}$ they had taken two or three men & left G: fox preachinge to two or 3 hundred people.

Soe our meetinge broake uppe about three att ye usuall time: & after wee had donne & I had taken leave of freindes & walkt upp with my horse in my hande about a furlonge one of ye freindes came to mee & saide ye souldyers were comeinge uppe againe {&} in a great rage.

Soe I beinge a horse backe past away: haveinge 20 miles to goe y$^{t}$ night to one frys[1] in Wiltsheere to a meetinge y$^{t}$ was to bee there ye next day.

[And as wee was goeinge one of ye officers past by us as wee hearde afterwards but ye Lords power soe strucke him y$^{t}$ hee durst not medle with us.]

And alsoe wee hearde of ye souldyers & officers & ye rest of ye magistrates were in such a great rage y$^{t}$ it was Judged they woulde have donne us some mischeife if they had Retcht us att ye meetinge & ye officers was madd with ye souldyers y$^{t}$ they did not seise my horse in ye stable ye first time they came: but ye Lord In his power did deliver mee & prevented y$^{m}$ of there mischeiveous endes[2] [& ye women they lett goe: but some men ffreinds they did sende to Winchester prison].

And soe when I came to ffryes in Wiltsheere wee had a blessed meetinge [on ye 2$^{d}$ day: & severall prisoners had liberty off ye goaler to come to it].

And ye Constables hearde of ye meetinge: & other officers & they was comeinge on there way to breake uppe ye meetinge & news came after them y$^{t}$ there was a house broken by theifes: soe ye Constables was required [{& forct}] to goe backe againe to looke after ye theifes soe as our meetinge was kept in quiett & by ye Lords power wee were delivered.

And from thence wee past through Wiltsheere Into Dorsetsheere & had large great meetinges: & ye Lords

everlastinge power carryed us over all: to ye soundinge of his truth & worde of life & people gladly received it.

And soe wee travailed through ye Countryes visitinge freindes till wee came to Topsham in Devonsheere: where wee mett M: ff: & {Sarah[1] & Mary ffell & Leo: ffell & Tho: Salthouse} & some freindes with her & wee travailed some weekes 8 or 9 score miles a weeke & had meetinges every day.

And from thence wee past to Tatnes where wee visited some freindes: & from thence wee past to Kinksbridge & soe to ye olde Henery Polixphens a{n auncient} Justice of peace: where wee had a large meetinge: & from thence this olde Justice past with us to Plymouth & from thence Into Cornewall: to one Justice Porters[2]: & soe to Tho: Mounts where wee had another large meetinge & from thence to Humfry Lowers: where wee had another large meetinge & from thence to Loveday Hamblyes where wee had a generall meetinge for ye whole county. And all was quiett.

And a litle before this Jos: Hellen & G. Bewley had beene in those parts: & had beene with a ranting woman one Blanch Pope[3] under pretence to convert {& convince} her: but before they came from her shee had bewitched $y^m$ with her principles: soe $y^t$ they seemed to bee like her disciples especially Jos: Hellen: but I was made to Judge $y^m$ both to freinds & others: ffor shee had askt $y^m$ whoe had made ye Devill {did not God}: & they coulde not aunswer her: & they after askt mee $y^t$ question & I tolde $y^m$ noe: for all $y^t$ God made was good & was blest soe was not ye Devill. And hee was caled a serpent before hee was caled a Devill an adversary. And then hee had ye title of Devill given to him because hee was a destroyer: & after hee was caled a Dragon.

And soe ye Devill aboude not in ye truth: & soe ye Jews was caled of ye Devill when they went out of ye truth & serpents: & there is noe promise of God to ye Devill $y^t$ ever hee shall returne Into truth againe but ye promise of God is to man {& woman $y^t$ have beene deceived by him} ye seede of ye woman shall bruise ye serpents heade & shall breake his power & strength to peices.

And much more was opned Concerneinge these thinges

which will bee to large to speake of: & freinds was satisfyed & they was Judged with ye truth of Christ Jesus whoe destroyes ye Devill & his workes: y^t^ is out of ye truth: Christ doth y^t^ is in ye truth: & bringes man & woman uppe againe Into truth {& they never came Into those parts since: but one of y^m^ Jo: Hellen rann quite out from truth: & was denyed by ffreindes}[a].

And from Loveday Hamblyes wee past (& Tho: Lower ridd with us through Cornewall from meetinge to meetinge) [to Mabe meetinge] {to ffrancis Hodges[1]} neere Falmouth & Penryn: where wee had a large meetinge: & from thence wee past to Helston y^t^ night: where some freindes came to visitt us: & ye next day wee past to Tho: Teages[2]: where wee had another large meetinge: & many was convinct there: ffor I was made to open ye state of ye Church In ye primitive times & ye state of ye Chuch in ye wildernesse: & ye state of ye false church y^t^ was gott uppe since: & y^t^ now ye everlastinge gospell was preacht againe over ye heade of ye beast whore & false prophetts & antichrists which had gott uppe since ye Apostles days: & now ye everlastinge Gospell was received & receiveinge which brought life & immortality to light y^t^ they might see over ye Devill y^t^ had darkned y^m^.

And ye people received ye gospell & ye worde of life gladly: & after meetinge was donne I walkt out & when I was comeinge in againe I hearde a great noice in ye Courte: & ye man of ye house was preachinge to ye tynners & to ye worlde y^t^ it was ye everlastinge truth y^t^ was declared [& y^t^ there was noe other truth]: & ye people was generally confessinge to it: & a glorious blessed meetinge wee had for ye exaltinge ye lords everlastinge truth & {his} name.

And from thence wee past to ye Lands ende to John Ellis his house: where wee had a pretious meetinge & there was a fisher man {one Nich: Jose} y^t^ was convinct y^t^ spoake in meetinges & declared ye truth amongst ye people: & ye Lords power was over all: & I was glad y^t^ ye Lorde had raised uppe his standart in those darke parts of ye nation: where there is a fine meetinge of honnest hearted

[a] Ellwood editions add *But George Bewly was recovered; and came afterwards to be serviceable to Truth.*

freinds: to this day: & many are come there to sett under Christs teachinge: & a great people the Lord will have in y$^{t}$ Country.

And from thence wee returned to Redruth & ye next day to Truroe: where wee had a meetinge & ye next morninge some of ye heads of ye tounde desired to speak with mee: & I went uppe to y$^{m}$ {& there was Coll Rouse alsoe}: & I had a great deale of discourse with y$^{m}$ of ye thinges of God: & they reasoned y$^{t}$ ye gospell was ye 4 bookes of Matt: Mark Luke & John & naturall.

But I told y$^{m}$ ye gospell was ye power of God {which was} preacht before Math: Marke Luke & John was printed or written & was preacht to every Creature whoe might never see nor heare of ye foure bookes aforesaid: soe y$^{t}$ every creature was to obey ye power of God for Christ {ye spirituall man} woulde Judge ye worlde accordinge to ye Gospell y$^{t}$ is accordinge to his Invisible power & ye truth came over y$^{m}$ soe I dirrected y$^{m}$ to there teacher ye grace of God & shewed y$^{m}$ ye sufficiency of it: which would teach y$^{m}$ howe to live & what to deny & woulde bringe y$^{m}$ there salvation & soe to y$^{t}$ grace I recommended y$^{m}$ & left y$^{m}$.

And from thence wee returned through ye country visitinge ffreindes & had meetinges att Humfry Lowers Tho: Mounces & soe had a large meetinge att Stoake att George Hawkins[1]: where freinds came from Launceston [& Calstoake & Quethiocke]: & severall other places: & a liveinge pretious meetinge it was: & ye Lords presence & power was richly manifested amongst us: & soe {there} I left freinds under ye Lord Jesus Christs teachinge [for ye preists {& professors} of all sorts was much against freinds silent meetinges: & sometimes ye preists & professors woulde come to our meetinges: & when they saw 100 or 200 {of people} all silent waiteinge upon ye Lord they would breake out Into a wondringe & despiseinge & some of y$^{m}$ woulde say: looke how these people setts mumminge & dumminge what edification is heere where there is noe words: Come woulde they say lett us bee gonne what shoulde wee stay heere to see a people sett of this manner: & they sayde they never saw ye like in there lifes: then It may bee some freinds have beene moved to speake to y$^{m}$ {& say} didst thou never see ye like in thy life: look In thy owne parish & lett ye preist

see there: & thee howe your people setts mumminge & dumminge & sleepeinge under your preists all there life time: whoe keepeinge people always under there teachinge y$^{t}$ they may bee always payinge.

And why shall not wee sett under Christ Jesus oure teacher y$^{t}$ says learne of mee: & teaches us freely: & layde doune his life for us & bought us with his blood & is our shephearde y$^{t}$ doth freely feede us: & is our prophett y$^{t}$ God has raised uppe y$^{t}$ does freely open to us: & is our councelor & leader & Captaine of our salvation y$^{t}$ dos freely councell & leade us: & is our preist made higher then ye heavens y$^{t}$ has ofred uppe himselfe for us & sanctifyes & offers us uppe to God: & is ye Bishoppe of our soules y$^{t}$ does oversee us y$^{t}$ wee dont goe astray from God whoe is ye head of his Church & all principalityes & powers to order y$^{m}$.

And now wee say why shoulde not wee sett under Christ Jesus free teachinge & feedeinge & overseeinge & councelinge: as well as ye preists hearers must sett under y$^{m}$: y$^{t}$ say they never hearde ye voice of God nor Christ nor has not ye same power & spiritt ye prophetts & Apostles had: & therfore what edification can bee amongst you y$^{t}$ are not in ye same power & spiritt ye Apostles was in: can there bee any more edification amongst you then amongst ye Turks Jewes & heathen whoe are not in ye same power & spiritt ye Apostles was in soe out of y$^{t}$ power & spiritt which ye Apostles was in {you know nothinge but follow your owne spiritts like ye false prophetts of olde}.

And y$^{m}$ y$^{t}$ bee in Christ Jesus are new Creatures: & in him all flesh is silent: but they y$^{t}$ have ye worde of ye Lord & from ye Lord may speake it freely as they are commanded by God & Christ: & they y$^{t}$ has ye gospell ye power of God from heaven & not from man nor by man: but sent from heaven by ye holy ghoast lett y$^{m}$ freely preach it as they have received it freely for ye scriptures was not given foorth for men to make trades of them & to gett y$^{m}$ Into 3 or 4 languages: & call y$^{t}$ ye originall & orthodox & devine which is but naturall & call y$^{m}$ ye originall which began at Babell but ye worde is ye originall {by which all thinges was made & created} which was before Babell was in ye beginninge: & lives & abides & endures for ever when Babell & Babilon with all there tongues & languages is

gonne: & this worde of God is devine & makes devines & hee y^t has this worde is to preach it freely.

And such y^t says they are made devines by ye naturall tongues & languages: as they call y^mselves which are made {but} naturalls at the best by naturalls & these naturall pretended devines calls ye life in Christ ye worde by which all thinges was made & created: which is ye true devine light y^t lighteth every man y^t cometh Into ye worlde: they call this naturall & of ye Devill ye Quakers Idoll & antichrist & therfore people may see what devines these naturall tongues {& men} makes].

[1][1663] And in Cornewall there was one Coll: Robinson[2]: a very wicked man [& one whoe had forsaket ye nation before ye Kinge came in for ravishinge a woman]: whoe after {ye Kinge came in} was made a Justice of peace & hee became a cruell persecutor of our ffrendes: & sent many to prison: & hearinge y^t they had some litle liberty through ye favor of ye goaler to come home sometimes to {visitt} there wiffes & children: att ye assises hee came & made a great complainte to ye Judge against ye goaler [{& frendes}]: whereupon ye goaler was fined a hundred mark: & freindes were kept very strictly uppe for a while: [& ye weeke] after hee returned from ye assises hee sent to a neighbor Justice to desire him to goe a fanatick huntinge with him & ye day y^t hee Intended & was prepared to goe a phanatick huntinge hee sent his man about with his horses & hee walked a foote: from his dwellinge house: to a tenement where his Kows & dairy was kept: where his servants were milkeinge: & when hee came there hee askt for his bull & ye servants said: they had stoppt him into ye feilde: because hee was unruly amongst ye Kowes: & hindred there milkeinge: soe hee went Into ye feilde to his bull: & haveinge formerly accustomed himselfe to play with ye bull: hee begann to fence with his staffe att him: & ye bull snufft at him & passt a litle backe from him: & then turned upon him againe: & feircely runn upon him: & struck his horne Into his thigh: & soe tore uppe his thigh to his belly: & heaved him uppe {upon his hornes} & threw him over his backe: & when hee fell hee goard him with his hornes & woulde runn y^m Into ye grounde in his rage & violens: &

roared & licked uppe his bloode: & ye maide servant: hearinge her master cry: came runninge Into ye feilde: & came to ye bull & tooke him by ye hornes to pull him off from her master: but ye bull gently putt her by with his hornes: & still fell a goaringe of him with his hornes: & lickeinge uppe of his bloode: & then shee run & gott some carpenters & other people y$^{t}$ were att worke not farr off: to come In & rescue her master: but they coulde not all beate off ye bull till they brought mastiffe doggs: upon which ye bull fledd in a great rage & fury: & after his sister came: & shee said unto him alack brother what a heavy Judgement is this y$^{t}$ is befalen you: & hee aunswered ah sister Itt is a heavy Judgement indeed: pray lett ye bull bee killed & ye flesh given to ye poore said hee: & they carryed him home: but hee dyed soone after: & ye bull was growne soe feirce y$^{t}$ they were forct to shoote him with gunns: for none coulde come neere him to kill him.

And soe after I had cleered my selfe of Cornewall I left Tho: Lower: whoe came over Horsebridge Into Devonsheere with mee: & soe I & Tho: Briggs {& Rob: Withers} came through ye country to Tiverton: & it beinge there faire day: many freinds beinge there wee had a meetinge & ye magistrates gathered In ye streets but ye Lords power stopt y$^{m}$ though I sawe y$^{m}$ In ye streets over against ye doore: but they had noe power to come in to medle with us: though they had will enough soe to have donne.

And after ye meetinge was donne wee past to Columton & Wellingeton [& I left some of our freinds to have a meetinge at Tiverton y$^{t}$ night]: for wee had appointed a meetinge 5 miles off where wee had a large meetinge att a Butchers house & a large blessed meetinge it was: & people were directed to there teacher ye grace of God y$^{t}$ brought there salvation: & setled under it: & ye Lords presence was amongst us: & wee were refreshed in him in whome wee labored & travailed & ye meetinge was quiett.

And there had beene very great persecution in y$^{t}$ tounde & country a litle before inasmuch as some frends questioned ye peaceablenesse of our meetinge but ye Lords power chained all: & his glory shined over all: & freinds tolde us howe they had broaken uppe there meetinges with

warrants from ye Justices & how y^t^ they was to carry freinds before ye Justices by there warrants & freinds bid y^m^ carry y^m^ & they saide nea they must goe: & freinds saide nea y^t^ was contrary to there warrants they must carry y^m^: & then they was feign to hire carts & horses & wagons to carry freinds in: where they lifted y^m^ uppe & carryed y^m^ in there wagons & carts & when they came before a Justice hee was moderate & woulde it may bee gett out of ye way: & then they were forct to carry y^m^ before another: soe y^t^ they was almost 3 weekes carryinge & cartinge ffreinds uppe & doune from place to place: & then ye oficers came to lay there charges upon ye tounde & ye toundspeople woulde not pay it but made y^m^ pay it y^m^ selves & y^t^ broake ye necke of there persecution.

And soe in other places of ye nation [where there warrants was to carry y^m^ freinds tolde y^m^ the woulde not resist y^m^ & they was forct to get wagons & carry y^m^ before ye Justices & to prisons] till they shamed y^m^ selves [& ye Lords truth came over all].

And [at Wellingeborough in Northampton sheere] about this time ye toundes officers warned freinds to come to ye steeplehouse: & they mett togeather to consider of it: & ye Lord moved y^m^ to goe to there steeplehouse to meete in [for they alsoe {there} had beene carryinge freinds in there wagons as aforesaid {before ye Justices} till they shamed y^m^ selves].

And when they came Into ye steeplehouse they sate all doun togeather & waited upon ye Lord in his power & spiritt & minded ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher & saviour & did not minde ye preist: soe ye officers came to y^m^ to putt y^m^ out of ye steeplehouse: & they saide nea Itt was not time for y^m^ to breake uppe there meetinge yett & soe ye preist when hee had donn his stuffe they woulde have had freinds goe home to Dinner: & they tolde y^m^ they did not use to goe to Dinners but was feedeinge upon ye breade of life: & there they sate waiteing upon ye Lord Ienjoyeinge his power & presence till hee ordered y^m^ to departe.

And soe they was offended because they coulde not gett y^m^ to ye steeplehouses & when they was there they was offended because they coulde not gett y^m^ out {againe}.

And soe from ye meetinge att Columpton or neere it Wee came to Taunton: where wee had a {large} meetinge & ye next day wee came Into Somersetsheere to a generall meetinge which was very large & ye Lords everlastinge worde of life & truth was largely declared: & all people were refresht & setled upon Christ there rocke & foundation & brought to under his teachinge & all was peaceable & about two of ye clock in ye night there came a Company of men about ye house & knockt att ye doores: & bidds $y^m$ open ye doores or else they woulde breake $y^m$ down for they wanted a man $y^t$ they was come to search ye house for.

And I gott uppe & saw a man with his sworde by his syde at ye doore: & they lett him in: & hee came Into ye chamber to mee: & looket upon mee & said you are not ye man I looke for: & soe hee went his ways. [And thus ye Lords power came over all.]

And from thence wee came to Street & soe to Pudimoore {to Will: Beatons} where wee had a very large generall meetinge & ye Lords everlastinge truth was fully declared & ye people refreshed thereby: & all was quiett.

And from thence wee came to Jo: Dandys where wee had another large pretious meetinge: & from thence wee came to Bristoll: where wee had a large service for ye Lord & all was quiett: where wee mett Margarett ffell & her Daughters {againe} & from thence wee past uppe to Slaterforde In Wiltsheere: where was a very large meetinge in a great barne: & ye Lords everlastinge truth: & his great name people was gathered uppe Into it.

And soe I past Into Glocestersheere & had many large meetinges & Into Hereforde sheere: & Into Hereforde tounde & had a meetinge att ye Inn: & after ye meetinge was donne I past away: & ye magistrates hearde of it & came to search ye house after I was gonne & was in a great rage $y^t$ they had mist mee but by ye Lords power there wicked snare was broaken & freinds were established upon Christ there foundation & rocke of Ages.

And from thence I past Into Wales Into Radnoll sheere & had severall pretious meetinges there: & ye Lords name & standart was sett uppe there & many [hundreds there is in Wales] $y^t$ are setled under Christ Jesus teachinge $y^t$ has bought $y^m$ [& purchased $y^m$].

And soe after I was cleere of Wales: I came Into England againe & came to a market tounde {betwixt Englande & Wales} where was a great fayre: & severall freinds beinge at ye fayre wee went to an Inn: where freinds came to us & ye magistrates & other oficers began to gather togeather to consult togeather: though it was fayre time: & when wee was cleere: wee parted from freinds & past away: & soe escaped y^m^.

And from thence wee came Into Shropsheere where wee had a large & pretious meetinge: & after wee had had many meetinges in y^t^ Country: as wee past through it: wee came Into Warwickesheere: & visited freinds there: & soe past Into Darby sheere & Staffordesheere visitinge freinds & att a place caled White Haugh[1] wee had a large {blessed} meetinge & all was quiett: & after ye meetinge was donne I passed away: but when I was past away ye officers came & was in a great rage that they had mist mee: soe ye Lord God in his power gave mee dominion & delivered mee out of there wicked handes & freinds was Joyfull in ye Lord y^t^ I escaped y^m^.

And soe from thence wee past 20 miles after ye meetinge was donne to Capt: Langehornes[a2] where wee had a blessed meetinge: & ye Lords presence was amongst us: & after ye meetinge was donn wee past through ye Peake Country: in Darby sheere: & soe came to a freinds house: & from thence wee came to Sunderlande Greene: where wee had a large meetinge [where M: ffell & her daughters mett mee againe.

And from thence wee past to Balby: where wee had another meetinge: & there M: ff: & her children parted from mee & went Into Bishopricke & there] Jo: Whitehead mett mee [at Balby] & severall other ffreinds came to see mee there.

And from thence wee past through ye Country visitinge freindes till I came Into Holdernesse: & to ye farther ende of Holdernesse: & soe past doune by Scarborough & Whitbey & {neere} Malton: & to Yorke: & ye Lords everlastinge power was over all.

And from thence I past to Burreby where I had a glorious meetinge: & att Yorke I hearde of a plott.

And I was moved to declare against all plotts & plotters

[a] Ellwood editions read *Lingard's*

both publick & private: & gave foorth a paper against plottinges as followeth[1].

And soe from thence I past Into Bishopricke: to one Richmonds[2] where there was a generall meetinge: & ye Lords power was over all though people was exceedinge rude about y^t^ time.

And from thence I came to Henery Drapers: where wee stayde all night & ye next morninge a freinde came to mee as I was passinge away: & tolde mee y^t^ if ye preists & Justices (for many preists were made Justices in ye countrys att this time) y^t^ if they coulde light of mee [a]they woulde tye mee to a stake & burne mee {as they saide}[a]. But when I was cleere of Bishopricke [ye Lords power gave mee dominion over all.

After this] I came over Stanemoore Into part of Yorkesheere & to Sedbur visitinge freinds there: & soe Into Westmoreland visitinge freinds: & soe from thence I came Into Lancasheere to Swarthmoore & after I had stayde there a while & visited ffreindes: I past over ye Sands to Arnesyde & there had a generall meetinge.

And there came some men towards ye meetinge {to breake it uppe} but ye meetinge was donne & soe I past to Rob: Withers & from thence I past to Underbarrow where I had a glorious meetinge & ye Lords power was set over all: & from thence I past to Greyrigge: & visited ffreinds there: & from thence I returned to Anne Audlands[3]: where they woulde have had mee to have stayde there meetinge {ye next day} [but I was much burdned in my spiritt whilst I was in ye house].

And it was upon mee to goe to Jo: Blayklinges In Sedburr & to bee att there meetinge where there is a very pretious people.

And [on ye first day] ye Constables came to Anne Audlands to there meetinge to looke for mee.

And soe by ye hande & power of ye Lord I escaped there snare.

And from Jo: Blayklinges I & L: ffell past to Strickeland heade: & on ye first day I went to ye meetinge which was on a common & a pretious meetinge it was.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions, simply, *they would Destroy me.*

And att night I stayde amongst freindes & ye next day I passed Into Northumberlande: & after ye Justices hearde of ye meetinge at Strickeland heade they made search for mee: but by ye hande of ye Lord I escaped y^m^ againe: for there was some very wicked Justices there.

And soe I came to Hugh Hutchisons[1] house in Northumberland a freinde in ye ministry where wee {[a]visited ffriends thereawayes[a]}.

And from thence I past to Dallen water where wee had a glorious pretious meetinge: & there was an auntient woman came to mee & tolde mee her husband remembred his love to mee: & shee saide by this token I might call him to minde for y^t^ I used to call him ye hale[b] white {olde} man[2]: & shee saide hee was six score yeere olde & two: & hee lived some yeeres after: & hee woulde have come to ye meetinge but that his horses were all employed upon some urgent occasion.

And soe after I had visited freinds in those parts & setled y^m^ upon Christ there foundation there rocke & there teacher: I past through Northumberland till I came Into Cumberland: & came to ye olde Tho: Bewleys.

And freinds came about mee & saide woulde I come there to goe Into prison: for there was great persecution in y^t^ Country at y^t^ time.

And I had a generall meetinge att Tho: Bewleys large & pretious & ye Lords power was over all.

And from thence I past Into ye Country: & soe came to a mans house y^t^ had beene convinced {one Fletcher[3]} & there was one Musgrove[4] deputy governor of Carlile [but hee was not stirringe[c]]: but hee tolde mee if Musgrove knew y^t^ I was there hee would send mee to prison hee was such a wicked man.

And from thence wee went doune to [d]one Peirsons[d5] where ye meetinge was which was very large & pretious: & there was severall freinds in prison at Carlile whome I visited

[a]...[a] These three words are in another hand, inserted at the bottom of the page. Note the change in the spelling *ffriends*

[b] Ellwood editions have *tall* but it is difficult to make the MS. read *tall*; *hale* is better, but the word is very hurriedly written.

[c] Reading uncertain.

[d]...[d] Ellwood editions read *William Pearson's near Wigton.*

with a letter: & Leonarde ffell went with it [& I had written a letter against all plotts & plotters as aforesaid].

And soe from Will: Pearsons I past through ye Countryes visitinge freinds till I came to Pardsey Cragge where I had a large generall meetinge & all was quiet & peaceable & ye glorious powerfull presence of ye everlastinge God was with us.

And att this time there was offred a noble & 5$^{s.}$ a day to any men y$^{t}$ coulde apprehende ye speakers amongst ye Quakers.

Butt ye Quarter Sessions beinge helde at this time in ye Country: these men which were soe hired was gonne to ye Sessions to looke for there wages: & soe all our meetinges was quiett.

And soe as I passed from Pardsey Cragge towards Hugh Tickells[1] {by Kessecke} [wee mett {a} many people y$^{t}$ was comeinge from ye sessions].

And [from thence wee came] to Tho: Lathes[2] where wee stayde & freinds came there to visitt us: & to see us.

And from thence wee came to {one} {Frances}[a] Bensons[3] {in Westmerland}[a] neere Justice Flemminges house & there wee stayde all night.

And y$^{t}$ freinde Benson tolde mee y$^{t}$ Justice Flemminge[4] att ye Sessions at Kendall was in a {great} rage against ffreinds: & hee bid 5$^{l}$ to any man in open Sessions y$^{t}$ coulde take mee {& as I came to F: Bensons, I mett one man who had this 5$^{li}$ proferred him to take mee, & when I passed by him hee said y$^{t}$ is Geo: ffox: but hee had not power to touch mee, so ye Lords power preserved mee over them all}[b]: soe ye wicked Justices beinge in such a rage against mee & I often beinge soe nigh y$^{m}$ It tormented y$^{m}$ ye worse.

And from thence I came to James Taylors at Cartmell where I stayde ye first day: & had a pretious meetinge.

And after ye meetinge was donne I came over Sand to Swarthmoore.

And when I came there they tolde mee y$^{t}$ Coll: Kirby[5]

[a] The insertions *Frances* and *in Westmerland* are in another hand. The latter insertion takes the place of other words, erased, which appear to have read *beyonde Hawkessyde*.

[b] This insertion and those given in note [a] are in the same minute clear handwriting, one which is found in other Quaker MSS. also.

had sent his leifetenant there to search for mee whoe had searched both boxes & trunkes for mee att Swarthmoore.

And as I was lyinge in bed: I was moved of ye Lord God to goe ye next day to Coll: Kirbeys house about 5 miles off & to speake to him: & when I came there was ye fflemminges & severall of ye gentry was gathered togeather att Kirby hall {to take there leave of Coll: Kirby hee beinge then goeinge uppe to London to ye parlament}: & they had mee Into ye parlor amongst y$^{m}$ Coll: Kirby not beinge att that time within but gonne foorth a litle way: & they sayde litle to mee [but after a while I walkt out].

And after a litle time Coll: Kirby came in & soe I tolde him I came to visitt him understandinge y$^{t}$ hee woulde have seene mee: & to know what hee had to say to mee or whether hee had any thinge against mee: & hee saide before all ye gentry y$^{t}$ was gathered togeather att his house y$^{t}$ as hee was a gentleman hee had nothinge against mee: but saide y$^{t}$ M: ffell must not keepe great meetinges att her house for y$^{t}$ they mett contrary to ye act.

But I tolde him y$^{t}$ act did not take holde upon us but upon such as did meete to plott & contrive & to raise Insurrections against ye Kinge & wee was noe such people: & hee knew y$^{t}$ those y$^{t}$ mett att M ffs house were his neighbors & a peaceable people.

And soe after many wordes hee shooke mee by ye hande & saide hee had nothinge against mee & others of y$^{m}$ saide I was a deserveinge man & soe wee parted & I returned to Swarthmoore againe.

And shortly after: hee beinge gonne for London: to ye parlament I hearde over night y$^{t}$ there was a private meetinge of ye Justices & deputy leiftenants at Houlkar Hall: at Justice Prestons: & I hearde y$^{t}$ they had graunted foorth a warrant to apprehend mee.

And soe I could have gonne away {over night} for I had not appointed any meetinge att y$^{t}$ time & I had cleered my selfe of ye north & ye Lords power was over all: but I considered there beinge a noise of a plott in ye north: if I should goe away they might fall upon poore freindes & soe if I gave uppe my selfe to bee taken: I shoulde choake y$^{m}$ & freindes shoulde escape ye better.

And soe I gave uppe my selfe to bee taken & prepared my selfe against they came.

And ye next day an officer came with his sworde & pistoll to take mee: & I tolde him I knew his [message &] errande [ye night] before & soe had given uppe my selfe to bee taken: for if I woulde have escaped there Imprisonement I might have beene 40 miles off before they came but I was an unnocent man: & soe matterd not what they coulde doe unto mee.

And hee askt mee howe I did heare of it {seeinge ye order was made privately in a parlor}: I saide Itt was noe matter for y$^{t}$: I did heare of it: & soe I askt him to see his order & hee layde his hande on his sworde: & saide I must goe with him before ye Leifetenants to aunswer such questions as they shoulde propounde to mee: & I tolde him Itt was but civill & reasonable for him to lett mee see his order but hee would not then I tolde him I was ready.

And soe I went alonge with him & M: ff: went alonge with mee to Holkar Hall: & when wee came there there was many people gathered: & one Rawlinson[1] caled a Justice: & {Thomas} Preston of Holkar: & one caled Sir George Midleton & many more y$^{t}$ I did not know.

And one Thomas Atkinson[2] a freinde of Cartmell: they brought as a wittnesse against mee {for some wordes} y$^{t}$ hee had tolde to one Knipe[3] whoe had Informed y$^{m}$ which wordes was y$^{t}$ I had written against ye plotters & knockt y$^{m}$ doune which wordes they coulde not make much off: for I tolde y$^{m}$ I had hearde of a plott & had written against it.

And then olde Preston askt mee whether I had {any hande} in y$^{t}$ script: & I askt him what hee meant & then hee saide in ye Battledore: & I aunswered him yes: then hee askt mee whether I did understand {ye} languages I tolde him[a] if I did I knew noe law y$^{t}$ was transgressed by it: & to understand those outward languages there was noe matter of salvation in y$^{m}$: & if I did understande y$^{m}$ I Judged {& knockt} y$^{m}$ doune againe {for any matter of salvation y$^{t}$ was in y$^{m}$}.

[a] Ellwood editions insert here *sufficient for myself.* See page 43.

And soe hee turned away: & said G: ffox knockes doune all ye languages: come says hee wee will examine you of higher matters.

Then George Midleton saide: you deny God & ye Chuch & faith: & I replyed nea I owne God & ye true Chuch & ye true faith: but what Chuch dost thou owne for I understoode hee was a papist: & then hee turned againe & said you are a rebell[a]: & I askt him unto whome hee spoake or whome did hee call rebell: hee was soe full of envy: for a [longe] while hee coulde not say to whome hee spoake it but at last hee sade hee spoake it to mee.

And I struck my hande on ye table & tolde him I had suffred more then 20 such as hee or any y$^{t}$ was there: ffor I had beene cast Into Darby dungeon for six months togeather because I woulde not take uppe armes against this kinge att Worcester fight.

And I was carryed uppe out of my owne Country by Coll: Hacker {before O: C:} as a plotter to bringe in Kinge Charles in 1654 & I had nothinge but love & good will to ye kinge & desired his eternall good & welfare & all his subjects.

Then said Midleton did you ever heare ye like: nea saide I: you may heare it againe if you will: for you talke of ye kinge a Company of you[b]: butt I had more love to ye kinge for his eternall good & welfare then any of you have.

Then they askt mee whether I did heare of ye plott & I said yes I had hearde of it: & then they askt mee how I hearde of it & whome I knew in it.

I tolde y$^{m}$ I hearde of it by ye high sheriffe of Yorkesheere[1] whoe had tolde D$^{r}$ Hodgeson[2] y$^{t}$ there was a plott in ye north: & y$^{t}$ was ye way I hearde of it: & never hearde of any such thinge in ye south till I came Into ye north.

And as for knowinge any in ye plott I was as a childe in y$^{t}$ for I knewe none of y$^{m}$.

Then saide they why woulde I write against it if I did not knowe some y$^{t}$ were in it: & {I saide} my reason was because you are soe forwarde to mash ye innocent & guilty togeather: I writt against it to cleere ye truth from such

[a] Ellwood editions add *and a Traytor.*

[b] Ellwood editions add *but where were ye in Oliver's days? and what did ye do then for him?*

thinges: & to stoppe all forwarde foolish spiritts from runninge Into such thinges & I sent a copy of it Into Westmerland Cumberland Bishopricke & Yorkesheere: & to you heere: & I sent another copy of it to ye Kinge & his councell & Its like Itt is in print by this time.

Then saide one of y$^{m}$ you are against ye lawes {of ye lande}.

I aunswered nea: for I & my freinds which bringes all people to ye spiritt of God in y$^{m}$ to mortify ye deeds of ye flesh: this bringes y$^{m}$ Into the well doeinge which eases ye magistrates whoe are for ye punishment of ye evill doers: & soe people beinge turned to ye spiritt of God: which bringes y$^{m}$ to mortify ye deeds of ye flesh: this bringes y$^{m}$ from {under} ye occasion of ye magistrates sworde. And this must needs bee one with magistracy & ye law y$^{t}$ was added because of transgression & is for ye praise of y$^{m}$ y$^{t}$ doe well.

Soe in this wee establish {ye} law & {are an ease to ye} magistrates & are not against it but {stande for} all good goverment.

Then Midleton cryed bringe ye booke & putt ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy to him[1]: though hee was a papist.

Soe I askt him whether hee had taken ye oath of Supremacy himselfe: whoe was a swearer & wee coulde not sweare at all because Christ forbad it & ye Apostle.

And soe some woulde not have had ye oath putt to mee but have lett mee have my liberty: for this was there last snare for they had noe other way to gett mee Into prison by: for all other thinges had beene cleered: for this was like ye papists sacrament & Altar: by which they Insnared ye martyrs.

Soe after they had tendred ye oath & I coulde not take it they committed mee till Sessions: where I was to appeare.

And soe I came to Swarthmoore againe.

And there came Coll: West to see mee whoe had beene a Justice of peace {& then was}: & hee tolde some of ye Justices y$^{t}$ hee woulde goe over to see mee & M: ffell butt it may bee said hee to y$^{m}$ some of you will take an offence at it [which hee tolde unto us when hee came over to Swarthmoore & much more].

And I askt him what hee thought they woulde doe

with mee att ye Sessions & hee saide they woulde tender ye oath to mee againe.

And whilst I was at Swarthmoore there came Will: Kirby[1] Into Swarthmoore meetinge with ye constables.

And I was settinge with freindes in ye meetinge: & hee came in & saide howe now M^r ffox you have a fine company heere.

And I said yes: wee doe meete to waite upon ye Lord: & soe hee begann to take ye names of freindes & y^m y^t did not tell there names to him hee committed to ye Constables handes & sent some to prison.

And ye Constables were unwillinge to take y^m without a warrant [from him] & hee threatned to sett them by ye heeles: & ye Constable tolde him hee coulde keepe y^m in his presence but after hee coulde not keepe y^m without a warrant.

[Soe I tolde him ye Constable said true.]

And soe at ye Sessions I appeared: & there was Justice Flemminge whoe was a Justice in Westmereland & Lancasheere: y^t had bid 5^l. to any man y^t could apprehende mee: & one Justice Spencer[2]: & Coll: West: & olde Justice Rawlinson ye Lawyer whoe gave ye charge.

And this Rawlinson was envyous against ye truth & frendes & ye Lords power soe stopt him [y^t I thought once hee woulde have beene choakt].

And there was a great Sessions: & they cryed silence in ye Courte on paine of Imprisonement & all was quiett: & then they begann to aske mee if I knew any y^t were in ye plott & I aunswered againe to y^m as before.

And then they tendred mee ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy: & I tolde y^m I coulde not take any oath att all: because Christ & ye Apostle had forbidden it: & they had had sufficent experens of swearers first one way then another way: but I never had tooken any oath in my life.

And soe Rawlinson askt mee ensnaringely whether I thought it was unlawfull to sweare: because in ye act y^t was made such were lyable to banishment or a great ffine y^t said it was unlawfull to sweare.

And I saide unto him In ye time of ye law amongst ye Jews before Christ came ye law commanded y^m to sweare: but Christ whoe doth fulfill ye law in his gospell time

commands not to sweare att all & ye Apostle James {forbidds ye same} nea[a] to y^m^ y^t^ was Jews y^t^ had ye law of God.

And after a great deale of discourse [as you may see in ye followinge narrative more at large] they committed mee to prison & severall other frends was committed for meetinges.

And severall of ye wiffes of severall freinds came: & tolde y^m^ if they did committ there husbands to ye goale for {nothinge else but for} the truth of Christ & good Conscience sake: they would come & bringe there children to ye Justices for y^m^ to mainetaine y^m^.

And a mighty power of ye Lord risse in freinds y^t^ they declared much to ye Justices soe y^t^ some {of y^m^} were sett att liberty butt some they kept In prison.[b]

## [1][*G: ff^s^: examination before y^e^ deputy leiftenants att Holker: & Sessions 1663*

A Relation of som pasages betwene G. ff. and som of the debety leiftenants for the county of Lancaster as allsoe at the secions with the Justises upon the bench together with theire carige and proseedings against friends as followeth.—

*ffirst.* Too debuty liuftenants and a Justises sent for him to Halker hall and asked of him concerning the plott and hee toull them hee knew of none that ever spoke to him of any such thing that were for such a thing in there minds but he did deny and Judg such things every where and in all places where ever hee came.

*dept.* Then the debity leiftenants asked if he understood languages.

*ans.* Hee tould them as much as was suficent for him selfe and many frafilous things they asked which he kept of them and which truth kept over them and out of there snars.

*dept.* One Midleton adebity lieftenant was in amighty Rage and said hee was an enemy to y^e^ king.

[a] Ellwood editions: *even*

[b] Narrative continued on page 56.

*ans.* he tould them he had suffered more then 20 of them because he would not take up arms against this man.

*dept.* then they taked of anoth to him.

*answer.* he tould them hee would set his hand to apaper if they desered it that he would never take up arms against the king or any man.

*dept.* another depety leiftenant said woo be to the scribs and pharasis and hipocrits he would have an Independent a presbitarian a [a]babtist or[a] papist or a quaker to interpret that scripture.

*ans.* hee tould them he would quickly do it if they would hear him hee tould them the Jews who had the law of god and said it but did it not weare hipocrits to whom christ cryes woo against and you that are christans and have the words of christ who saith love one another and love enemies there fore Judg your selves and soe spoak of the things and they as it were dispersed them selves one from another at the hearing there of and one of y$^{m}$ cryed harke how he preaches and soe then he was to apear at the sesions.

When G: ff: was in Westmore land and Cumberland one Fleeming a Justice was full of fury against him and having a meeting att Kendall with the rest of the Justices gave forth an order to all the constebles that they should take him up and they should be rewarded any man that would take him should have 5$^{li}$ and he chided others that they had not taken him and this ffleeming was a man that apeared against him in y$^{e}$ sesions zealusly but the power of the lord came overall and when G. ff. was in Wesmoreland callenell Kirby sent a party of souldiers to Swarthmore hall for him and there they did there ofice so exactly that y$^{e}$ serched the very Trunks and boxes for him and Refled the house and they next day sent constables so when he was Returning from Westmoreland it came to him that he must goe to Coll: Kirbey and when he went he being at that time going to London there were of they gentry of that side of y$^{e}$ cuntry with him and soe he and all apeared very loving but Georg sent {over} a man to him to know if he had any thing to say to him for he was come to visit him and he Replyed and said he had litle to say to him

[a]...[a] These words are struck out.

but he might come if he would and soe he went to him the first word he said to him was that he had no thing against him and that none should medle with him if he had not great meetings and many strangers coming to him his reply to the Coll was that for our meetings we had the word of a King and his speeches and declarations for all them that lived peace ablely and we are peace able and soe we parted lovingly which brought a good saver and soe soone after his departure to London these depety leiftenants above mentioned sent for him by a leiftenant of a foot company who fetched him out of a house where he was and had him before the above said depety leiftenants and a Justis which after he had bene severall houres with them and had many words with them a few of which have been Related as afore then they gave order that he should apear at the next sescions at Lancaster and the maner of the pashages ther in short are as followeth.

Soone after the sescions were begune they called him there being a great concorce of people way was made for him and he came to y$^{e}$ barr and they looked upon him and he upon them a prety space and proclemation was made for all people to keep silence upon paine of Imprisonment and he stood with his hat on and said twice peace be amongst you and all was silent looking at him and behoulding him and the first word that was spoken to him was by the chaire man who asked him if he knew where hee was and he said yes hee did It may be my hatt ofends you thats a low thing thats not the honour that I give to magstrats for the true honnour was from above which said he I have Received and said I hope its not the hatt which you looke upon to the honnour and the Chairman said they looked for the hatt too and wherein was his respect to magstrats he would not put of his hatt his reply was he came when they caled him and then they bid one take of his hatt and then they stood a good whille sillent one looking at another till the witness of the lord arose and the powe of the lord arose over all and then an ould man spoake and asked him if he did know of the plott he toald him he had heard of it in Yorkshire from a friend that had it from the shirif and then they asked him whether he had declared it to the magstrats.

Hee said hee had sent papers abroad against plotts and plotters and allsoe to you as soone as I came into the contry to take of all Jelocis out of your minds concerning mee and friends and it was and is mine and ours principles to declare against such things.

Then they asked him if he knew not of an act against meetings.

Hee said he knewe there was an act that tooke hould of such as met to the terifying of y^e^ King subiects and were enemies to y^e^ King and held dangerous principles and he said he hoped they did not look upon us to be such men for the law was good in its place that took hould upon such but our meetings are not to terify the King subiects neither are we enemies to him or any man.

Then one of the Justises said our meetings were to terify the King subiects had he not a meeting at Underbarow in Wesmoreland and he said yes & he went into Cumberland allsoe.

He said yes yes and said one end of his going into those parts was to declare against plots lest any that were newly convinced theire minds might be Inconbred or Insnared that were waike that had beine convinced since he had been in that cuntry and you being Justises that are to keep y^e^ peace and I being one that declars against that which breaks the peace this is one with Justis quoth hee and stopps the acation {by the sprot of god & by it they to bee mortified}[a] that which you are to keep down and that our meetings were peaceable as London and in other places I thought said he it had been so hered at Underbarow what ever the mater is here with you.

Soe then the Justises asked him if he would take y^e^ oath of alegance he tould them he never tooke oath in his life that his alegence to the King did not lye in oathes but that his yea had been yea and his nay nay which is more then others oathes for have you not had experiance of such as have sworn first one way and then another then what good doth all there oathes for our yea stands when they break there oathes.

Then said the put the oath of alegance to him say after the Clark give him the booke he took the book and opened

[a] The exact place for this insertion is not evident in the MS.

it and said looke here I will shew you where the booke speakes against swearing and then they took it from him againe and then they bad him say after the clark and asked him whether he would own him self to be a quaker.

*ans.* Quaking and trembling at the word of god he owned but quaking and trembling was given us as anick name by one Benet of Darby when I was (said hee) brought before the Judgment seat as one who kept me in the dungan because I would not take up arms against this man the king who would a made me a captaine if I woulde.

Then they asked if I would say that all oathes were unlafull.

*answer.* Amongst the Jewes they were lafull by the law of god and they were to swear and perform there vows to the Lord but Christ is come who ends the Jews law who saith swear not at all and the apostle saith the same and so its for Christs doctrin I stand (saith hee) and in obedience to christs doctrin and comand canot take anoath for if I could swear in any cause I could take this oath I will not swear this is my coat if aman should take it from me I will not sweare its mine saith he neither would I swer he took it if one did take it but I would say he is the man.

And then one of them said would he not swear for due det he said noe he would not swear but he would speak the truth as it is in Jesus and then they cryed reed the oath to him.

He tould them that it was to litle purpose for his yea was yea and his nay nay acording to christs doctrin and there fore in obedience to christ doctrin we cannot swear.

And he had a printed paper and another paper which was his testimony a paper which he sent to the king and his councell which he had sent to them when hee came into the cuntry which was his testimony against plots which if they had the patience to reed it or let it be red in the court and they would not and some other words were spoaken and then they called for they Geolar and he said they might see it was for christ doctrin that he suffered and in obedience to his comand.

Soe now the Justises say that they had privet Instructions from they afore mentioned Coll Kirby that did apear so lovingly to him as aforesaid who am now in the castol

at Lancaster a prisoner for not swearing here are 8 more in prison upon the acount of not swearing.

There were 25 apeared at the sesions out of Fornas of which there were 22 ffined some 5 marke but most 5 nobles few less 20 prisoners of Celet meeting which were cept in prison about 9 weekes 16 of them were fined as above 13 from Hawkside of which there was 9 fined of which number one lyeth sick and 2 are dead being prisoners for tithes severall of them going on in three years or some more of whom one is sick nigh unto death.

And another for teling a priest that he preached unsound or fals doctrine and this is a breefe hint of the state of things at present in Relation to the prisoners at Lancaster.]

[1][*An account of G: ffs: & others sufferings att Lancaster 1664*

ffriends who are Justices & deputy Leavetennants of this County

peace bee to you all.

Wee have received some sufferings from some of you which they y^t^ wee have received from are known to your selves.

Feirst. Tho: Chorley[2] of Carneford a poore Miller haveing a family to meantene was taken out of a Metting & kept till the sessions & then had y^e^ oath of Allegiance putt to him you knowing he could not sweare.

Tho: Watters[3] of Buttle in Millam come to visit frinds att Swartmoore sent to Prison till y^e^ sessions by Justice Kerby & then y^e^ oath put to him of Allegiaince though he had been faithfull to y^e^ King for Tho: Watters was striped till it came to his shirt & faught for y^e^ king in the open feilds & stood when many ran away he being under y^e^ Command of Sir Will: Hudleston[4] & in this unhumaine manner he was Carried to Horneby Castle & Cast in nasty straw & kept their & then afterwards brought to Lancaster Castle till he was released by exchange of Parliament souldiars in which prison now you have cast him though he never tooke up Armes for any other but y^e^ King but he saw many run away when he stood in y^e^ feild what was {then} the faithfullnes of many who pretended love to him

{& now because hee cannott sweare nor fight but serve God you cast him in prison}[a].

John Stubbs a poore man haveing a wife & four Chrildren had y^e^ oath tenderd to hee att y^e^ sessions & because he could not sweare in abediance to y^e^ Command of Christ was cast into prison who hath had worse entertainement here amongst you then hee had beyond sea when he was moved to goe to the Court to visit y^e^ Kinge {& worse then hee had in Ægypt amongst y^e^ Turkes when hee moved of y^e^ Lorde to goe amongst y^m^}[a] which few of you y^t^ persecute him & prison him that pretends soe much love to y^e^ King durst have done y^e^ like.

Will Grave[1] was sumunned to be a Jury man & because hee cold not sweare had y^e^ oath of allegiance put to him: which was a very strang thing knowing he cold not sweare & knowen to be a peacable man in his country {& did good to many people}.

And Georg ffox was to appeare att y^e^ sessions & ye asked him if he knew of y^e^ plott he told them he had hard of such a thing through a freind y^t^ had it from y^e^ {high}[a] shirffe of Yorkshire for he came out of y^e^ South & had hard nothing all along till he came thither & comeing into Lancshire & heareing of such a thing he writ papers for takeing of Jelosis out of peoples mindes concerning him & frends which he sent to {y^e^}[a] Leavetenants & Justeces both in Lancshire Wesmorland & Comberland & Bushepwrick & Northumberland & likewise to y^e^ King & councell, & he knowing of noe man y^t^ was in the plott but onely a heare-say which then was publique & then att y^e^ sessions {you}[a] put y^e^ oath of Allegiance to him as a snare for its knowen very well generally they {nor hee}[a] cannot sweare. & thus he was served though he was cast into prison about Worcester feight by Justice Bennet & other of y^e^ Comissioners & kept six months {most part in the dungeon} {in Darby}[a] because he wold not bee a Captaine against y^e^ Kyng & {att an}[a] other tyme {hee was}[a] stripped by y^e^ parliament souldiars {& plundered by y^m^}[a] & {another time hee was}[a] taken up by Collonell Hacker in Leicestershire forth of his owne Country {& brought uppe}[a] to London & kept as a prisoner att y^e^ signe of y^e^ Maremade as a plotter to bring in King Chrales

[a] This insertion was made by Thomas Lower.

when a many others was taken up & then after sett att liberty & then some profered him a Collonell place {in y^e^ time of y^e^ Committe of safety}[a] & he denyed them all & bid them live peacable which I beleeve many of his persecuters would have beene glad of that oppertunity.

Tho: Davenport[1] an old man sickly above three score years old & James Browne[2] a lame & broken man liveing in Cheshire neere the edg of Lancashire comeing to visit freinds in prison some of them like to dy went over to Swartmoore to a Meetting & from thence was sent to prison by Justice Kerby & kept till the sessions {in prison} & then had y^e^ oath of Allegiance put to them & because they could not sweare for Conscience sake was put in prison who presently after Tho: Davenport fell sick.

Will: Wilson[3] was taken up from a Meetting by Justice ffleeming with severall others & sent to prison till sessions. & then ye put the oath of Allegiance to him & because he cold not sweare in obediance to y^e^ Comand of Christ & the apostle who Comands not sweare att all therfore was cast into prison who was a man faithfull to y^e^ King more faithfull then many of his persecuters who stood when many {of them} ran away who was under Command of Sir Philliph Musgreve[4] in Captaine Robert Phillipsons troope & staid with him till the last men {in the yeare forty eight} who was taken prisoner & like to have starved to death in Kerby Stevin steeplehouse & from thence had to Barne Castle to prison & often stripped their a lying in {filthy lowsey} straw & fed with a penny a day & afterwards hailed up & downe y^e^ Country prisoner & had nothing left that would have given him a penny & was allmost perished before he got home & when he got home (and none y^t^ pretended love to y^e^ King took Care for him but some y^t^ run away made a mock at him for his long Continuance in y^e^ Kings service saying hee might have come away as they did) {and after} suffered again by y^e^ parliament side to y^e^ value of more then he had of his owne as his Neighbors well knowes & afterwards in Olivers dayes was persecuted for y^e^ same service in the open sessions att Carlile by Justice Wren[5]: & which of all you that persecutes him hath suffered

[a] This insertion was made by Thomas Lower.

the like for he was made to flee his country for a season & how often have you been kept in prison & dungions & hoales & stript & kept with a penny a day as Willie Wilson {Georg ffox} & Tho Watters hath been.

And Will Wilson had never peny of pay for all his service nor Thomas Watters {untill this day}. And soe you had more need {to have had} give them their arrears then cast them into prison from their poore wiffes & small chrildren most of them being poore men.

And here hath three dyed very lately who have been Committed to prison & three moore one of them lying a purrele of death & two sickly being cast into smouky dowdy stincky rainny places where their is a detch made to receive the raine for flowing over the rome where many would not putt their swine anough to breed deseases to infect the whole Country, & all is for {tendernes of} Conscience towards god (because wee Cannot sweare theirfore they make it a snare as y^e^ papists did the Martyres by sacrament & alter when they cold take them in noe other snare then sacrament & Alter their they knew they had them sure) notwithstanding the word of a king speeches & declarations concerning tender Consciences is all laid asid & mercy & pitty theise things is laid before you y^t^ you may not be Ignorant for if they went into everlasting punishment y^t^ did not visit Christ in his brethren what will become of them y^t^ Casts him into prison where he is made manifest in his people: Matth. 25: 39. 40. 41.

And now wee look y^t^ you will take care for their poore wiffes & small chrildren {or els set them att liberty that you will take Care} alsoe for these wiffes & small chrldren y^t^ are made widdowes & fatherless through your Cruell ussage & hard imprisonments: that they doe not starve & dy for want.

And this is in love to you for y^e^ future y^t^ noe more fatherless & widdowes be made y^t^ you may not bring Innocent blood upon your heads.

And since Margreat ffell widdow was fetch from her family & her chrildren unto a private sessions att Ulverston in Envie because they knew she cold not sweare they put the oath of Allegiance to her: And shee having been oft with the king {hee} promissed {her} y^t^ none should meddle

with her & desired her to goe home Nevertheless they have put the oath to her & soe sent her {hither} to prison.

And alsoe here is Nyne More some of which hath been kept prisoners above thre yeares eight of them for Tyth & another by a false accusation y^t^ hee should spek to a prist & did not but y^e^ prist run into Ireland & hath left him here in prison from his family his wife being dead since & he hath laien in prison goeing onwards of 3 years.

These thing are laid before you y^t^ you may ease y^e^ affliction of the righteous & set the Innocent att Liberty.

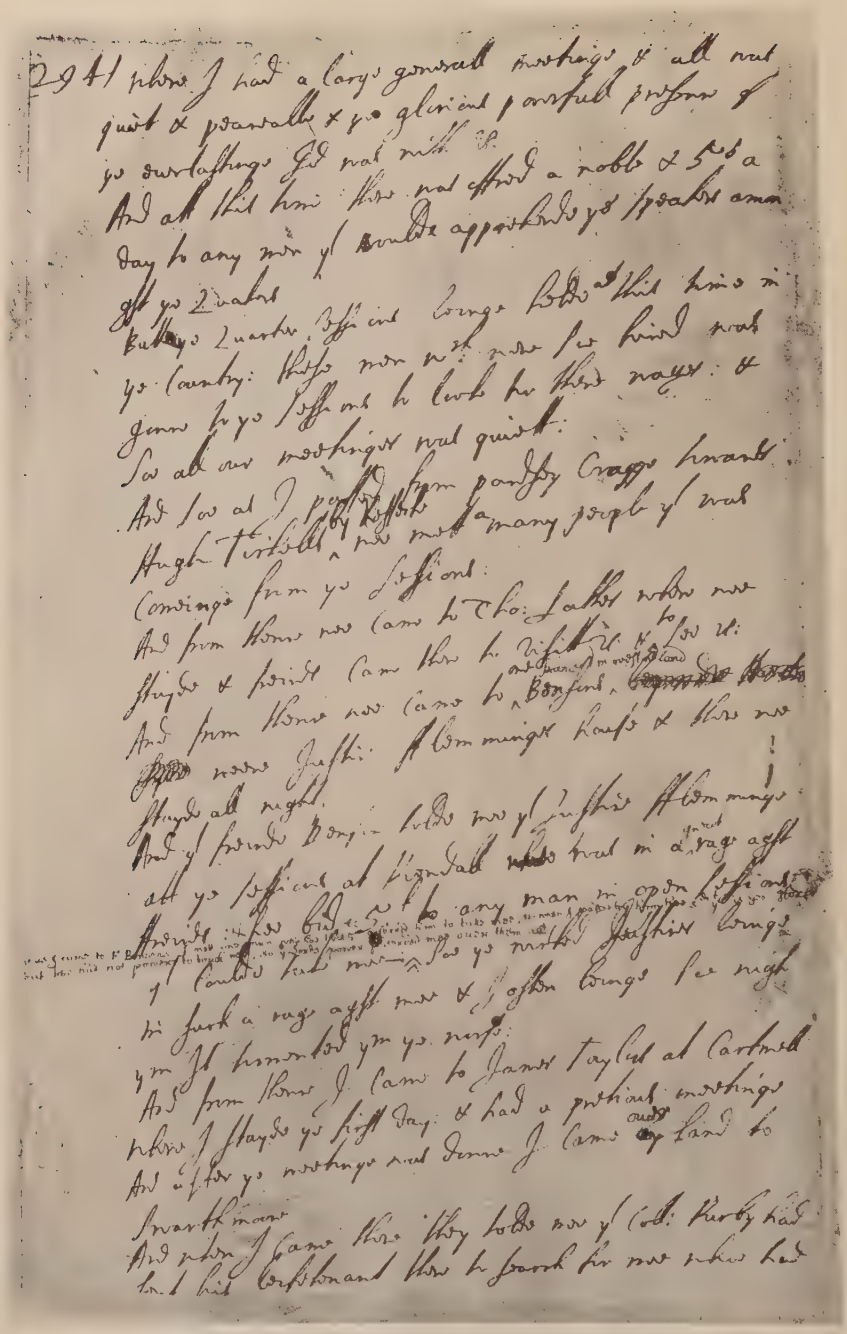
Notwithstanding the said James Browne was a faithfull souldier for y^e^ king both in England & Ireland & in Ireland under y^e^ Command of Sir Rich Greenfild[1] in Captaine Wate troope & when Generall Mooks came out of Ireland against Namptwitch he was in the Regiment of Collonell Marrow in the same troupe & in y^t^ service was very sore wounded being cut & Mangled in his {face &} head even untill they soe saw his braines & in the fild was left for dead & afterwards had a peece of his scull taken forth of his head he never being sound but very much infermed to this day & never had peny of pay.]

[2][*To the Justices & other officers to whom it may concerne That is to keepe the peace of the nation.*

*First.* I and we are peaceable, & doe seeke the peace of all men, & their everlasting good & hapines.

*2^ly^* Wee love enimies & love one another according to Christs comand: And that we cannot hurt any man much lesse the King or any of his subiects; to ayde asist or counsell or countenance, or maintaine any that take up armes to disthrone him, but such we doe utterly deny & would have all people live peacably & quietly in the land.

*3^ly^* And I & all that be of my judgment & principle doe deny to take up armes against the King or any of his people or any that doe soe we deny them, for christ sayth we must love enemies as was said before, & in him we have peace with god but in Adam & his sones & daughters in the fall (who be of his house) are troubles, warrs, strifes, & quarelings, but in christ Jesus that never fell (in his house & they that be of him & his house) they be in peace,



A page of the Narrative Portion of the *Journal*. (See ii. 37.)

& love to brethren & to enemies, & also they seeke the peace of all men, of whose house we are & in that practice. Heb. 3. 6.

*4ly* I saw by the power of god the King was brought into the land, which brought downe A great deale of that which we doe declare against & suffered by that hipocricie.

*5ly* Soe I & we, doe say, that he ought to have his right, & all men, & this we doe say (& its our testimony) that for conscience sake to the comand of christ Jesus we cannot take an oath.

*6ly* And our yea & our nay are more then others oaths: for in your dayes you know how many have sworne, first one way & then another, soe our denying to sweare is for obeying the comand of christ & the Apostles doctrine, Matt: 5: James. 5. that comands us not to sweare at all: And for that we suffered in the dayes of Oliver, & the former powers, because we could not sweare & many of you know it. And soe we doe not deny swearing upon some conditions, & owne it upon others, but all swearing because its forbidden by christ & the Apostles.

*7ly* The jewes & the prophets in the time of the law, were to sweare: but christ he is both the end of the law & the prophets, that comands not to sweare, soe our not swearing is in obeydience to the comands of christ the great prophet whom we are to heare in all things.

*8ly* Soe our alegiance lyes in this, that we would not have the King hurte, And we would have him to have his right, And we deny all that take up armes against him: we first deny it in our selves & then in others, And would have all people to live peacably according to the doctrine of christ And the Apostles as A christian ought to doe.

*9ly* And also we deny all popery & Jesuiticall wayes, & have suffered for soe doeing in severall places beyond seas for setting up the power of christ, & denying their power, & for setting up the true religion that was in the primitive times, & denying their religion.

*10ly* And soe we owe nothing to the King but love, & to all his subordinate officers & subjects, & would have them to live in the same.

*11ly* And againe we canot sweare, because its our principle.

*12ly* And because we canot sweare at all is in obeydiance to christ & the Apostles doctrine, therefore have many taken advantage against us knowing that we could not, And made it A Snare, As I doe beleeve many of you are not unaquainted with it, in the former powers dayes, & some others who have beene envious towards us, & all because we could not avenge our selves nor strike againe when we were striken: Therefore have they encouraged envious people against us, This you are not ignorant of.

*13ly* Soe its our principle if one strike us on the one cheek to turne the other also, its our principle from christs doctrine, And we doe wittnes the fullfilling the prophets words: they shall break their swords into plowshares & their speares into pruning hooks, &

*14ly* Soe we doe know the fullfilling of the scriptures, & some have knowne A time of [a]the speare &[a] the sword, but now have A breaking of it.

*15.* And though I have beene cast into prison because I would not take up armes against King Charles at the time of Worster feight, & was kept long in the dungeon at Derby when they would have made me A Captaine: And also was taken up in my owne countrie in Leistershire, & taken up as A plotter in Olivers dayes, & taken up to London A prisoner & kept A great while, & many other sufferings which were tedious to mention.

But in plaine words my principle, & all true Quakers principl is to deny the takeing up armes against the King or any man, as knowing it is in Adams house in the fall, takeing up armes one against another: & not in christ the second Adams house that never fell: he sayth he came to save mens lives, & rebuked them that would have destroyed them.

And we are of the houshould of christ in whom their is peace, who comands us to seeke the peace of all men: & soe we canot take up armes against them if wee seeke their peace.

And wee doe know that the jewes outward sword, & sheild & head peece, which preserved them, by which they

[a]...[a] These words appear to have been intentionally smeared before the ink was dry.

cut downe the heathen without them, was A type of the inward sword of the spirit, which cuts downe the heathenish nature within people, And A type of the sheild of faith which purifies the heart inwardly within people. And the jewes outward Helmet was A type of the Helmet of salvation: And the outward brestplate was A type of the brestplate of righteoussnes which all true christians must come to put on.

And soe then we haveing put it on, & our weapons being spirituall, & not carnall (for the jewes weapons were carnall: but the true christians weapons are spirituall). And theirfore we doe deny takeing up carnall weapons against the King or any others of Addams house in the fall: or any upon the earth: we who are of christs house that never fell christ being our peace, we seeke their peace: christ being our peace we are in peace with god through christ, & doe seek the good & welfare of the king & all people.

And this is in love to your soules, & to satisfie you concerning such things above mentioned, to take of all jelosies & hard thoughts concerning me & us: for we doe know that christ bid Peeter put up his sword, And the scripture saith he that kils with the sword shall perish with the sword.

And therfore what we doe its in obeydience to christ: for christ that never fell sayth to Adams house in the fall love one another: And bids Adams house in the fall breake their swords & their spears: And in christs house the weapons are spirituall.

And soe our fellowship lyes in the gospell of peace which is the power of god which was before carnall weapons were: & our fellowship & worship is in the spirit & truth (which the devell is out of): & soe in that we are out of all carnall weapons, in the spirituall.

From him that wishes you all well & desires your eternall, & your everlasting hapines in the truth, that in the feare of the lord god you may all be preserved to receive his wisdome & with it to order all things to his glory & may be A blessing to him in your generation, soe farewell.

George ffox.

And this is our testimonie.

Thomas Walters. Margret Fell. John Stubbs
W^m^ Wilkson[1]. Thomas Chorley
W^m^ Grave. Thomas Davenport
James Brown]

[a][2]And soe I was kept In prison till ye assises: & att ye assises there was Judge Turner[3]: & Judge Twisden[4].

And I was had before Judge Twisden & there ye oath was tendred to mee againe: & I tolde him I never tooke oath in my life covenant nor engagement.

And hee askt mee whether I woulde sweare & take ye oath: & I saide I was a Christian & should shew foorth Christianity.

I aske you saide hee whether you will sweare {or noe}.

I aunswered him againe I was neither Turke Jew nor heathen: but a Christian: & did hee not know y^t^ ye Christians in primitive times refused swearinge both in ye ten persecutions & {in} ye days of {ye} martyrs because Christ & ye Apostle had forbidden it: & I had never taken any oath in my life: & had not hee & they experiens enough howe many men had att first sworne for ye kinge & then against ye kinge: & my allegians did not lye in swearinge butt in truth & faithfulnesse.

Sirrah said hee will you sweare.

{Then} I said unto him I was none of his sirrahs I was a Christian: & for him y^t^ was an olde man & a Judge to sett there & give {nicke} names to prisoners it did not become his grey heires [as you may see in ye papers at large][5].

Then hee said hee spoake in love I tolde him love did not call men at of there names.

Then I askt him whether hee did owne ye kinge of Englande & hee said yes: then said I: if soe why dost thou not obey his declaration from Breda & speeches renewed since hee came Into Englande y^t^ noe man should bee caled in question for matters of religion soe they lived peaceablely.

And why did hee call mee in question if hee owned ye kinge for whoe could charge mee with unpeaceable liveinge.

[a] Narrative continued from page 43.

Sirrah said hee will you sweare: hearke said hee I am sayinge ye worde sirrah againe: & reproved himselfe butt when I askt him whether hee did owne ye kinge & why hee did not obey ye kinges declarations: hee stoode uppe & said: G: ffox I wont bee afraide of thee.

Then I tolde him I spoake in love to him: y^t^ if hee did owne ye kinge y^t^ hee might obey ye kinges speeches & declarations: & call noe man in question for religion y^t^ did live peaceablely.

Then after many more wordes [as may bee seene in {papers of} ye examination att large as followeth]: they tooke mee away & Indicted mee.[a]

[1][*The examination of G: F: before y^e^ Judge at Lancaster concerning y^e^ oath of Allegance 1663*

Lancaster y^e^ 14^th^ day of y^e^ first month 1663[2]. George fox was called before Judg Twisden (being a prisoner at y^e^ place aforesaid).

*Judge:* What doe you com into y^e^ Court with your hatt on; then y^e^ Gaoler took it of.

*George fox:* Peace be amongst you all, and said, the hatt was nott y^e^ honnor that came downe from God.

*Judg:* Will you take y^e^ oath of allegiance; George fox.

*G. ff:* I never took an oath in my life.

*Judge:* Will you sweare or noe.

*G. ff:* Christ comands mee not to sweare at all; and y^e^ Apostle James likewise; whether must I obay God or man, I putt {it to} thee, soe Judg thee.

*Judge:* I will not disputt with thee George fox, com Read y^e^ oath to him, and soe y^e^ oath was Read, and when it was Read, Give him y^e^ book said hee, and soe a man y^t^ stood by him held up y^e^ book and said Lay your hands upon y^e^ booke.

*G. ff:* Give mee y^e^ booke in my hand; which sett them all a Gazing, as a hope he would have sworne; then when hee gott y^e^ booke in his hand, he held it up, and said it is comanded in this book not to sware at all; if it be a bible, I will prove it; and he saw it was a bible, and he

[a] Narrative continued on page 62.

held it up, and then they plucked it out of his hand againe, and cryed will you sware, will you take y^e^ oath (of) allegience yea or nay.

*G. ff:* My allegience to y^e^ king lyeth not in oaths, but in truth and faithfullnes, for I honnor all men, much more y^e^ king, but Christ saith I must not sweare, y^e^ Great prophett y^e^ Saviour of y^e^ world, and y^e^ Judg of y^e^ world; and thou saith I must sware, whether must I obay Christ or thee, for it is in tenderness of Conscience, that I doe not swere, in obediance to y^e^ Comand of Christ and y^e^ apostle, and for his sake I suffer, and in obedience to his Comand {doe} I stand this day; and wee have y^e^ word of a king for tender consciences besids his speeches and declarations at Bredah, and dost thou owne y^e^ king.

*Judge:* Yes I owne y^e^ king.

*G. ff:* Then why doest not thee owne his speeches and declarations conserning tender Conscience: to the which he Replyed nothing, but Georg said, it is in obediance to Christ y^e^ saviour of y^e^ world and y^e^ Judg of y^e^ world (before whose Judgment seatt all must be brought) that I doe not sweare, and I am aman of a tender conscience; and then y^e^ Judge stood upp.

*Judg:* I will not be a fraid of thee thou speakest soe loud, thy voyce drownes mine, and y^e^ Courts: I must call for 3 or 4 Cryers to drownd thy voyce, thou hast good lungs.

*G. ff:* I am a prisonour heare this day for y^e^ lord Jesus Christ sake y^t^ made heaven and earth, and for his sak I suffer, and for him doe I stand this day; and if my voyce ware five tims Louder yet should I sound it out, and lift it up for Christ sake; for whose Cause sake I stand this day before your Judgment seatt, in obedience to Christ command; who commands not to swere before whose Judgment seat you must all be brought and give an account.

*Judge:* Sirrah will you take y^e^ oath.

*G. ff:* I am non of thy Sirrah, I am no Sirrah, I am a Christian, art thou a Judge and sitts their, and gives names to prisonours; thou ought not to give names to prisonours.

*Judge:* I am a Christian two.

*G. ff:* Then doe Christian works.

*Judge:* Sirrah thou thinkest to fright mee with thy words; and looked aside, and said I am saying soe againe.

*G. ff:* I speak in love to thee, that doeth not becom a Judge; thou oughtest to Instruct a prisonour of ye law; and ye Scripture, if he ware Ignorant, and out of ye way.

*Judge:* George ffox I speak in love to thee.

*G. ff:* Love gives noe names.

*Judge:* Wilt thou sware: wilt thou take ye oath, yea or nay.

*G. ff:* As I said before, whether must I obay God or man, Judg thee, Christ comands not to sware: and if thee: or yee: or any minister, or prist heare, will prove yt ever Christ or ye Aposstles: after they had forbiden swareing, commanded they should sweare: then I will sweare: and seaverall prists being their never a on appeared.

*Judge:* George fox will you sware or noe.

*G. ff:* Its in obediance to Christ command, I doe not sware, and for his sake wee suffer and you are sencible enough of swearers how they first swere one way and then another, and if I could take any oeth at all upon any ocation; I should take that, but it is not denying oaths upon ocasions, but all oaths, acording to Christ doctring.

*Judge:* I am asarvant to ye king, and the king sent mee not to disputt: but to put his laws in execution; will you sware tender the oath of allegiance to him.

*G. ff:* If thou love the king, why doeth thou break his word, and not owne his declarations, and speeches to tender consciences from Bredah, for I am a man of a tender conscience, for in obedience to Christ comand I cannot sweare.

*Judge:* Then you will not sweare, take him a way Gaoler.

*G. ff:* It is for Christ sake I cannot sware, and in obedience to his commands I suffer and soe the Lord forgive you {all}. And {soe} ye mighty power of God was over all.

The 16th day of ye same month, Georg fox was brought before ye Judge the second time, where he was a little offended at his hatt; being ye last morning before he was to depart away and not many people.[a]

*Judge:* Ye Judg {he} Read A paper to him, which was whether he would submit; stand mutt; or travish, and soe have Judgment past; he spake boeth these, and many

[a] Ellwood editions add *he made the less of it.*

more words soe very fast and in hast that wee could not well tell what he said.

*G. ff.:* I desier it might be travisht and tryed {that I may have the liborety}[a].

*Judge:* Take him a way then I will have noe more with him; take him a way.

*G. ff.:* Well live in y^e^ feare of God; and doe Justice.

*Judge:* Why have I not don Justice.

*G. ff.:* That which thou hath don, hath bine against y^e^ comands of Christ.

Lett Coppies of these be sent among ffriends.]

[1][*the inditment of gf at lankester*

Lanc̃ Ss

Memorand̃ quod ad Assizas et Generalem Deliberacoñ Gaole in Com̃ Pallatiñ Lancastr̃ tenť apud Castrum Lancastr̃ in Com̃ predicť Die Jovis vizť Decimo Die Marcij Anno Regni Dom̃ nrī Caroli secdī Dei gracia Anglie Scoc̃ ffrancie Et Hib̃nie Regis fidei Defensor̃ etc Decimo sexto Coram Thome Twisden Milite vno Justiciar̃ De Banco Dom̃ Regis Et Capitał Justiciar̃ ad assizas in Com̃ Lancastr̃ predicť capiend̃ assignať Et Cristophero Turner milite vno Barroñ Scacarij Dcī Dm̃ Regis apud Westmonastr̃ Et Altere Justiciar̃ Dm̃ Regis ad Assizas in Com̃ Lanc̃ predicť capiend̃ assignať ad Gaolam illam in Com̃. de prisonar̃ in Ea Existeñ ad Deliberand̃ Et ad pacem in Eod̃ Com̃ Conservand̃ nec non ad Diversa feloñ transgressioñ Et alia malefacta in Com̃ predicť ppetrať audiendũ Et terminandũ assignať p sacrm̃tũ proborũ Et Legaliũ hominũ Com̃ predicť Impannellať Et Jurať ad Inquirend̃ p Dcõ Dm̃ Rege et Corpore Com̃ predicť Extitit presentanť quod Georgius ffoxe nuper de Swartmore in Com̃ Lanc̃ geñ qui Undecimo die Januarij Anno Regni Dm̃ Regis Caroli šcdī Anglie Scotie ffrancie et Hybernie ffidei Defensoris etc decimo quinto fuit Etatis octodecem Annor̃ Et Ultra ad tunc apud Lancaster in Com̃ Lanc̃ super querimoniã eis facť per Gardenũ Ecche[2] de Lancaster requisitus fuit p Wiłmũ

[a] This insertion is in another hand; it is not clear where it should be placed.

Spencer Armigeř Thomã Carus[1] Armigeř Robtũ Rawlinson[2] armigeř Nathaniell West[3] armigeř Henricũ Porter armigeř Matheũ Richardson[4] ař Danieł Fleemeinge ař Wiłłmũ Kirkby ař et Wiłłmũ West ař Justič Dnī Regis ad pacem in Coř Lanč Conservanď assigñ ad Sessioñ pacis tenť ibř die et Anno suprď (Eodem Wiłłmõ Spencer ad tunc Existeñ de le quoř) ad tunc et ibř capere super sacro Evangelio quoddam Juramenť menconať et Contenť in quodam actu Parlařtī Dnī Jacobi nuper Regis Anglie tenť p prorogačoem apud Westř in Coř Miď quinto die Novembris Aõ Regni sui Anglie ffrancie et Hybnie tertio et Scotie tricessimo nono Ediť et proviš in his Anglicanis Verbis sequenť vizt :—

I George ffoxe doe truly and sincerely acknowledge professe testifie and Declare in my Conscience before God and the world that our soveraigne Lord Kinge Charles is lawfull and rightfull Kinge of this Realme and of all other his Ma^ties Dominions and Countreyes.

And that {Poupe} neither of himselfe nor by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome or by any other meanes with any other hath any power or Authority to depose the King or to dispose of any of his Ma^ties Kingdomes or Dominions or to Authorize any fforreigne Prince to Invade or annoy him or his Countreyes or to discharge any of his subjects of their Allegiance or obedience to his Ma^tie or to Give licence or leave to any of them to Beare Armes raise Tumult or to offer any Violence or offer hurte to his Ma^ties Person state or Government or to any of his Ma^ties subiects within his Ma^ties Dominions Alsoe I doe sweare from my hart that notwithstandinge any Declaraçon or sentence of Excommunicaçon or deprivaçon made or granted or to bee made or granted by the Pope or his successors or by any authority derived[a] from him or his See against the said Kinge his heires or successors or any absoluçon of his said subiectes from their obedience I will beare ffaith and true allegiance to his Ma^tie[b] and him & them will defend to the

[a] Marginal note:—"These words following left out, viz.—Or pretended to bee derived."

[b] Marginal note:—"These words following left out, viz.—his heires and successors."

uttermoste of my power against all Conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall bee made against his or their persons their Crowne and Dignity by...[a] Colour of any such sentence or Declaraçon or otherwise and will doe my best Endeavour to disclose and make knowne unto his Ma^tie his heires and successors all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall knowe or heare of to bee against him or any of them And I doe further sweare that I doe from my hart abhorr detest and abiure as impious and hereticall this damnable Doctrine & position that Princes which bee Excomunicated or deprived by the Pope may bee deposed or murthered by their subiects or any other whatsoever And I doe beleeve and in my Conscience am Resolved that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoever hath power to absolve mee of this oath or any part thereof which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to bee lawfully ministred unto mee and doe Renownce all pardons and dispensaçons to the Contrary And all these thinges I doe plainly & sincerely acknowledge and sweare accordinge to the Expresse words by mee spoken and accordinge to the plaine and Common sence and Understandinge of the same words without any equivocation or mentall Evasion or secret Reservation whatsoever And I doe make this Recognition and acknowledgment heartily willingly and truly uppon the true ffaith of a Christian soe God mee helpe.

Ad quod idm̃ Georgius ffoxe ad tunc s̈cleť dicto Undecimo die Januarij Anno decimo quinto suprd ibm̃ apud Lanc̃ pred in Com̃ pred Coram prefat̃ Justic̃ obstinate recusabat Capere Juramentũ illud ac q̃d superinde pred Georgius ffoxe per prefat̃ Justic̃ pacis ad tunc et ibm̃ p quoddam Warrant sub manib̃s et sigillis dic̃ Justic̃ Comissus fuit Comũ Gaole dicti Dn̄i Regis Com̃ Lanc̃ pred ibm̃ remansur̃ sine Ballivo vel manucapc̃oẽ usq̃ prox̃ Assizas et Generł Gaole pred Deliberacoñ p C....[b]]

[c]And ye oath was alsoe tendred to M. ff{ell} (whoe was sent to prison by Flemminge)[1] {& Kirby & ye olde Preston}

[a] One or two words are missing, owing to the bottom right-hand corner of the sheet being torn away.

[b] Corner of page torn.

[c] Narrative continued from page 57.

att ye same assises [as in ye narrative of our suffringes att y^t^ time may bee seene more at large].

And then I traverst ye Indictment & then they committed mee till ye next assises[1].

And there was one Major Wigan[2] {a prisoner &} a[a] preacher: a very wicked man: & hee boasted what hee would say att ye assises if ye oath were putt to him & y^t^ hee woulde refuse to swear: but when ye oath was tendred to him hee desired time to consider of it & before ye assises came againe hee gott leave to goe to {London} but did not come doune againe ye next assises: but stayde att London & there hee & his wiffe was cutt off by ye plague ye Judgements of God came upon them: whoe had given foorth a very wicked booke[3] against freinds full of lyes & blasphemies.

For whilst hee was in Lancaster Castle hee chaleng ffreinds to have a dispute with y^m^ & I gott leave of ye goaler to goe uppe to y^m^: & hee affirmed y^t^ some men never had ye spiritt of God: & y^t^ ye true light which enlightned every one y^t^ cometh Into ye worlde was naturall.

[Soe I tolde him seeinge there was liberty for any one to speak: I had somethinge to say {to him}: ffor] hee affirmed [as before y^t^ some men had not ye spiritt of God &] y^t^ Balam had not ye spiritt of God.

Soe I proved & affirmed y^t^ Balam had ye spiritt of God & y^t^ [b]wicked men had[b] ye spiritt of God else howe coulde they quench it & greive it & vex it & resist ye holy ghoast like ye stiffe necked Jewes.

And alsoe I shewed him y^t^ ye true light which enlightned every man y^t^ cometh Into ye worlde was ye life in ye worde & y^t^ was devine & {not naturall} hee might as well saye y^t^ ye worde was naturall as y^t^ ye life {in} ye worde was naturall.

And wicked men was enlightned by this light else howe coulde they hate it.

And ye reason why they did hate it was because there deeds were evill & they would not come to it because it reproved y^m^ & y^t^ must needs bee in y^m^ y^t^ reproved y^m^.

And y^t^ light coulde not bee ye scriptures of ye new

[a] Ellwood editions insert *Baptist*

[b]...[b] Between the two words *wicked* and *had*, several words, originally written or inserted, have been erased, and cannot now be deciphered.

testament for it was before ye 4 evangelists & ye Epistles & revelations was written.

Soe it must bee ye devine light which is ye life in Christ ye worde before scriptures was written: & ye grace of God which brought salvation had appeared unto all men: which taught ye saintes.

And they y$^{t}$ turned It into wantonnesse & walked despitefully against ye spiritt of grace was ye wicked & ye spirit of truth ye holy ghoast ye Comforter: which leades ye disciples of Christ Into all truth: ye same should reprove ye worlde of sin of righteousnesse & of Judgement & of there unbeleife.

Soe ye wicked worlde had it to reprove y$^{m}$: & ye true disciples & learners of Christ y$^{t}$ beleived in ye light as Christ commandes had it to leade y$^{m}$: but ye worlde y$^{t}$ did not beleive in ye light though they was enlightned: but hated ye light which they should beleive in & loved ye darkenesse rather: yett this world had a righteous nesse & a Judgement which ye holy ghoast reproved y$^{m}$ for there {un}beleife [righteousnesse & there Judgement].

Soe I proved heere y$^{t}$ ye good & ye bad was enlightned & y$^{t}$ ye grace of God had appeared unto y$^{m}$ {all} & y$^{t}$ they had ye spirit of God else they coulde not vex it & greve it.

Soe I tolde him ye least babe there might see him & there stoode uppe one Rich: Cubham & proved him an antichrist & a deceiver by Scripture.

Then the goaler had mee away to ye prison: & hee[a] beinge poore sent Into ye Country for ye poore [suferinge] people of God in prison for releife for y$^{m}$.

And soe many people did give freely: thinkeinge it had beene for us: but when wee came to heare of it wee layde it upon him: & writt Into ye Country to lett frends & people know ye truth: {& y$^{t}$ it was not usuall for us to have Collections made for us &} how y$^{t}$ those Collections was onely for Wigan & another drunken preacher: of his[b] y$^{t}$ woulde bee soe drunke y$^{t}$ hee lost his briches: & soe hee writt a booke of this dispute & putt in abundans of abominable lyes & after went uppe to London as aforesaid & there ye Lord cutt him off in his wickednesse as aforesaid & his wiffe: & I was kept in prison till ye next assises.[c]

[a] That is, *Wiggan* as in Ellwood editions.
[b] Ellwood editions add *Society*
[c] Narrative continued on page 72.

[1][*to the iustis of the seshones at lankester. sueferings of frends 1664*

These for y^e^ Justices at y^e^ quarter sessions now sitting at Lancaster which are som of y^e^ greevances & afflictions & sufferings of y^e^ people called quakers, which is contrary to Law equity & Justice, y^t^ is inflicted upon them by som of y^e^ officers in y^e^ countrie which is noe honour to Justice nor you, which our desire is y^t^ you may doe Justice & see y^t^ Justice bee don & y^t^ you may limmitt & stopp such officers as acts contrary to Law Justice & Equity & this will bee to your honour.

*First* Thomas Harrison of Car house neare Garstange Market Toune had A Cow taken from him about y^e^ beginnig of y^e^ 11^th^ Month last by Henry Curren Baylive for {2} weapon take reasts which was one shilling, y^e^ Cow was well worth two pounds fiftine shillings & y^e^ church wardens so called tooke A Churne from y^e^ said Thomas Harrison y^e^ 14^th^ of y^e^ second month for one shilling 8 pence which was worth 4 shillings & turned noe thing againe, soe for two shillings 8 pence they tooke goods worth 3 pounds 4 pence.

*2^ly^* The thirtinth of y^e^ second month Willam Houghton Baylive for A fyne imposed y^e^ sessions before this 13^th^ day of y^e^ second month, 1664, for A fyne of ten shillings they took from Thomas Benson of Ulverston A Brass pott worth 14^th^ shillings & 4 peauter dishes worth 4 shillings & returned noe over plus which came to 8^th^ shillings.

*3^ly^* The same time by y^e^ same Baylive for A fyne of thirty three shillings 4 pence demanded of Robert Wales, they tooke A Heffer worth 2 pound six shillings 8 pence & returned noe overplus which came to 13 shilling 4 pence.

*4^ly^* For A fyne at y^e^ same Time by y^e^ same Baylive for one pound six shill 8 pence, they tooke 2 heffers from Robert Brigs worth 2 pound 6 shillings 8 pence & returned noe thing againe being 22 shillings more then y^e^ Baylife should have had.

*5^ly^* The same Baylive for A fyne of one pound six shillings 8 pence for meeting together, they tooke from Thomas Crosfield 6 bushells 3 peckes of Malt, 3 new sackes A brass Morter & {a} brass pott which goods was worth

2 pounds sixtine shillings & returned noe thing againe of y^e^ overpluss which came to one pound nine shillings & 4 pence.

*6^ly^* The same Baylive for A fyne {of} one pound six shillings 8 pence for meeting together he tooke from James Lancaster A horse worth 3 pounds six shilling 8 pence & returned noe thing againe of y^e^ overplus which came to 2 pounds.

*7^ly^* The same time the same Baylive for A fyne of one pound 13 shilling 4 pence for meeting together he tooke A horse from Richard Claiton[1] stood him in 6 pound 8 shillings, tooke his horse out of y^e^ plow when he was plooing & soe broke his draught & returned him noe thing againe of y^e^ overplus, which over pluss came to 4 pounds 14^th^ shillings 8 pence & sould y^e^ said horse for about one & 22 shillings & threattens to come againe for more goods.

*8^ly^* The same time by y^e^ same Baylive for A fyne for meeting together 3 pound 6 shillings 8 pence he tooke 2 Cowes from Richard ffell of Beakelife worth 4 pounds ten shillings which overpluss came to 1 pound 3 shillings 4 pence & returned noe over pluss againe.

*9^ly^* The same time by y^e^ same Baylive for A fyne for meeting together one pound 13 shillings & 4 pence he tooke one Cow from Thomas Haverig a poore man having noe more to give him milke; Judg of this.

*10^ly^* George ffell a poore pettie Chapman had his goods taken from him in y^e^ Market & mad havoke of for meeting together & his wife being of another perswation paid mony & tooke them againe & this y^e^ aforesaid Baylive William Houghton did in ffournass to y^e^ people of God called Quakers for peaceable meeting together which is but som of y^e^ Havocke & sufferings he did upon them.

*11^ly^* •Fifth day of y^e^ second {m^th^} 1664 William Houghton came & brought A Counstable with him & tooke from James Rigge of high Wray 2 yong stires worth 4 pound ten shillings & one cow with calfe worth two pounds ten shillings contrary to y^e^ Late Acte, for James Rigge was not convickted at theire sessions of any transgression of y^e^ Law neither by his owne confession nor by y^e^ Verdict of 12 men nor by notorious evidence of y^e^ fact nor so much as examined upon any accompt nor whether he was at {the} meeting or noe but onely a man called him by his name & bad him

come up to y^e^ Barr & there was noe more said unto him nor laid against him yet never y^e^ less the Magistrates fyned y^e^ same James Rigge in 3 pounds 6 shillings 8 pence contrary to y^e^ late act {a man} unconvickted & gave warrant to William Houghton to streine & fetch his goods which he did, to y^e^ vallew of seven pounds as aforesaid, & so see whether heare bee Justice don in this to send a Baylive to fetch a mans goods unconvickted of y^e^ Law contrary to the Law & keeps them.

*12^ly^* The fifth day of y^e^ second month 1664, William Houghton Baylive came & tooke away A black horse from Richard Walker of Yue tree worth three pounds & y^e^ said Richard was not convickted at theire sessions of any transgression neither by his owne confession nor by any other evidence whatsoever, nor soe much as examined whether he was at y^e^ Meeting or not, but onely called by his name & said noe more unto him & after y^t^ was fyned in one pound thirtine shillings fower pence, a man unconvickted contrary to y^e^ Law & late act, y^e^ overplus being one pound six shillings eight pence but turned noe thing againe.

*13^ly^* The same Balive Houghton about y^e^ same time tooke from Gyells Walker neare Hawkesid tooke too yong stieres worth 4^li^ & said he was fyned in 2^li^ thirtine shilling fore pence & y^e^ said Giles Walker was not in his list but one Miles Walker of Hawkeshead & {he} put y^e^ letter M. out y^t^ stood for Myles & put in G: for Giles, & heare you may see if this bee not unjust, for Justice preserves a people but injustice ruins them, & y^e^ Baylive turned him noe thing againe; these before mentioned was for meeting together to worship God.

*ffirst* Richard Parke of Sunbricke for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had his Griddle y^t^ he was to bake his bread on taken from him by y^e^ Counstable which was worth 13^s^ 6^d^ & noe thing turned againe y^e^ overpluss being 9^s^ 6^d^.

*2^ly^* William Simson of Sunbrecke for foure shillings fyne for not goeing to y^e^ steeplehouse & he being in prison had goods taken from him worth nine or ten shillings & noe thing returned againe being poore people y^e^ over plus being 5 or 6^s^.

*3^ly^* Richard Asburner of Beackeley for 4^s^ fyne for not

going to y^e^ steeplehouse had his Griddle taken from him which he should have baked his bread on by y^e^ Counstable worth 11^s^ being a poore man & his Wife being able to doe litle & having a Charge of Children & nothing returned againe y^e^ overplus being seaven shillings.

*4^ly^* Thomas Borwicke of Beackeley for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had A bushell of pease & A sacke taken from him by y^e^ Counstable & his sacke turned againe.

*5^ly^* James Chambers of Gleaston for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had A pott & a pan taken from him by y^e^ Counstable worth 8^s^ y^e^ pott being on y^e^ fyre boyling meate for his family y^e^ Counstable tooke it of & offered to put it among y^e^ swines meat & nothing turned againe, y^e^ overplus being 4^s^.

*6^ly^* Richard Cleaton of Gleaston for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had A pott taken from him by y^e^ Counstable worth 12^s^ & had noe thing turned againe y^e^ overplus being 8^s^.

*7^ly^* John Goad[1] of Gleaston for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had A pott & a pan taken from him by y^e^ Counstable & noe thing returned againe.

*8^ly^* Jane Symonsoon Widdow of Rowesbecke for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had A bushell of bigg taken from her & A sacke by y^e^ Counstable & had noe thing turned againe.

And most of these being excommunicated out of y^e^ steeplehouse before som of them had exortation nor ssitation to theire knowledg, And Thomas Curren of Beackeley who hath been in prison above three yeares & is in prison yet & is excommunicated out of theire steeplehouse & fyned for not coming to y^e^ steeplehouse 4^s^.

And when we did goe to y^e^ Spirritual Court instead of exorting & convinceing of us in scripture way they gave us bad words & excommunicated us whether they spoke to us or noe without any exortation, so you y^t^ are to doe Justice we would have you to doe us Justice concerning these things for these are but som of y^e^ afflictions y^t^ are inflicted upon us.

*9^ly^* Robert Salthouse & William Salthouse of Dragley-beck[2] for 8^s^ fyne for not comming to y^e^ steeplehouse had

fower pare of shoose taken from them by y^e^ Counstable worth aleaven shhillings 6^d^ & noe thing returned againe.

*10^ly^* Robert Briggs of Hollamire for 4^s^ fyne for not goeing to y^e^ steeplehouse had 4 peauter dishes taken from him worth 6^s^ & had noe thing turned againe.

*11^ly^* Thomas Benson of Ulverston for 4^s^ fyne for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse had A pan and A peuter dubler taken from him worth 7^s^ & had noething turned againe.

John Hulme of Ulverstone fyned 4^s^ for not going to y^e^ steeplehouse {&} y^e^ Counstable borrowed 6^s^ shillings of him & for this fyne he kept {it} all & turned nothing againe.

*ffirst* Thomas Chorley of Carnforth about y^e^ 11^th^ Month 1663 was indicted at y^e^ sessions for goinge to a meeting being in y^e^ worshipp of God, was fyned 20^s^ & for it had A Cow distrained, Cost him 4^li^, which Cow was releassed by A Neighbour y^t^ owed him mony & so sent home againe.

*2^ly^* Robert Widder for going to A meeting was committed to prison {&} there remained nine weekes then was fyned 3^li^ 6^s^ 8^d^ for which William Houghton A Baylive tooke too Cowes worth 6^li^ 10^s^ of which one came againe about y^e^ beginning of this yeare 1664.

*3^ly^* Thomas Leaper for being at A meeting was Imprisoned 9 weekes & afterwards fyned in 1^li^ 13^s^ & 4^d^, for which y^e^ Baylive tooke A meare worth 4^li^ which was releassed by his brother.

*4^ly^* John Backhouse[1] was also prisoned 9 weekes & then fyned 1^li^ 3^s^ 4^d^ which his mother caused to bee paid to y^e^ said baylive by A neighbour.

*5^ly^* William Weathman[2] for being at a meeting was also imprisoned 9 weekes & fyned 1^li^ 13^s^ 4^d^ which y^e^ Baylive had from his father.

*6^ly^* Thomas Cam for being at y^e^ meeting was prisoner 9 weekes & then fyned 2^s^ for which y^e^ Baylive tooke A pott which A neighbour loosed being A poore man.

*7^ly^* Christopher Chorley of Carnforth for being at y^e^ Meeting was prisoner 9 weekes & then fyned in 2^s^ which his Granfather payde;

*8^ly^* his father also being prisoner for y^e^ like & yet is contineued in prison.

*9^ly^* William Hugginson & Robert Hubberstie was taken out of theire owne house & sent to prison for 9 weekes.

The Baylive y^t^ distrayned on them was William Houghton.

Most of these was excommunicated without any exortation or Cittation to theire Knowledg & when they had made y^m^ uncapable of Coming to y^e^ steeplehouse they fined y^m^ in 4^s^ a month, & also fined y^m^ for meeting peacablely to waite upon y^e^ lord of which many of y^m^ suffered imprisonment 9 weekes & were fined afterwards: & do you not know they were but to suffer 3 months by y^e^ act. fforthermore you may see what abusise & Havock & spoyle the Baylives maks of us Concerning tiths & other things above mentioned, & all for tendernes of Conscience & not in rebellion nor contempt to any man.

John Berley of Lancaster was summoned to A Court Liet & Court Barron Houlden {at} Alkelife under Robert Dalton of Thurnam & there to bee of A Jewry, & because for Conscience sake he could not sweare they fyned him in A 11^s^ 8^d^ as y^e^ sayd, & within a while after y^e^ said Robert Daltons baylive called Robert Sturgecar came upon his ground & tooke fiftine sheepe from him which A litle before cost 3^li^ 3^s^ 4^d^ & sould them in Lancaster Market.

The same John Berley was summoned to A court holden at Lancaster William West being Maior y^t^ year & because for Conscience sake he could not sweare {being warned to bee} of A Jewry he was fyned 6^s^ 8^d^ & afterwards Thomas Edmundson y^e^ Baylive of y^e^ Towne y^e^ next Court after sued him as a Just debt due to him & hath at this time A Judgement against him to cast him into prison.

Bryne Hodgeson of Lancaster because for Conscience sake he could not sweare being summoned to bee of A Jewry was fyned 6^s^ 8^d^ by Willam West being Maior y^t^ yeare & Thomas Edmundson being Baylive tooke from his shopp a paire of bootes worth about 13^s^ & returned noe thing againe.

Rodger Hartley was sued by Raphe Ashton, Impropriator for Tythe Corne vallewed at 12^s^ 6^d^ & had taken from him by Giles Hammond Baylive & one y^t^ came with him A kearsey peece worth 37^s^ y^e^ first.

Steven Segarr was sued by Raphe Ashton Impropriator for Tyth corne vallued at 11^s^ 3^d^ And by Giles Hamond & William Berry had wool taken from him worth 35^s^.

John Segarr was sued by Raphe Ashton Impropriator for Tyth corne vallued by themselves at 18$^{s}$ 9$^{d}$ & had taken from him by Giles Hamond & William Berry 2 kearsey peeces worth 3$^{li}$ 15$^{s}$ & 6$^{d}$.

Richard Hargreaves of y$^{e}$ Edge end was sued by Raphe Ashton Impropriator for Tyth Corne vallued at 1$^{li}$ 2$^{s}$ 6$^{d}$ & had taken from (him) by Giels Hamond & William Berry 2 kearsey peeces worth 4$^{li}$ 3$^{s}$.

Robert Bruise of Hatlex was sued for Tythes by Thomas Berry & William Rippon Tyth farmers & cast at Comon Law at y$^{e}$ Assizes at Lancaster in 40$^{s}$ damag as theire witness bore evidence & then cast in treble damage being 6$^{li}$: & upon y$^{e}$ 26$^{th}$ day of y$^{e}$ first month last y$^{e}$ Baylive Aurand tooke A horse worth 3$^{li}$ one Cow worth 3$^{li}$ & 3 yonge beasts worth 5$^{li}$ the horse was sent againe & soe kept goods worth 8$^{li}$ & if I could have agreed it, it may bee 20$^{s}$ would have fitted, but y$^{t}$ I durst not doe for Conscience sake.

And priest Briggs of Boulton sent one Thomas Wilkinson who tooke A goose of myne in y$^{e}$ high way for Tyth of Geese, he haveing but 6 yonge ones in all.

William Beanes of Wire side had A pan taken from (him) worth 2$^{s}$ 4$^{d}$, by Robert Hatherwet called A churchwarden for 1$^{s}$ demanded as he said for y$^{e}$ church & had noething returned againe, in Second month 1664.

Taken from John Minshall A flich of Bakon to y$^{e}$ vallew of 10$^{s}$ y$^{e}$ demand was 2$^{s}$ for small Tythes—taken from Jo: Minshall brass to y$^{e}$ vallew of 8$^{s}$ y$^{e}$ demand was 5$^{d}$ for maintaining of y$^{e}$ steeplehouse—taken from John Minshall peauter to y$^{e}$ vallew of 5$^{s}$ y$^{e}$ demand was 2$^{d}$ for repairing of y$^{e}$ steeplehouse—taken from Joh: Minshall A brass pan to y$^{e}$ vallew of 1$^{li}$ for not swearing & one shilling 2$^{d}$ for tyth—taken from John Minshall goods to y$^{e}$ vallew of 6$^{s}$ for not paying 4$^{d}$ to repaire y$^{e}$ steeplehouse—taken from John Minshall a pan worth one shilling 8$^{d}$ for not paying 2$^{d}$ to repaire y$^{e}$ steeplehouse.

The said John Minshall suffered Imprisonment near 8 months for about 3 thrane of oates taken of John Minshall 2 stieres worth 4$^{li}$ for tyth vallewed at 9$^{s}$—taken from John Minshall A cow worth 4$^{li}$ for about 5 thranes of barley—taken from John Minshall 2 brass pans to y$^{e}$ vallew of 2$^{li}$ for one thrane of tyth barley & ten sheaves of beanes.

We desire y^e^ Chife Justicess or Judges or barrons of y^e^ Assizes now houlden at Lancester to read or cause to bee Read these following lines which are but som of y^e^ grievous sufferings And afflictions of us y^e^ people called quakers.]

[a][1664] And att ye assises Judge Twisden & Turner came doune againe & Turner sate then upon ye crowne bench: & I was brought {uppe before him} to pleade to ye traverse of my Indictment.

And ye Indictment was reade & I had Informed my selfe of ye errors contained In ye Indictment & aunswered & pleaded to y^m^: butt hee tooke noe notice off y^m^: as may bee seene in ye followeinge relation of my traverse: & pleadinge to ye errors more at large.[b]

[1][*gf traille at lankester 1664 befor iudge torner the somer sisises*]

The last Asizes heeld at Lancaster the 29^th^ of y^e^ 6^th^ Moneth (1664).

I: George ffox being Called before the Judg was put Amongst y^e^ Murtherers And ffellons & there stood Amonge y^m^ above 2 houres people & y^e^ Justices & Judg Gazeinge upon mee: & there they tryed Many thinges before y^e^ Judge: & they Called mee to y^e^ bar & then y^e^ Judg Caused Mee to bee brought, & hee then Caused y^e^ Jury to bee Called: And then hee Asked y^e^ Justices: whether they had tendered Mee y^e^ oath, at y^e^ Sessions: & they said they had, & y^e^ Judge Caused y^e^ booke to bee Geven to y^e^ Justices: ffor y^m^ to sweare: they tendered Mee y^e^ Oath Accordinge to y^e^ Indictment, & some of y^m^ Refuised it, & y^e^ Judge said hee would do it: to take awaye occasion y^t^ there Might bee No occasion, & y^e^ Justices swoare: y^t^ they tendered mee y^e^ oath accordinge to y^e^ Indictment, & when they and y^e^ Jury was sworne, y^e^ Judg Asked mee whether I had Refuised y^e^ oath, y^e^ last Asizes, & I said: y^t^ I never tooke oath in My life & Christ y^e^ Saviour & Jud(g)e of y^e^ World saith sweare Not at all: & y^e^ Judg Asked Mee

[a] Narrative continued from page 64.
[b] Narrative continued on page 79.

whether or No I had Not refuised to take y^e^ oath y^e^ last Asizes: & I said y^e^ words y^t^ I said to y^m^ was: y^t^ if they Could prove Either prist or teacher: or y^e^ Justices y^t^ after Christ & y^e^ Apostles had fforbiden sweareinge: y^t^ after y^e^ Comandement Men should sweare: I would sweare, the Judge said: hee was Not at y^t^ tyme to dispute whether it was Lawefull to sweare: but to enquire whether I did refuise to take y^e^ oath or No.

*G: ff:* Those things as Concearneinge Plots: & y^e^ popes & fforaigne Power Contained in y^e^ oath: I utterly denyed: Judg said I said wel in y^t^, I said Againe to y^m^: as I had said before y^t^ if they Could prove: y^t^ after Christ & y^e^ Apostles forbade sweareinge, y^t^ Againe they Commanded to sweare, I would sweare: but Christ & y^e^ Apostle Comanded Not to sweare, therefore I should shew forth Christianitie ffor I am A Christian: & hee Asked Mee Againe whether I had denyed y^e^ oath: what did I saye I answered: what would you have Mee to saye: I have tould thee before what I said: then then the Judg Asked him if hee would have those Men to sweare: y^t^ hee had taken y^e^ oath, then G: ff: Answered would thou have those Men to sweare, y^t^ I have refused to take y^e^ oath: at which y^e^ Court bourst out into Laughter: G: ff: Asked y^m^ if this Court was apleai house, where is Gravity & Sobriety: ffor y^t^ did Not become y^m^, & so y^e^ Indictment beinge read: I toulde y^e^ Judge, I had somthinge to speake to it & I asked him, whether all y^e^ oath, was to bee put into y^e^ Indictment, & hee said yis why then said I: heare is pretended to bee derived, & his heires & sucsessors left out: & I Asked him whether: the oath was to bee put: to y^e^ Kinges subiect, & hee said yis: I answered why am Not I put in: Asubiecte According to the Act: & ffurther said the oath tendered to Mee, is Not y^e^ same oath in y^e^ Acte Jury take Notice of it, but Judge said I must[a] speake to y^e^ Jury: at which y^e^ Judge read y^e^ oath: & ffound it was as I said: & hee stood up & said: hee Could put y^e^ oath to Mee, or Any Man in y^e^ Court, [& so the began: to bee destourbed within y^m^selves & alsoe y^e^ Justices: & there began to bee Amurmuringe Against y^e^ Clarkes:] & y^e^ Judge hee Got up: & began to Cover y^e^ error: so I Asked y^m^ whether or No: the last

[a] Ellwood editions insert *not*

elleventh daye: of Jenuary: the sessions was kept at Lancaster, which the call Munday, & whether or No: the sessions was Not on that they call tuesday the 12th of Jenuary: [all People take your Almanackes:] & see whether Any oath was tendered to G: ff the 11th of Jenuary: whether ye sessions was Not upon the 12th & ye Clearkes & People looked there Almanacks: & sawe it was the 12th & ye Judge Asked whether ye 11th was Not ye ffirst daye of ye Sessions: And they Answered there was but one daye & it was ye 12th, & ye Judg said: then it was A great Mistake, & then ye Justices: was struck: & some of ym, Could have ffound in there hearts to have Gon {of the bench} & stamped & said they had donn it on purpose, & said what Clarks did it: & A great stur was Amonge ym: & then I spoak to ye Jury: how yt they Could Not bring Mee in Guilty Accord to ye Indictement. Judg said: I must not speake to ye Jury but hee would speake to ym, & ffurther said you refuised it at ye Asizes: & I can tender ye oath to Any Man Now: & Premunire him for Not takinge it, & said they Might bring Mee in Guilty: I denying ye oath: then I said what should you doe with A forme, then you May throwe your fforme Awaye: & then I tould ye Jury yt it laye upon there Consciences: as they woulde Answer ye Lord God: before his Judgment seate, before whom all Must bee brought: & so the Judge spoake to Mee, & said hee would heare Mee Afterwards Any reasons yt I could Alledge wherefore hee should not Give Judgment: & so hee spoake to ye Jury, & I bid him do Mee Justice, & do Justice, & so ye Jury brought in ffor ye King: Guilty: & I tould ym then: that the Justices had fforsworne ymselves & Jury both: & so they had small Cause to Laugh as they did Alittle before [& to saye I was Mad: & before I had brought out My reasons: I stood A little while: & ye Judge said: hee Canot dispute, but then ye People said hee is too Cunning for ym all: when I had brought out My Reasons: how Conterary to there owne indictment, they had don & sworne & brought Mee in Guilty].

Oh the envie & Rage & Mallice there was Against Mee & lightnes: but ye Lord Confounded it all, yt Abundance of it was slaine, & so I tould ym I was No Lawyer, &

y^e^ Judge said hee would heare Mee, what I could Alledge before hee did give Judgment, & so I cryed all people Might see, how they had fforsworne y^m^selves, & Gon Conterary to there owne Indictment & so there envie & Mallice was Wonderfuly stopt, & soe presently: M: ff: was Called who had Agreat deale of Good service Amonge y^m^: & so y^e^ Court broake up: Neere y^e^ 2^cond^ houre.

Many More words weare spoken Concearneing y^e^ truth, & so in y^e^ After Noone, wee weare brought up: to have our sentance passed upon us: And so M: ff: desired y^t^ Judgment & sentance Might bee defered till y^e^ Next Morneing & wee desired Nothing but Lawe & Justice at his hand, ffor y^e^ theives had Mercy, & I desired y^e^ Judge, to send some to see My prison being so bad they would put No Creature {the had} in it, it was so Could & Rainenie, & I tould him y^t^ Coll Kerbie who was then on the bench said I should bee Locked up: & No fflesh Alive should Come at Mee, & Most of y^e^ gentry of y^e^ County being Gathered together exspecting to heare y^e^ sentance: but they weare Crossed y^t^ time: so I was had Awaye to My prison, & some Justices with Coll Kerbie, went up to see it, & when they Came up in it, they dorst hardly goe in it, it was soe bad: Raineing & windy & y^e^ badnes of y^e^ floore & others y^t^ Came up said it was A Jakes house ffor I being Removed out of y^e^ prison which I was in fformerly: & so Coll Kerbie said: I should bee removed from y^t^ place eare longe to some Convenianter place, & other words, & the Judge shaked his hand & tould them, when y^e^ sentance was Geven, hee would leave Mee to y^e^ ffavour of y^e^ Jaylor: & they weare all Crosed in y^t^: ffor hee spoake to y^e^ Judge in y^e^ Court: how I was Not Afit Man: to bee Conversed with None should Converse with Mee, & all y^e^ Noyse: Amonge y^e^ People was y^t^ I should bee transported.

And so y^e^ Next daye towards y^e^ 11^th^ houre, wee weare Called forth Againe: to heare y^e^ sentance & Judgment: but M. ff. was Called ffirst: before Mee to y^e^ bar: & there weare some Counsellors: pleaded & ffound Many erors in her Indictment & so shee was put by: After y^e^ Judge Acknoweledged y^m^ & then y^e^ Judge Asked what they Could saye to Mine, & I was willing to let No Man speake for Mee, but to speake to it My selfe: & tho M: ff: had some y^t^ pleaded for her,

yet shee spoake as much her selfe As shee would: though they had y^e^ Gretest envie Against mee: yet y^e^ Most Gross erors was ffound in Mine, And before I came to y^e^ bar I was Moved to praye y^t^ the lord would Confound there wickednes & envie And set his truth over all: & exalt his seed [The thundering Voyce said: I have Glorified thee: & will Glorifie thee Againe: & I was so ffilled full of Glorie y^t^ My head & eares: was ffilled ffull of Glorie: & then when {the} trumpets & Judges Came up Againe, they all Apeared as dead Men under Mee]: & so when I was to Answer to y^e^ erors of the Indictment, seing y^t^ all y^e^ oath as hee said himselfe was to bee in, I tould him there was Many words of y^e^ oath left out (which was pretended to be derived & his heires & sucessors) & I bade y^m^ looke y^e^ oath: & looke the Indictment, & they Might see it, & they did & ffound it According to My words & I asked them whether the last Asizes houlden at Lancaster was y^e^ 15^th^ yeare of y^e^ King, which was the 10^th^ daye of March, & y^e^ said naye it was the 16^th^ yeare of y^e^ King: then said I looke y^e^ Indictment, & see whether or No it was Not y^e^ 15^th^ yeare, & then they weare all of Afret both Judge & Justices & could not tel what to do: And then y^e^ Jud(g)e bade them looke whether M ff: was so or Noe, & it was Not so, I tould y^m^ I had something else to speake Concearneing y^e^ Indictment, but they said Naye I had spoken enough [so the Indictment was throwne out] soe I tould y^m^ they had small Cause to Laugh as they had don before ffor they Might see howe the Justices & Jury weare fforsworne Men, & so I bade them do Mee Justice, And hee said I should have Lawe, & y^e^ Judg said I was Cleere ffrom all the fformer, & hee started up in Arage, & said but hee would profer Mee y^e^ oath Againe, I tould them they had example enough ffor swearenge & ffalse swearenge, both Justesses & Jury yesterday beefore there ffaces, ffor I sawe before My eyes y^t^ both Justises & Jury fforsware themselves: who hard y^e^ Indictment.

And so hee Asked Mee whether I would take the oath: I bade him do Mee Justice for My ffalse Imprisonment all this while, ffor what had I beene Imprisoned all this while for: for I ought to bee at Liberty, then hee said I was at Liberty: but I will put y^e^ oath to you Againe, then

I tourned Mee About & Cryed all People take Notice this is Asnare: And all was Mighty Quiet, & all People weare struck & Astonished, & hee Caused y^e^ Grand Jury to bee Called, for hee had Called on y^m^ before when I was with him, when hee sawe they would bee overthrowne & y^e^ Jury would ffaine have beene dismist: but hee tould y^m^ hee Could not dismis y^m^, ffor hee had buisness ffor y^m^, & they Might bee Redy when hee Called y^m^, & I felt his intent, y^t^ if I was ffreed hee would Com on Againe so I looked him in y^e^ fface, & y^e^ Witnes started up in him, & Made him blush, when hee looked at Mee Againe, ffor hee sawe y^t^ I sawe him.

So hee Caused the oath to bee Read to Mee, & Caused the Jury to bee Called, & then when y^e^ oath was Read: hee Asked Mee wether I would take y^e^ oath or No, & y^e^ Jury standing by: I tould him I never tooke oath in My life, & hee bade them give Mee y^e^ booke, & bade y^m^ give it mee in My hand: & I opened it: & hee bade Mee sweare, & I tould him the booke said sweare Not at all, & I held it open to them, & by the booke I would prove y^t^ Men should Not sweare, & if they would prove y^t^ after Christ & the Apostles had Comanded Not to sweare, Afterwards Comanded to sweare I would sweare, ffor I was Aman of Atender Conscience, & if they had Any sence of Atender Conscience they would Consider this, & y^e^ Judge Asked Mee whether I would take y^e^ oath: & bade y^m^ give Mee y^e^ booke Againe, I tould y^m^ you give Mee the booke to sweare, & y^e^ booke saith I should Not sweare: & so you Maye prison the booke: Ju(d)ge said but wee will Imprison G: ff: I answered Nay you Maye Imprison the booke, which saith sweare Not at all, & so the sheriff & y^e^ Judg said the Angell swoare in y^e^ Revelation, & I said I bring forth My {ffirst} begoten sonne into y^e^ world saith God, let all the Angills in heaven Worship him, who saith sweare Not at all, & y^e^ Judge at After hee would Not dispute & so then I spake Much to y^e^ Jury: how y^t^ it was ffor Christs sake y^t^ which I did, & therefore None of them to Acte Conterary to {that of God in} there Consciences for before his Judgement seate, they Must all bee brought & as for all those things Contained in y^e^ oath as plots & persecuteing aboute Religion & poperie I deny y^m^ in My heart, & I am A christian, & shall shew fforth Christianitie this daye: & it is

for Christs sake, I stand [ffor it is Lotish shabiun becoll daber[a], & they all Gazed: & there was A great Calme] & then they tooke Mee Awaye, but there was Many More words both to y^e^ Jury & to them.

Then in y^e^ after Noone wee were Called Againe, wheere I (s)tood Amongst the theeves Apretty while with My hat on, at y^e^ last the Jaylor tooke it of, & when I was Called to y^e^ bar: the Jury brought in y^e^ New bill ffound Against Mee, for Not takeinge y^e^ oath: & y^e^ Judg Asked what I Could saye for Myselfe.

I bade y^m^ Read y^e^ Indictement I would Not Answer to y^t^ I did Not heare & as the Read y^e^ Judge bade y^m^ take heed y^t^ it was Not ffalse Againe & they Read it so Mazedly y^t^ when they spoake to Mee: I did hardly understand what they said, And the Judg Asked Mee, what I would plead I tould y^m^ I desired to have Acopie of y^e^ Indictment, & have some time to Answer to it, ffor y^e^ last I had but lately: & Never hard it read but onst over, & then in y^e^ Court, & so y^e^ Judg Asked Mee, what time I would have, & I said till y^e^ Next Asizes then hee Asked Againe what I would plead: I tould him, y^t^ I was Not Guilty at all of denying sweareing obstinately & wilfully & those things Contained in the oath: as Jesuitticall plots & fforraigne powers: I utterly deny y^m^ in My heart, & I never tooke oath in My life, & if I could take Any I would take y^t^: And hee said I said well, And the Judg said the King was sworne, the Parliment was sworne, & hee & y^e^ Justices weare sworne & y^e^ Lawe was preserved by oathes, & I tould y^m^ they had suffitient experience of Mens sweareinge, ffor had Not the Justices & Jury forsworne themselves, And had they Not read y^e^ booke of Marters: how Many of y^e^ Marters suffered: because they Could Not sweare, both in the ten persecusions: & in Bonners dayes: & y^e^ Judg said: I would the Lawes weare otherwayes.

*G: ff:* Our yee is yee & our Nay Nay, & if wee transgress our yee, & our Nay let us suffer as they doe y^t^ do breake An oath: & so to deny sweareing in obediance to Christs Comands is No Newe thing, And this wee had sent to y^e^ King who said it was Reasonable, & so after severall More

[a] לֹא־תִשָּׁבְעוּן בְּכָל־דָּבָר "Lo-tishshab'un bekŏl-dabar." "Ye shall not swear by anything." Note archaic verb-termination.

words I said if the Justices & you & your teachers: Can Convince Mee: After Christ & y^e^ Apostles fforbid swearing: y^t^ after y^t^ they Comanded, y^t^ people should sweare, I would sweare.

*Judge.* All y^e^ whole world Canot Convince you.

*G. ff:* is it like y^e^ world should Convince, The whole world Lyes in wickednes: Christ was ffrom heaven & his doctrine heavenly: & so they pased awaye ffrom y^e^ Court, & I was had Awaye to My Chamber, being...[a]

And so y^e^ truth & y^e^ power of y^e^ lord God: was Glorious over all: And Many spirits was Crossed Greveously in there envie & Mallice.

There was Many things spoken both to Judg Jury & People, which weare too Large to Mention.

G: ff:

[b]And then after many words with him I was had backe to prison againe: & after a while I was brought uppe before him againe to have sentence pronounced against mee & then sentence was deferred till ye next day.

And ye next day I was brought before him againe & Mar: ff{ell}.

And after hee had past sentence upon ye theifes then hee askt mee what I had to say y^t^ hee might not passe sentence against mee.

And I tolde him I had much to say if hee woulde but have patiens to heare mee.

And then hee laughed {& set others a laughinge} & said come what have you to say: hee can say nothinge.

Yes said I: I have much to say have but thee patiens to heare mee.

Then I askt him whether ye oath was to bee tendred to ye kinges subjects or to ye subjects of foreigne princes.

Then said hee to ye subjects of this realme.

Then I said to him looke your Indictment & there you may see you have left mee out as a subject: for ye oath is to bee tendred to ye kinges subjects to see howe they

[a] Several words obliterated by fold in the paper.
[b] Narrative continued from page 72.

stande in pointe of {their}[a] loyalty to ye kinge & you haveinge left out ye worde subject you have made mee uncapable of {takeinge} ye oath: haveinge not named mee as a subject: soe not in a capacity of takeinge it for thou graunts It is not to bee tendred to any but ye kinges subjects.

And then they lookt ye statute: & ye Indictment & saw it was as I said & hee confest it was an error.

Then I said I had somethinge else to say to stoppe his Judgement.

Then I askt him what day of ye month ye oarth was tendred to mee att ye sessions at Lancaster: & they said such a day of ye month [as you may see in ye relation at large].

Then I bid y$^{m}$ looke there Almanackes: & see whether there was any sessions helde at Lancaster y$^{t}$ day which ye Justices had sworne they tendred oath to mee {on}.

And when they had lookt they saw there was noe sessions {helde} y$^{t}$ day: nor oath tendred to mee y$^{t}$ day: as ye Justices had sworne in ye face of ye Country y$^{t}$ they had tendred ye oath to mee such a day att ye sessions: whereas there was noe sessions {nor oath tendred to mee} y$^{t}$ day.

And ye Judge said y$^{t}$ was a great error & a mistake & some of ye Justices was in a rage & said whoe has donne this some body has donne it of purpose.

Then said I: are not ye Justices heere forsworne men in ye face of ye Country: & perjured persons.

Then I askt y$^{m}$ what day & what yeere {of ye Kinge} ye Assizes was helde in ye last Assises when they tendred ye oath to mee: for hee swoare: ye Courte y$^{t}$ they had tendred ye oath to mee such a yeere accordinge to ye Indictment & they lookt ye Indictment & there Almanackes & saw y$^{t}$ they had sworne a whole yeere false.

Then they was in a rage againe & stampt: now said I: is not ye Court heere: y$^{t}$ have sworne soe against mee: perjurd persons & have not you false swearinge enough heere: whoe putts ye oath to mee y$^{t}$ cannot sweare at all because Christ forbidds it.

Then I said I have somethinge else to say: to thee to

[a] This insertion is in another handwriting, which occurs at intervals in the MS. Compare the spelling *their* with the usual *there*.

stoppe thy sentence: Whether all ye oath is to bee put In{to} ye Indictment {or noe} yes said ye Judge {all ought to bee putt in}.

Then said I: looke ye Indictment & ye oath: & there you may see {these wordes (viz)} a power pretended to bee derived from Rome from ye Pope: left out: in ye Indictment which is a principle matter in ye oath.

[And if I shoulde take ye oath accordinge to this Indictment then I graunt y$^{t}$ a power may come from Rome & take away ye kinges power.]

Then ye Judge acknowledged this was a nother great error.

Then I said I had somethinge farther to say to him to stoppe his Judgement.

Thou graunts all ye oath is to bee put Into ye Indictment then reade ye Indictment {againe} & thou wilt see: these words his heires & successors is left out for was not ye oath given foorth In {Kinge} James Reigne: & was not Kinge Charles ye first his heire & Kinge Charles ye seconde there successor: & therfore you leaveinge out those words his heires & successors you have left out ye kinge & his father: & is not ye oath to bee taken to ye kinge: & howe can I take ye oath to ye kinge when you have left him out & soe made noe kinge of him & if I take this oath Itt must bee to you: seeinge ye kinge is left out.

Then ye Judge acknowledged this alsoe to bee an error.

Then I said I had yett somethinge farther: to alleage to stoppe his sentence.

Then said ye Judge I have enough: butt I said if thou hast enough I desire nothinge but law & Justice att thy hands for I doe not looke for mercy.

Then said ye Judge you must have Justice: Why then said I am I att liberty & free from all y$^{t}$ ever hath beene donne against mee in this matter: yes said ye Judge {you are free from all y$^{t}$ has beene donne against you}: but said ye Judge I can putt ye oath to any man heere: & I will tender you ye oath againe.

Thats a snare said I: which all people may take notice of: for I ought to bee sett free from ye goaler: & this Courte: if I am a free man: as thou says I ought to bee:

& yett thou tendrest ye oath before I am {at} liberty but thou ought to lett mee bee at liberty & then thou mightst have donne thy will.

But hee cryed give him ye booke: & ye sheriffe & ye Justices cryed give him ye booke: & then ye power of darknesse risse uppe in $y^m$ like a mountaine. And severall {Clarkes} lift upp a bible to me.

And soe at last I standinge still: I said if it bee a bible give it mee Into my hande: yes yes said ye Judge & Justices give it to him Into his hande.

And when I had it in my hande I looket Into it & said I see it is a bible & I am glad of it.

Then said I you have given mee a booke to kisse & to sweare on: & ye book says kisse ye son & ye son says sweare not att all: & likewise ye Apostle James.

And as I was turneinge $y^m$ {to} ye places: & holdeinge uppe ye bible & tellinge $y^m$ $y^t$ I said as ye booke said & $y^t$ Christ said yee shoulde not swear att all: I wondred ye bible was at liberty & howe chance they did not Imprison ye booke: for it & Christ forbidd swearinge & yee Imprison mee because I cannot sweare: how chance ye booke is at liberty amongst you: $y^t$ yee doe not Imprison ye book $y^t$ forbidds to sweare as well as mee.

Then they pluckt ye bible out of my hande: & this gott abroade all over ye Country: as a by worde: $y^t$ ye bible shoulde bee at liberty & I in prison: whoe said as ye book said: whoe gave mee a booke to sweare on $y^t$ commanded not to sweare at all.

Then ye Judge caled ye grande Jury: & reade ye oath againe to mee: & caled mee to say after ye Clarke: but I tolde him I {never} tooke any oath covenant nor engagement in my life: & had they not sufficent experiens howe men had sworne one way & then another way: & howe ye Justices & ye Court had beene forsworne men [& my loyalty to ye kinge lay in yea & nea which was more then an oath]: & if ye Judge or Justices coulde convince mee: $y^t$ after Christ {& ye Apostle} had forbidden swearinge: $y^t$ they did alter there command after $y^t$: & commande men to sweare: then shew it mee & convince mee of this & I woulde sweare.

And there beinge a many preists there I said: if they coulde not doe it: lett ye preists stande uppe & doe it: &

if they coulde not doe it lett ye bishopps come & doe it: but never a one of ye preists made any aunswer.

But at last: ye Judge said all ye worlde cannot convince you.

Then said I: ye whole worlde lyes in wickednesse bringe out your spirituall men as you call y$^{m}$ to convince mee.

Soe after: many more words: ye Judge bid ye goaler take mee away.

And M: ff: they praemunired & hee past sentence upon her.

And [ye next day] they brought mee againe before ye same Judge: & there they reade a large Indictment against mee & askt mee whether I was guilty or not.

And I said att once hearinge over a paper att a great distans from mee: I coulde not aunswer: but if they woulde lett mee see it & give mee time to consider of it: I might aunswer: att which they were at a stande.

And at last they graunted mee time.

Then I tolde y$^{m}$ I was not guilty of ye matter: & manner but I shoulde traverse it: & soe they entred it.

And many more words I had with ye Judge [as may bee seene att large].

And soe they committed mee againe to {close} prison: & Coll Kirby gave order to ye goaler y$^{t}$ noe flesh alife must come att mee for I was not fitt to bee discourst with by men.

Soe I was putt uppe in a smoaky tower[1]: where ye smoake of ye other roomes came uppe & stood as a dew upon ye walls: where it reined in alsoe upon my bed: & ye smoake was soe thicke as I coulde hardely see a candle sometimes & many times lockt under 3 lockes: & ye under-goaler woulde hardely come uppe to unlock one of ye upper doores ye smoake was soe thicke: y$^{t}$ I was almost smothered with smoake & soe starved with colde & raine y$^{t}$ my body was almost nummed & {my body} swelled with ye colde.

And many times when I went to stoppe out ye raine of mee: in ye colde winter season: my shift would bee as wett as mucke: with raine y$^{t}$ came in upon mee: & as fast as I stopt it ye winde beinge high & feirce would blow it out again: & in this manner did I ly all y$^{t}$ longe cold winter till ye next assises.

And when ye next Assises came Twisden & Turner came doune again.

And then Twisden sate upon ye crowne bench before whome I was had.

And I had Informed myselfe {againe} of ye errors {y$^{t}$ were} In this Indictment {alsoe though} att ye assises before Judge Turner said to ye Courte: I pray see y$^{t}$ all ye oath bee in ye Indictment & {y$^{t}$} ye worde subject & ye day of ye month & ye yeere of ye Kinge {bee in} for it is a shame y$^{t}$ soe many errors shoulde bee seene & founde in ye face of ye country.

And soe when they reade this 2$^{d}$ Indictment & ye oath hee tryed it & ye rest of y$^{m}$ & therfore they thought y$^{t}$ all was safe & well.

But they had made for all this as many errors: in this Indictment as in ye other: & left out ye worde subiect & ye day of ye month {alsoe}.

For when I was brought before Judge Twisden I askt him whether ye oath was to bee tendred {to} ye kinges subjects or to ye subjects of foreigne princes & hee said to ye subjects of this realme {for I will speake nothinge to you but in pointe of law {sayde hee}}.

Then said I: looke to your Indictment & there you may see they have left mee out as a subject in this 2$^{d}$ Indictment & thou sayst It is not to bee tendred to foreign princes subjects but to ye subjects of this realme.

And accordinge to James ye 3$^{d}$: It was to bee tendred to ye kinges subjects: & in James ye 7$^{th}$ it was enacted: & therfor you haveinge left mee out as a subject you have made mee uncapeable of takeing ye oath & ye Court is to take noe notice of it.

Then cryed Twisden take him away goaler: soe I was hurled[a] away [as may bee seen of these matters mor at large: in ye followinge relation]: & ye goaler & all people lookt when I should bee brought out again but they never brought mee foorth to ye Court any more.

[And in the errors: you may see they said ye oath was putt to mee 5 days before ye first Indictment was quasht.

And Insteade of sayinge ye oath was tendred to mee at Lancaster in ye days of Kinge Charles: they said in ye

[a] Ellwood editions: *hurried*

Indictment y^t^ ye oath was putt to mee at Westminster in ye days of Kinge James then & there by ye said Justices.]

Alsoe they mist ye day when it was tendred & left out ye worde subject: & some words out of ye oath againe.

But ye Judge woulde not lett mee plead to these later errors.

And hee had sworne ye Courte y^t^ ye oath was putt to mee ye last Assises there such a day: & had hee let mee pleade to my Indictment I coulde have proved ye Courte forsworne men againe: by there Almanackes & ye Indictment.

[But I hearde they had sent ye Indictment to London to see if it woulde stande & they was Informed y^t^ It woulde not stande & soe they woulde not lett mee pleade to it.]

Neverthelesse they reconed mee as a premunired person & I grew through smotheringe in a Colde & smoakey prison very weake but ye Lords power was over all.[a]

[1]*[gf his tryall at lankester the 3 asises 1664–5*

The Sixtenth day of y^e^ Moneth called March 166$\frac{4}{5}$ the lent {assises} Sessions beganne at Lancaster and upon the 22^d^ of the same Moneth I was called before Judge Twisden and they read the indictment and called a Jury and swore them.

*First.* The Clarke asked mee if I had any thinge to Alledge against any particulars of the Jury.

*G. ff.* I told him I knew none of them—Then they swore three men how that the Oath was proferd to mee the Last Assizes

*Judg.* The Judge said Come come, it was not done in a Corner. And then hee asked mee what I had said, or whether I had taken the Oath the last Assizes.

*G. ff.* I told him what I said—i.e. They gave mee the Booke {to swere on} and the Booke saith sweare not at all—and if that they could prove y^t^ after that Christ Jesus and the Apostle had denyed that men should sweare—And after Commanded that they should swear I should sweare —those were my words y^t^ I had said and my Allegiance

[a] Narrative continued on page 89.

lay in truth and faithfullnes and not in swearing for they had Example enough how the Justices and Jury fore sware themselves y^e^ last Assizes—And so in that should all your Allegiance lye if you did well—And I did not deny swearing upon some account and owne it upon another account but because said {Christ saide} I should not Sweare at all.

*Judg.* And so the Judge said hee would not dispute with mee but in poynt of law.

*G. ff.* Then I have something to speake to the Jury Concerning the Indictment and then hee would not sufferr any thing to be spoken.

*G. ff.* And then I asked him whether the Oath was to be tendred to all y^e^ Kings subjects.

*Judg.* And hee said yes.

*G. ff.* Then Why am not I put in into the Indictment as a Subject but y^e^ word Subject is left out of your indictment as you may looke in your Indictment which is your forme—and you may see how the word Subject is left out —So it doth not Concerne mee and the Court is to take no Notice of it for I do understand y^t^ the Oath of Allegiance was not made for fforreigne Princes but it was to bee tendred to all the Kings Subjects And it was Enacted by Parliament to be tendred to all y^e^ Kings Subjects James the iij^d^ and James the vij^th^.

*Judg.* Take him away, take him away,—And the Goaler tooke him away and when y^t^ G. ff was taken away —The Judg asked whether they were agreed—And the Jury said for the King, And so the Judg said no more.

And so G. ff was called no more and many Errors hee had to speake of in the Indictment but hee was called no more.

And hee heard that they themselves had the Indictment amongst them and they saw they were at a losse in the thinge and had the worst on it.

And some other words there were but this is y^e^ substance.]

[1][*Errors in G: ffs Indictment*

*First*

The Assizes were held the twentieth fift of August, and the oath tendred the thirtieth of August it ought to have

been shewed in the record that the Assizes were to be continued till the thirtieth of August.

*Secondly*

Att Westminster to the same George Fox then and there by the said Justices tendred.

*Thirdly*

Who the twentieth {fift} of August being brought to the barre that is to say the thirtieth of August and so whether the thirtieth was the twentieth fift.

Before Thomas Twisden, and Christopher Turner the oath tendred by them.

*Fourthly*

It doth not appeare in the indictment that Georg Fox is any subiect of the King.

James the third

The Act was for the better tryall of the Kings subiects.

James the seaventh

It was to be tendred to all the Kings subjects by Act of Parliament.

(Oath) Against the said king—and said is left out of the Oath—against the king and not the said king may bee meant King James.

To their Allegiance or Obedience and so this lyes in dispute whether—for and is left out.

*Lastly*

The twentieth fift of August came George Fox in his owne person and pleaded not guilty to the indictment—and so hee is said to plead not guilty before any Indictment be made against him—for I was not called till the thirtieth of August.]

[1][*More Errors In G: ffs Indictment att Lancaster.*

*First:* The Assize being said to be held the twentieth fift day of August and the Oath tendred to him the thirtieth of August, it ought to have been shewen and sett forth in the record, that the Assizes were continued till the thirtieth of August which is a manifest error.

*Secondly:* Its said in the record, that George Fox was required to take the Oath mentioned and contained in a certaine act of Parliament of the third of King James held by

Prorogation att Westminster, and to the same George Fox then and there by the said Justices tendred—So that Westminster being the last place mentioned before the *then* and *there* and it not appeareing by the record that the Assizes was continued till the thirtieth of August it may bee taken to have been tendred att Westminster which is an uncertaintie—and therefore an error.

*Thirdly:* It doth not appeare by the Indictment that George Fox is a subject of the King, and if no subject hee is not bound to take the Oath—for the statute of the third of King James shews that the Oath was made to try how the Kings subjects stood affected in their Allegiance and in the statute of the seventh of King James it is prayed that all the Kings subjects may take it, and it cannot bee thought that it was ever intended for the subjects of other princes, for that were unreasonable to compell the subjects of another prince to sweare Allegiance to the King of England, but was intended for naturall borne subjects—yet it not appearing in the record that hee is a naturall borne subject—

The court takes no notice of it.

*Fourthly:* By the Record it appeares that the Assizes were held the twentieth fift of August, and that the Oath was tendred the thirtieth of August, and yet the record sayes, and Now att this aforesaid sessions held here—to witt att Lancaster before the Justices aforesaid, the aforesaid twentieth fift day of August came the aforesaid George Fox and pleads not guilty—So that by this record hee is said to plead not guilty to the indictment before they have cause of indictment against him—For by the record the Oath was not tendred till the thirtieth of August and yet by the same record hee is said to plead the twentieth fift of August, which is a manifest repugnancy and so an apparent error.

Who the five and twentieth day of August being brought to the Barre that is to say the thirtieth of August.

Before Thomas Twisden & Christopher Turner there was required.

James the third.

The act was for the better tryall of the kings subjects & James the seaventh

It was to be tendred to all the kings subjects by Act of Parliament.]

[1][This is offered to the court to stay the Jud{g}ment.

1. The oath of allegiance beinge ordained to try how the kings subjects stood affected to him in their allegiance, and the statut's speakinge in many places of it's being tendered to subjects the judgement of the court is desired whether the party indicted ought not to bee expressed in the record to bee a subject; and in-as-much as the party indicted is not soe exprest in the record, Whether it be not sufficient cause to stay the judgement.

2. The record being that the Justices on the eleventh day of January in the fifteenth yeare of the king required George Fox to take the oath, and that the said George Fox did then obstinately refuse to take the same and thereupon was committed to the gaole untill the next Assizes, and that the said George Fox at the next Assizes held the tenth of March in the fifteenth yeare of the king being required againe to take the oath, refused which assizes was held on the tenth of March in the sixteenth yeare of the king and not in the fifteenth yeare of the kinge as in the record is alledged, and therefor it is apparant errour.

Now whether such errour bee not sufficient cause to stay the Judgement.]

[2a][1664] And when I was in prison att Lancaster: there was a great noise of ye turke spreadinge over Christendome & a great feare in Christendome[3] & as I was walkeinge in my prison Chamber: I saw: ye Lords power turne against him: y^t^ hee was turneinge backe againe.

And soe within a month after: ye news booke came doune wherein it was mentioned y^t^ they had given him a defeate.

And this I declared to some what ye Lord had lett mee see when there was such feares of his overspreadinge Christendome.

And another time as I was walkeinge in my Chamber: with my eye to ye Lord: I saw ye angell of ye Lord: with

[a] Narrative continued from page 85.

a glitteringe drawe sworde southwarde: & as though ye Courte had beene all off a fire: & not longe after: ye warrs begann with Holland[1] & ye sicknesse[2] begann[a]: & ye Lords sworde was drawne[3].

And then I was removed to Scarborough: & ye first day I came out of y^t^ prison ye fire[4] broake out in London: & then I saw ye Lord God was true & Just in his worde y^t^ hee had shewed mee.

And yett few people layde it to hearte but grew rather more wicked & higher in pride.

And wee had a frende[5] y^t^ was moved to come out of Huntingeton sheere before ye fire & {to} scatter his money uppe & doune ye streets & to turne his horse loose in ye streets: & to untye his briches knees & lett his stockens fall: & to unbotton his dublett & to tell ye people soe should they runn uppe & doune scatteringe there money & there goods halfe undrest like mad people as hee gave y^m^ a signe: & soe they did when ye fire broake out & ye Citty was burneinge.

And thus ye Lord has exercised his prophetts [& people] & servants by his power: & shewd y^m^ signes of his Judgements: & some they beat & evilly entreated & Imprisond both in ye other powers days & since but ye Lord is Just & happy are they y^t^ obeys his worde.

And many has been moved to goe naked in there streets as signes of there nakednesse: & many men & women has beene moved to goe [{naked &}] in sackecloth in ye other powers days & since as signes of there nakednesse from the image of God & righteousnesse & holynesse & how y^t^ God would strippe y^m^ & make y^m^ bare & naked as they was: but insteade of consideringe of it they have many times whipt y^m^ & imprisoned y^m^ or abused y^m^.

[And in O: P: days many was moved to goe som to ye great Turke & to Jerusalem: & to ye Pope: & to warn y^m^ of ye day of ye Lord: & to preach his everlastinge gospell & much tryalls & sufferinges they went through but ye Lords power did upholde all ye faithfull yea even to death.]

And [in his days] ye preists putt uppe severall petions: to O: P: & his son R: C: & to ye parlaments: & Judges &

[a] Ellwood editions add *and afterwards the Fire of London*

Justices [& ye sessions] against us stufft full of lyes & vilifyeinge words & slaunders: but through ye Lords power wee gott y^m^ & aunswered y^m^ all: & wee cleered ye Lords truth & our selves of y^m^.

Butt oh ye body of darknesse y^t^ risse against ye truth: whoe made lyes there refuge but ye Lord swept y^m^ away & in his power & truth light & life hedged his lambs about: & did presserve y^m^ as on eagles winges.

And therfore I & wee had great Incouragement to trust to ye Lord: whome wee did see by his power & spiritt howe hee did overturne & bringe all ye Confederates & councells & darknesse y^t^ was hatcht against ye truth & his people to nought & by the same truth gave his people dominion y^t^ in it they might serve him.

[1][1664] There was great Imprisonements: in this & ye former yeere: & severall was banished: & many was crowded Into Newgate where ye sicknesse was & many freindes dyed In prison [for very many were Imprissoned as aforesaid: betwixt these 2 yeeres].

And severall was sett on shippeboarde by ye kinges order[2]: & some masters sett y^m^ a shoare againe: & som were sent to Barbadoes & Jamaica & to Mevis & ye Lord there blest y^m^ & one master of a shippe which carryed ffreindes: was soe plagued for his wickednesse {whoe kept freindes under deckes though ye sicknesse was amongst y^m^ & many dyed of it}: & hee lost most of his {sea}men {also} with ye plague & lay: for severall months Crost with contrary windes though other shipps past out & went there voyages: & att last hee arrived In ye sounde att Plymouth: & there ye governor & magistrates woulde not suffer him nor none of his men to come a shoare: though hee wanted many necessaryes for his voyage: butt freindes went to ye shippes syde & carryed necessaryes to ye shippe for freindes: Tho: Lower & Jo: Light of Plymouth & other ffrendes went with it: to y^m^.

And soe ye master beinge sore crost & plagued & vext: hee cursed y^m^ y^t^ putt him upon this fright: & hopet hee shoulde not goe farr before hee was taken.

And within a litle time y^t^ ye vessell went foorth of ye sounde of Plymouth shee was taken by a Dutch: man of

warr: & carryed Into Hollande: & ye banished freindes were sent Into Englande by ye states of Hollande with a lett passe: & certificate.

And at last ye Lords power came over all & many of our persecutors was ashamed & confounded [& largely I might write off these thinges but ye bookes of suffringes testifyes of it more at large].

[1665] And about 6 weekes after they gott an order {for removeall off mee from Lancaster}: & Coll. Kirby threatned y^t^ I shoulde bee sent farr enough & beyonde sea.

And soe ye order came doune for ye removeall of mee: from ye kinge & his Councell: & there came another letter from ye earle of Anglesey[1]: y^t^ if those thinges were founde {true} against mee y^t^ I was charghed withall I deserved neither clemency nor mercy.

And ye greatest matter they had against mee was because I coulde not disobey ye commande of Christ: & sweare.

And ye undersheriffe: & ye heade sheriffes man: & some bayliffes came & fetcht mee when I was not able to goe or stande: & had mee out of y^t^ smoakey prison being very weake: & had mee doune to ye goalers house: where was Will Kirby a Justice & ye undersheriffe {& severall others}.

And soe they caled for wine to give mee but I tolde y^m^ I woulde have none of there wine.

And then they cryed bringe out ye horses.

Then I desired y^m^ to shew {mee} a Copy of there order: if they Intended to remove mee: but they woulde shew mee none but there swords.

Then I tolde y^m^ there was noe sentence past upon mee nor {I} was not premunired & therfore was not made ye kinges prisoner but ye sheriffes: & they & all ye country {knew} y^t^ my Indictment was {not} fully pleaded unto: nor {ye} errors allowed which were sufficeent to have quasht ye Indictment: though they had kept mee from one assises to ye other to y^t^ ende to try mee: & they & all ye country knew y^t^ there was noe sentence passed upon mee of praemunire: & therfore as before said: they coulde not make mee ye kinges prisoner but ye sheriffes till I had pleaded &

aunswered to my Indictment: & therfore as I said before I desired to see there order.

But they haled mee out: & lifted mee uppe upon on of ye sheriffes horses: & when I was in ye street: ye tounds people being all uppe in ye streets: I tolde ye officers y$^{t}$ I had neither received of y$^{m}$ civvility [sobriety] humanity or Christianity.

And soe they hurryed mee away: about 14 mile: to Bentom & I was very weake & hardely able to sett on horsebacke & my cloaths smelt soe of smoak that they were loathsome to my selfe.

And ye wicked goaler: one Hunter[1]: a younge man: hee woulde come & give ye horse a whippe & make him skippe & leape: & then hee woulde come & looke mee in ye face & say: how doe you M$^{r}$ ffox: but I tolde him it was not civill In him to doe soe.

Butt ye Lord cutt him off soone after.

[And at last they mist & lost there way] but when wee came to Bentam {in Yorkesheere}: there mett us a many troopers & a marshall: & many of ye gentry of ye country was come in & aboundans of people: to stare at mee: & I beinge very weak I desired y$^{m}$ to lett mee lye of a bed: which ye souldyers permitted mee.

Soe they went Into a roome & left a guarde upon mee & gave ye marshall & ye souldyers there order. And soe after they had stayde there a while: they prest horses & raised ye bayliffe of ye hundred {& ye constables & others}: & soe had mee to Gigglsweeke y$^{t}$ night.

And an exceedinge weake man I was: & there they raised ye constables with there clogge shooes: whoe sate drinkeinge all night in ye roome by mee soe as I coulde not gett much rest.

And ye next day wee came to a markett tounde where there was severall freinds came to see mee: where Rob: Withers came to mee: & severall freinds upon ye roade.

And ye next night I askt ye souldyers whether they Intended to carry mee: & whether I was to bee sent & some of y$^{m}$ said beyonde sea & others of y$^{m}$ to Tinmouth Castell[2]: & a great faire there was amongst ye souldyers least some should rescue mee out of there handes but y$^{t}$ feare was needlesse.

And ye next night wee came to Yorke: & ye marshall putt mee uppe in a chamber: Into a great roome where there came most part of two troopes to see mee: & one of y^m beinge an envyous man: hearinge y^t I was premunired askt of mee whether my estate was Copy holde or free lande[a].

But I was moved to declare ye worde of life to ye souldyers & many of y^m was very loveinge: & at night ye Lord frettwel[1] y^t commanded ye horse came to mee & was very civill & very loveinge & I was made to declare many thinges unto him of truth & of ye reason of my Imprisonement.

And soe after they had stayde at Yorke 2 days: I was sent by ye marshall & 4 or 5 souldyers: to Scarborough Castle whoe were very civill men: & carryed y^mselves very loveingely to mee.

And as wee went wee baited att Malton: where they permitted ffreinds to come & visitt mee.

And when wee came to an Inn att Scarborough they sent for ye governor[2]: & hee sent for halfe a dozen souldyers: & sett y^m upon mee to bee my guarde y^t night: & ye next day: they conducted mee uppe Into ye castle.

And there putt mee Into a roome & sett a centaury on mee & I beinge weake & ready to fainte they lett mee goe a litle Into ye ayre with ye Century.

And after they removed mee: out of y^t roome [where there was another prisoner]: & putt mee in an open roome where I bestowed a matter of 50^s to keepe ye raine out of it: & from smoakeinge. And when I had donne they removed mee out of y^t & putt mee in{to} another {worse roome} where I had noe chimney nor fire hearth[3].

And whilst I was there that space beinge there att Scarborough many great persons came to see mee.

And there came on Sir ffrancis Cobb[4]: & ye governor Sir Jos. Croslande came with him: & I desired ye governor to goe Into my roome & see what a roome I had: & I had gott a litle fire made in it: & it smoakt soe y^t they coulde not finde ye way out of it: & hee beinge a papist I tolde him y^t was his purgatory: where they had putt mee into: & this was ye {former} roome y^t they removed mee out of after I had bestowed y^t cost upon it.

[a] Ellwood editions add *I took no notice of his Question*

And there came another {great} company of papists: & they affirmed ye Pope was Infallible & had stood Infallible ever since Peters time: but I told y^m^ & shewed y^m^ [out of Eusebius] y^t^ one of ye Bishopps of Rome[a] denyed ye faith & sacrificed to Idolls & therfore hee was not Infallible: & if they was in ye infallible spiritt they need not have goales swords & staves rackes & tortures {fires & faggotts whipps & gallowes} to holde uppe there religion.

And to destroy mens lifes: for if they was in ye infallible spiritt they woulde preserve mens lifes {& use none but spirituall weapons}.

Then I tolde y^m^ there was a woman in Kent y^t^ had beene a papist & had brought sevrall to y^t^ religion: & after shee came to bee convinced of Gods truth & turned by it to Christ her saviour: shee admonished ye papists to ye same: & one of y^m^ beinge a taylor whoe was workeinge att her house: as shee was admonishinge of him hee drew his knife at her & gott betwixt her & ye doore: & I askt ye woman what hee woulde have donne with his knife & shee said hee woulde have stabbed her & she bid him put uppe his knife for she knew his principle.

Stabbe thee said I: what woulde hee stabbe thee ffor thy religion: yes said shee it was ye principle of ye papists if any turned from there religion it was there principle to kill y^m^.

And I tolde y^m^: this was one y^t^ had beene of y^m^ y^t^ had forsaken there principles & had discovred there practises & hee did not deny it but said what woulde I declare this abroade: & I tolde y^m^ yes such thinges ought to bee declared abroade & howe contrary to true Christianity It was: & hee went away in a rage[1].

And then there came on D^tr^ Wittey[b2] which was esteemed a great D^tr^ {of physicke} & Lord fauconbridge[3] & ye governor of Tinmouth Castell[4] & sevrall knights: & this Wittey tooke uppe ye discourse & askt mee what I was in prison for: & I said because I woulde not disobey ye commande of Christ & sweare: soe hee said I ought to sweare my allegians to ye kinge: & hee was a great presbyterian: & I askt him

[a] Ellwood editions add in a parenthesis *Marcellinus by Name*

[b] Doubtless *Wittey* but the initial letter has been altered in each place where the name occurs.

whether hee had not sworne against ye kinge & house of Lords {& taken ye Scotch Covenant} And nowe had hee not sworne: for ye kinge & what was his swearinge good for.

And my allegians did not consist in swearinge but in truth & faithfulnesse.

And soe after a while: I was had away to my prison: after many more words {with y$^{m}$} & this Wittey boasted in ye townde amongst his patients y$^{t}$ hee had conquered mee: & I tolde Sir. Jos: Crosland Itt was a small boast in him to say hee had conquered a bounde man: & desired him to bid him come to me againe when hee came to ye castell: & hee came againe with a matter of 16 or 17 great persons[a].

And hee affirmed before {y$^{m}$} all y$^{t}$ Christ had not enlightned every man y$^{t}$ cometh Into ye worlde & y$^{t}$ ye grace of God had not appeared unto all men y$^{t}$ brough{t} salvation & y$^{t}$ Christ had not dyed for all men.

Then I askt him what sorte of men those were y$^{t}$ Christ had not enlightned: & his grace had not appeared to y$^{m}$ & y$^{t}$ he had not dyed for.

And hee said hee did not dy for Adulterers & Idolaters: & wicked men: then I askt him again whether Adulterers [b]& Idolaters[b]: & wicked men was not sinners: & whether Christ did not dy for sinners: & came not to call sinners to repentans.

And hee said yes: soe said I thou hast stopt thy owne mouth for I proved y$^{t}$ ye grace of God had appeared unto all men though some turned it Into Wantonnesse & walked despitefully against it: & y$^{t}$ Christ had enlightned all men though some hated it: & severall of ye people {confest y$^{t}$ it was true: & hee} went away in a {great} rage: & came noe more att mee.

And another time ye governor brought a preist but his mouth was soone stoppt: & another time after hee brought 2 or 3 parlament men: & they askt mee whether I did owne ministers & Bishopps: & I tolde y$^{m}$ yes such as Christ sent foorth & said freely you have received freely give & {such as} was qualifyed & was in ye same power & spiritt y$^{t}$ they was in in ye Apostles days.

[a] Ellwood editions add *and then he ran himself worse on ground, than before*

[b]...[b] These words are crossed out.

But such teachers {& Bishops} as theres was y^t^ woulde goe noe farther then they had a great benefice I did not owne for they was not like ye Apostles.

For Christ saith to his ministers goe yee into all nations & preach ye gospell: & you parlament men y^t^ keepes your preists & Bishopps in such great fatt benefices you have spoiled y^m^ all: for doe yee thinke they will goe Into all nations to preach [ye gospell]: or will goe any farther then they have a great fatt benefice Judge your selves.

Then there came a great Company with {ye old} Lord fairefax[1] his widow & a preist: & I was made to speake to y^m^ ye Truth: & ye preist askt mee why wee said thee & thou to people[a].

And I askt him whether they y^t^ translated ye scriptures & made ye grammor & accidens was fooles & Idioetts y^t^ left it soe translated to us: as thee & thou to a singulor & you to a pleural: & if they was fooles & Idioetts then why had not they {which lookt upon y^m^selves as} wise men y^t^ coulde not beare thee & thou to a singulor: altered both ye grammor accidens & bible: & made it pleurall insteade of singulor.

But if they was wise men y^t^ had soe translated it: then was not they fooles & Idiotts y^t^ did not practise it. And was {it not} wronge in y^m^ to bee offended att us y^t^ did practise it {& call us fooles & Idiotts}.

Soe many of y^m^ was pretty loveinge & tender: & acknowledged to truth & woulde have given mee money but I woulde not receive it.

And after this came D^r^ Craddock[2] with 3 preists more & ye governor & a great Company with y^m^ & his lady & {an} other lady.

And hee askt mee what I was in prison for: & I tolde him for obeyeinge ye Commande of Christ {& ye Apostle} in not swearinge: & if hee coulde convince mee y^t^ after Christ & ye Apostle had forbidden swearinge that then they commanded people to sweare: I might then sweare: as I had said to ye Judge at Lancaster.

And hee was a Justice of ye peace & if hee coulde

[a] Ellwood editions add *for he counted us but Fools and Idiots for speaking so.*

convince mee of this I woulde sweare: & heere was ye bible & bid him shew it to mee.

Then said hee: Itt is written you shall sweare in truth & righteousnesse [I tolde him I did commende him y$^{t}$ hee had brought scripture]: & I did beleive I could bringe as many Instances in ye old testament for swearinge as hee & it may bee more to: but what you was this: was it you Jewes or you Gentiles y$^{t}$ this commande was to: for hee knew y$^{t}$ wee was gentiles by nature. And where did God ever give a Commande to ye gentiles to sweare but to ye Jews: & soe was this you: to you Jews or you Gentiles or you Christians after Christ came in ye gospell times.

And unto this hee woulde not aunswer: but at ye last one of ye preists aunswered {y$^{t}$ was with him} & said it was to ye Jews: y$^{t}$ this Commande was to swear in truth & righteousnesse.

Then D$^{tr}$ Craddock hee confest it was {soe}: Indeed says hee In ye gospell times every thinge was to bee established out of ye mouth of two or three wittnesses for there was to bee no swearinge then.

Then said I why does thou force oaths upon Christians contry to thy own knowledg in the gospell times.

And I said unto him why dost thou excommunicate my frends for hee had excommunicated abundans both in Yorkesheer & Lancashere: & hee said for not comeinge to ye Church: then I said you left us above 20 yeeres agoe when wee were but younge lads & lasses: to ye presbyterians Independants & baptists: whoe made spoile of our goods & persecuted us because wee woulde not follow y$^{m}$: & as for ye old men y$^{t}$ knew your principles if you woulde have kept y$^{m}$ alife you shoulde have sent y$^{m}$ your epistles & gospells & homilyes & eveningesongs.

For Paul writt epistles to ye saintes though hee was in prison: & soe ye younge men y$^{t}$ knew litle of your principles & ye old men if you had intended to have preserved y$^{m}$ you should have sent y$^{m}$ some of your homilyes & kept your principles alife: & not have fled away from us: & leave us to ye presbyterians & Independants & baptists: to persecute us & spoile our goods because wee coulde not follow y$^{m}$ {& soe {they &} wee might have turned turkes & Jewes for any Collects or homilyes or epistles wee had from you all this while}.

And soe thou hast excommunicated us both olde & younge y$^{t}$ is you have putt us out of your Church: before you have gott us Into your Church & brought us to know your principles: & this is madnesse to putt us out before wee bee brought in.

Now had you brought us in to your Chuch & after if wee had donne some {bad} thinge then to putt us out had beene somethinge like a grounde for excommunication.

But what dost thee call ye Church: Why says hee y$^{t}$ which you call ye steeplehouse.

Then I askt him whether Christ shed his blood for ye steeplehouse: & purchased & sanctifyed ye steeplehouse with his bloode: ffor ye Chuch was Christs wiffe & bride & hee was heade of ye Church: & thinkes thee is ye steeplehouse Christs bride & wiffe: & y$^{t}$ hee is ye heade of y$^{t}$ {olde house} or of ye people.

Nea says hee: Christ is ye heade of ye people: & they are ye Chuch: & not ye steeplehouse.

Then I said: butt you have given y$^{t}$ title {Church} to an olde house which belonges to ye people & you have taught people to beleive soe.

Then I askt him why hee persecuted freinds concerneinge there not payinge tyths: & whether God did ever give a Commande to ye gentiles y$^{t}$ they should pay tyths & whether Christ had not ended ye leviticall p(r)eist hoode y$^{t}$ tooke tyths [& tyths].

And whether Christ y$^{t}$ sent foorth his dsciples to preach had not commanded y$^{m}$ to preach freely as hee had given to y$^{m}$ freely: & whether all ye ministers of Christ are not bounde to observe this Commande of Christ.

And hee said hee woulde not dispute y$^{t}$: but said you marry: but I know not howe.

Then I said unto him it may bee soe but why did hee not come & see then hee threatned howe hee had & woulde use his power against us: but I bid him take heed for hee was an olde man: then I askt him where did ever any preist from Genesis to ye Revelations marry any: if hee coulde shew mee {any Instans} wee woulde come to y$^{m}$ to marry us: for thou hast excommunicated one of my freinds 2 yeeres after hee was deade {about it}.

And why dost not excommunicate Isaac & Jacob &

Boaz & Ruth [& Christ & his disciples for goeinge to a mariage]: & why dost not use thy power against y^m^ for wee doe not reade y^t^ they were ever marryed by ye preists but they tooke one another in ye assemblyes of ye righteous in ye presence of God & his people & soe doe wee: & wee have all ye holy men & women of our syde y^t^ ye scripture speaks of in this practise[1].

Soe after a while hee past away & his Company & many such like disputes & discourses I had with severall such sortes of people which will be to longe & tadious to relate {heere}.

And few freinds they would lett come att mee nea many times not soe much as to bringe mee a litle meate: but I was forct to hire one of ye worlde ye first quarter & sometimes ye souldyers woulde take it from her & then shee woulde fight with y^m^ for it.

And then I hired a souldyer to fetch mee water & breade: & somethinge to make a fire when I was in a room where a fire could bee made: & a threepenny loafe served mee 3 weekes & sometimes longer.

And it beinge a colde place I was exceedingely swelld & nummd {in my body}: & if a freinde came upp Into ye Castle about busnesse if hee lookt but at mee they would rage att him: & there was two bad prisoners y^t^ often woulde drinke with ye officers & souldyers: & because I woulde not sett & drinke with y^m^ they made y^m^ worse against mee.

And one time when they was {almost} drunke one of y^m^ one Will Wilkison[2] came & chalenghed mee {to fight with him}: & they was both full of beere: & when one woulde bee at mee then ye other withhelde him & when ye other woulde bee at mee then ye other woulde withholde him.

And ye next morninge when they were more sober: I tolde him y^t^ chalenghed mee I was come to aunswer him with my hands in my pocketts & there was my haire & my backe: & what a shame it was for him to challenge a man whome hee knew his principle was not to strike: & hee should have chalenghed some of ye souldyers y^t^ might have aunswered him againe but hee goes his ways: & one of ye officers said you are a happy man y^t^ can bear such thinges.

And they sett a marshall over us to gett money butt I was not to give him a farthinge: & soe at last hee was taken off againe: & often they threatned to hange mee over ye wall [& ye officers often in there rage woulde bid ye souldyers shoote mee & runn mee through]: & ye deputy governor[1] said: if any stirr was in ye nation: I was sent thither: y$^{t}$ they might hange mee over ye walls soe I tolde him if y$^{t}$ was it {they lookt for} I was ready: beinge innocent of all stirringes & plottinges & I never feard death nor sufferinges in my life.

[Soe y$^{t}$ stoppt y$^{m}$ from threatninge mee any more.]

And one time when it was very colde weather I had gotten a litle {elicampane beere for I had taken a great colde}[a]: & I hearde one of ye prisoners say to ye others they woulde goe play a pretty tricke for they woulde send for mee upp to ye deputy governor which they did & in ye meane time they woulde drinke my stronge beere out which they did.

And after on of ye officers came to mee in a Jeere & askt mee for some stronge beere but I tolde y$^{m}$ they had playde ther petty[b] tricke & soe tooke noe {farther} Notice of there wickednesse.

Soe I was as a man buryed alife for many freinds came from farr to see mee but were not suffred {to come att mee}.

But at last ye governor came under some trouble haveinge sent out a privateer whoe had taken some shipps y$^{t}$ were not enimyes shipps but there freinds & soe came under some trouble.

And I desired him when hee came to London hee being a parlament man: y$^{t}$ hee woulde speak to Esq Marsh & to Sir ffrancis Cobb & some others: & tell them y$^{t}$ I was a prisoner & for what {& howe longe I had layne in prison}.

And soe when hee came doune againe hee tolde mee y$^{t}$ Esq: Marsh [y$^{t}$ was one of ye kinges esquires of his body]: said hee woulde goe 100 miles barefoote for my liberty hee knew mee soe well: & severall others {spoake well of mee}: so y$^{t}$ ye governor was very loveinge & after a while John Whiteheade[2] brought an order from ye kinge for my release.

[a] This insertion takes the place of *stronge water*

[b] Ellwood editions, as a few lines above: *pretty*

For I had written a letter to ye kinge: Concerneinge my bad usage in prison & y^t^ none coulde deliver mee but him.

[1666] And soe ye governor received ye order: & ye officers gathered togeather: & dischardghed mee & gave a certificate as followeth [{with y^e^ Relation at larg from 1663 to 1666 as followeth}[a]].

[1]*sir joseph croslands gofener of skarbary castell to gff 1666*

Permitt y^e^ Bearer hereof George ffox (late a Prisoner in Scarbrough Castle and now dischargd by his Mats order) quiettly to passe aboute his Lawfulle occasions without any molestaçon.

Given under my hande att Scarbrough Castle this ffirst day of Septemb: 1666.

J Crosland

{Governour of Scarbrough Castle [where G: ff: had beene prisoner about a yeare & a halfe for not takeing an oath, for Conscience sake because Christ & the Apostle forbid swearing. Mat 5. James 5.]}[b]

[2][*e houkes to mff 1666*

Deare Marg^t^.

My deare love is unto thee in the Everlasting truth; even beyound expression & I received thy letter wherein I perceive thee art troubled at my short writeing; but it was because I was afraid to write much of it least it should come to {Coll} Kirby & soe the bussines should be hindred; for indeed my love is as great towards thee as ever; and thou art as deare to me as any freind I know & my heart is often broken in the remembrance of thee; and thy love & tendernes towards me can never be forgotten by me; for the Lord has rooted it in my heart; and if thou didst but know how deare thou art unto me; thou wouldst beare with me in writeing thus plainly unto thee, for I am never satisfied but when I am sure I am in that which will be iustifiable before thee.

In answer to thy letter, concerning what Gilbert[3] wrote,

[a] This insertion is not in the handwriting of Thomas Lower.

[b] Narrative continued on page 103.

it was to know whether G. ff. was premunired for John Child[1] in Essex sent to know for he did intend to speak to the Earle of Warwick[2] who was his Neighbour to see if he could gett Georg releast but it came to Nothing, the order that is now carryed downe to gett him releast was obteyned after this manner John Whitehead & I drew up a short relation of G ff his sufferings, & Esq Marsh went with them to the Master of Requests, & by much solicitation an order was procured by the M^r of Requests (Sir John Birkenhead[3]), to release him: there was one Clause in the order: which caused us to doubt something of the Execution of it, but I Judge them to bee only words of Course in all orders in such cases & soe will not be much minded by the Governor the order runns thus: that the king being certainly informed that G ff. is a Man against all Plotting & ffighting, & one that is ready at all tymes to discover Plotts {rather} then to make them, & was an instrument of discovering a Plott in Yorkshire, that he should be discharged of his Imprisonment giveing security for to live Peaceable; this was the substance of it as neere as I can remember.

We have not heard yett an Answer from John W. what is donne but expect to heare shortly: I spoke to W^m Warwick[4] & he sayes he has no coppie of thyne but what he has printed; & for that thou writes to me now about he is willing to print it, but he thinkes it being soe bigg it will cost soe much that except freinds about thee doe take of about 100 of them he may loose by them[5] deare Marg^t if thou sends it up, I should doe what I can to gett it forwarded, & to gett him to print it, this enclosed paper I have sent thee, to see it being the last that Deare R ff.[6] wrote, which was subscribed by freinds as thou may see at their Meeting heere;

Soe this is the most at present but my deare love to thy Children.

I rest thy freind.

London 14^th 6 Mo. 1666. E H[7]]

[a]{And ye next day after I came out of Scarborough Castle from prison ye fire broake out in London y^t consumed most parte of ye Citty in 3 days time.}

[a] Narrative continued from page 102.

And I woulde have given ye governor somethinge for his Civility but hee woulde not receive any thinge.

And then ye officers & souldyers were mightily changhed & respective: & said hee is as stiffe as a tree & as pure as a bell for wee coulde never stirr him.

And ye governor said: whatever good hee coulde doe to my freinds hee woulde doe it & never doe y$^{m}$ any hurte: & soe hee remained to doe till hee dyed.

And when ye maior of ye tounde sent to him for souldyers to breake uppe freinds meetinges if hee sent any doune hee woulde charge y$^{m}$ not to medle: but remaned loveinge till hee dyed.

But this Will Wilkison aforesaid y$^{t}$ chalenghed mee hee gott out of prison [by baile whoe was tender att his first comeinge in but after when hee gott out Into drinkeinge hee repented him of his perniceousnesse] & after hee was out of prison ye Lord soone cutt him off in his wickednesse.

And Joblin[1] ye goaler of Durham whoe was prisoner with mee {in Scarborough Castle} & had often Incensed ye govrnor & officers against mee which woulde bee to large to speake of hee gott out of prison butt ye Lord cutt him off in his wickednesse {soone after}.

And ye wicked serjant y$^{t}$ was a papist: ye Lord cutt him off alsoe: & sevrall other envious people against mee ye Judgements of God pursued y$^{m}$.

And there was a papist y$^{t}$ came to discourse with mee [when I was in ye Castle] & hee said all ye patriarks was in hell: from ye Creation till Christ came: & when Christ suffred hee went Into hell & ye Devill said what comes thou hither for to break open our stronge holdes & Christ said to fetch y$^{m}$ all out.

And soe hee said: Christ was 3 days & 3 nights in hell to bringe y$^{m}$ out.

But I tolde him y$^{t}$ was false: for Christ said to ye theife this day shalt thou bee with mee in paradice: & Enoch & Elijah was translated Into Heaven: & Abraham was in heaven for ye scripture saith Lazarus was in his bosome: & Moses & Elijah was with Christ upon ye mount before hee suffred: & soe stopt ye papists mouth.

[And heere you may see many sad Judgements y$^{t}$ came

upon all my olde persecutors in Lancasheere as may bee seene in this followinge list.]

[1]{And} richard dodgson[2] hy constable & 2 other constables gorg mountes john ashbonnars {wiffe} & another constable {dyed shortly after} & wilan kerbe [his wife] died {soone after} & flimin his wife died: & left him 14 motherlesse children[3] whoe made many fatherlesse: & soe his became: & hee y^t^ fetcht mee to Holkar[a] [was one Tho: fflemminge[4]: y^t^ was a servant to Coll: Kirby].

And olde Preston was then high sheriffe Rawlinson & {Sir G.} Midleton {Justices} both since deade: & Prestons wiffe & son & daughter since deade.

[b]Will: Knipe of Broughton one of my accusers: att Holkar since deade.[b]

And Midleton & Rawlinson bounde mee over to ye sessions: & att ye sessions {ye} Justices upon ye bench: were: Justice fflemminge & Justice Rawlinson: & Justice Spencer & Coll. West: & Nath:[c] West of Borwicke both Justices & Justice Portar: & Portar & Rawlinson & both ye Wests since deade.

And this Justice fflemminge Imprisoned two frends to death [(viz) Sam: Sands[5] & one Parkamoore[6]] whoe left severall fatherlesse children after which {ffleminge} his wiffe dyed & left him {13 or} 14 motherlesse children.

And a consumption came upon Spencers estate: & Coll Kirby wasted away all his estate & buryed 3 wiffes.

[b]Will Kirby buryed his wiffe.[b]

[b]S^r^ Rob: Binleys whoe persecuted[b]

And the cheife constable {Rich Dogeson aforesaid} dyed: soone after: & Mounte ye petty constable & Jo: Ashburneham buryed his wiffe: soone after: whose wiffe scolded {much} at mee in her house.

Alsoe Will Knipe ye wittnesse against mee soone after dyed ffor when I came Into ye Country againe all these aforesaid were deade & ruined in there estates & severall others of our persecutors whome ye Lord blasted.

[a] Ellwood editions add *wasted his Estate, and soon after fled into Ireland.*

[b]...[b] These words have a line through them.

[c] Ellwood editions: *Matthew* The initial letter has received some correction in the MS.

{And ye Goaler one Hunter y^t^ abused mee In Lancaster prison hee was cutt off in his younge days.}

[1][1665[a]] And ye Undersheriffe y^t^ carryed mee from Lancaster prison towards Scarborough [till hee mett ye souldyers aforesaid att Bentam in Yorkesheere when I came Into ye Country againe I hearde] hee was deade alsoe: & ye Lorde had cutt off most of my olde persecutors & ruined y^m^ & though I did not {seeke to} execute ye law upon y^m^ for there actinge contrary to there owne laws against mee yet ye Lord had executed his vengans upon y^m^.

And after I came foorth of ye Castle I went about three miles unto a large generall meetinge: & all was quiett which meetinge was att a ffrends house y^t^ had beene a Cheife Constable.

And on ye 4^th^ day after I came Into Scarborough tounde & had a large meetinge att Peter Hodgesons[2] house: & there came a Lady unto it & severall great persons & there was a younge man convinced in Scarborough tounde whilst I was in prison ye bayliffes son [& hee came to dispute & spoake Hebrew to mee & I spoake in Welch to him & bid him feare God: whoe after became a pretty ffreinde[3]].

And from thence I past to Whitbey & ye Lady aforesaid came to mee & said I spoake against ye preists: & I tolde her such as ye prophetts & Christ declared against I did declare against now.

And after I had visited frends att Whitbey I past to Burlingeton where I had another meetinge & from thence to Oram: where I had another meetinge: & from thence to Marmaduke Storrs where wee had a large meetinge att a Constables house on whome ye Lord had wrought a great miracle [{as in ye booke of miracles[4] may bee seene}[b]].

And there was a great mariage {of two ffreindes} ye next day [& there came some hundreds of beggars: & ffreinds refresht y^m^ Insteade of ye rich]: & in ye meetinge before ye mariage I was moved to open to ye people ye state of our mariages: howe ye people of God tooke one

[a] The last figure of this date has been altered but whether from *4* to *5* or *5* to *4* cannot now be determined.

[b] These words were inserted by T. Lower at a later date.

another in ye assemblyes of ye elders: & howe God did Joine man & woman togeather before ye ffall: & man had Joined in ye fall but it was Gods Joineinge againe in ye restoration & never from Gen: to ye revelation did ever any preists marry any as may bee reade in ye Scriptures.

And then I shewed y^m^ ye duty of man & wiffe howe they shoulde serve God beinge heires of life & grace togeather.

And from thence I past to Grace Barwickes[1] where I had a generall meetinge which was very large: & soe came through ye wooles to one Shiptons[2] where I had a large meetinge alsoe.

And from thence I went to a preists house: whose wiffe was convinced & mighty loveinge & glad to see mee: which preist had saide [a]formerly[a]: hee woulde have my life or I shoulde have his & hee woulde give his heade if I was not knockt doune in a months time: whoe was now very loveinge & convinct of Gods eternall truth.

And from thence I past towards ye sea where severall freinds came to visitt mee & a preist {one Phillippe Scafe} y^t^ had beene formerly convinced was nowe become a preacher of Christ freely & soe continnues.

And from thence I past to see an olde man y^t^ was convinct whoe was above 100 yeeres olde: & from thence I past to a freinds house where I had a great meetinge & all was quiett.

Soe I passed through ye Country till I came neere Malton where I had a large meetinge & neere Hull alsoe I had a large meetinge: & from thence I came to a place caled Holden dike & as I came Into ye tounde ye watchmen questioned {mee & y^m^ with mee}: & woulde have had us before ye magistrates but they haveinge noe warrant they went away in a rage & said they woulde search for us: but I went to ye Lady Mountagues house where I lodged all night & frends came to see mee there & in ye morninge I walkt out & when I was gonne there came in a man with a naked sworde under his coate & hee frightned ye maide servant: & when I came in shee tolde mee of it so ye Lords power prevented him of his wickednesse.

And from thence I past through ye Country visitinge

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *in the year 1651*, for the incident see vol. i. p. 24.

ffreinds to Yorke where wee had a large meetinge & I went to visitt Justice Robinson an auncient Justice of peace $y^t$ had beene very loveinge to {mee &} freinds {at ye beginninge}.

And there was a preist with him: & hee saide It was said wee loved none but our selves but I tolde him wee loved all mankinde as they was Gods creation & as they was children of Adam & Eve by generation: & wee loved ye brotherhood in ye holy ghoast.

And soe after many more words with him whoe was very loveinge wee past away.

And I had given foorth a book {about this time} Intituled feare God & honor ye kinge[1] {& $y^t$ none coulde feare God & honor ye kinge but whoe departed from sin & evill}: which {booke} did mightily affect ye souldyers & people.

And after I had visited freinds att Yorke I past towards a markett tounde & there was a Justice rideinge before us & ye watchmen questioned him & perceveinge hee was a Justice they lett him passe & soe wee escaped {alsoe}: att which tounde wee had a great meetinge at one George Watkinsons house whoe formerly had beene a Justice: & a glorious blessed meetinge it was & very large & ye seede of life was {set} over all.

And from thence wee past to Tho: Taylors: whoe formerly had beene a Captaine where wee had a pretious meetinge & there was a knight lived harde by $y^t$ threatned mee & said if ye kinge sett mee at liberty hee would sende mee to prison {againe} ye next day: but ye Lords power stoppt him And our meetinge was quiett.

And from thence I past through ye Country visitinge freinds till I came to Senderlande greene: where I had a large genrall meetinge & ye preist hearde of it & hee sent the constables to ye Justices & they brought a warrant: & ridd there horses soe harde $y^t$ they had almost spoiled $y^m$: but ye meetinge was ended before I hearde of $y^m$ & as I was goeinge out of ye house a frende came to mee & tolde mee they were searchinge another house for mee: & as I was goeinge alonge through ye closes I mett ye constables & warders & ye Justices clarke: & I went through $y^m$ & they looked att mee: & soe I went to ye house $y^t$ they had beene searchinge: & thus ye Devill & ye preists lost there

designe & ye Lords power gave mee dominion over y^m^ & bounde y^m^ praised bee his name for ever: & frends all parted & escaped y^m^ & soe they went away as they came: for ye Lord God had frustrated there designe.

And from thence I went Into Darbysheere: where I had a large meetinge & some freinds was afraide of ye Constables comeinge in for they had had great persecution in those parts.

And there was a Justice of peace had taken away much of frends goods: & one Elen: ffretwell[1] had made her appeale to ye Sessions: & ye rest of ye Justices graunted her {her} goods againe And spoake to ye persecutinge Justice y^t^ hee shoulde not doe soe any more & then shee was moved to speake to y^t^ Justice & to warne him & hee bid her come & sett doune on ye bench: I[a] saide shee if I may[b] doe Justice {to ye Country} I will sett doune with you noe said hee then you shall not: but bid her gett out of ye Courte then shee was moved of ye Lord to turn again {& say} y^t^ shee shoulde bee there when hee shoulde not.

And after ye sessions was donne hee got amongst some of his persecutinge companions: & said: y^t^ they woulde gett some more goods of frends if ye Devill did not raise uppe y^t^ woman to hinder y^m^.

Soe hee went home & drove away her brothers oxen for goeinge to meetinges & soe another woman frends of Chesterfeilde {Susan ffreth[2]} was moved of ye Lord to tell him y^t^ if hee continnued one in his persecution ye Lord woulde execute his plagues upon him.

And soe this Justice {whose name was} Clarke[3] [went home &] fell distracted: & they tyed him in ropes but hee gnawed y^m^ to peices: & hee had like to have worryed his mayde:[c] & they were feigne to putt an Iron Instrument Into his mouth to wrest his teeth out of her flesh.

And soe hee dyed distracted [{in chaines}] which {relation} I had from Ellen ffretwells one mouth[4].

And from thence I past Into Nottinghamsheere where I had a large meetinge att Sekgby.

And from thence I went to Mansfeilde[5] & from thence

[a] *Ay* in Ellwood editions.
[b] Ellwood editions insert *persuade you to*
[c] Ellwood editions insert *for he fell upon her, and bit her*

to a fayre where I saw & mett with many freinds: & had likewise a meetinge att Mansfeilde.

And from thence I past through ye forrest in a mighty thunderinge & rainy day: to Nottingham: where severall trees were blown uppe by ye rootes & some {people y$^{t}$ came from ye markett} killed but ye Lords power preserved us.

And on ye first day: I had a large meetinge in Nottingham & all was brought under there teacher ye grace of God which brought there salvation & I established {y$^{m}$} upon ye rocke & foundation Christ Jesus: & after ye meetinge was donne I came to visitt ye Sheriffe whoe had beene convinct formerly {whoe remaines a freinde}[1]: & I had beene his prisoner: about 49: & all was quiett.

And from thence I past Into Leistersheere to Seilby where wee had a large blessed meetinge: & I went to Leister to visitt ye prisoners there.

And from thence I came to Jo: Penfords[2]: where wee had a generall meetinge large & pretious: & from thence I past through ye Country: visitinge freinds & my relations till I came Into Warwickesheere: & to Warwicke where I visited ye prisoners.

And from thence I past to Bageley where I had a pretious meetinge & soe I past through Northamptonsheere visitinge frends & Bedfordshee & Buckkinghamsheere {& Oxfordesheere} visitinge frends: & in Oxfordsheere ye Lord broake ye Devills snare: & his power came over all: & his blessed truth enccreased.

And soe {after} I {had} past through many Countryes & had large meetinges {visitinge ffreindes} I came {at last} to London.

But I was soe weake with lyinge about 3 yeeres in cruell & harde Imprisonements my Jointes & my body was soe benumned y$^{t}$ I coulde hardely gett on my horse: neither could I well bend my knees nor hardely Indure fire nor warme meate I had beene soe longe kept from it.

And soe after [I had visited frends meetinges] in London [which was large & pretious] I walkt Into ye ruines of ye Citty y$^{t}$ was burnt: which I saw it lyeinge accordeinge as ye worde of ye Lord come to mee concerneinge it severall yeeres before.

And after I had visited freinds a time in London &

there meetinges I went Into ye Countrys againe & had large meetinges through ye Countryes till I came to Bristoll: as att Readinge & Kingston & in Wiltsheere: & had many a large meetinge att Bristoll it beinge there fayre time {& Tho: Lower came uppe thither out of Cornewall to see mee: & freinds from severall parts of ye nation}: & after I was cleere of Bristoll I past uppe to Justice {Nath:} Crispps: & soe through ye Countryes till I came to London again: & had large meetinges & all was quiett blessed bee ye Lorde.

And though I was very weake yett I travailed uppe & doune in ye service of ye Lord.

And about this time [Joh: Swinton & some other Scotch freinds &] some [others] had runn out: & ye Lords power came over y^m^ soe as they was made to condemne & teare all there papers of controversyes to peices: & severall meetinges wee had & ye Lords everlastinge power was over all & Judgement was sett: & whole days wee sate: wherein many condemned there former lifes & runninges out [as may bee seene in ye booke of Condemnations att y^t^ time]: wherein ye Lords power was wonderfully manifested.

And then I was moved of ye Lord God to sett uppe & establish five monthly meetinges of men: & women: in ye Citty {of London} to admonish & exhort & to take care of Gods glory: besydes ye womens meetinge & ye Quarterly meetinge.

And ye Lord opned to me & lett mee see what I must doe: & howe I must order {& establish ye men & womens monthly & quarterly meetinges} in all ye nation & other nations to doe ye same: or write to y^m^ {where I came not}[1].

And whereas they had {had onely} quarterly meetinges now truth was spread & frends were growne popular[a] y^t^ now: I must sett uppe ye monthly meetinges {in ye nations}: & after they was established in London & severall y^t^ had runn out with Jo: Parrott & others came in: & condemned y^t^ spiritt y^t^ Ledde y^m^ to keepe on ther hats when frendes prayed [& said it was of ye Devill]: & said y^t^ frends were more righteous then they: & y^t^ if freinds had not stoode they had beene gonne {& fallen Into perdition}: & thus ye Lords power came over all.

[1667] And soe after thinges were all setled: & ye

[a] Ellwood editions read *more numerous*

Lords truth: & power & seede & life reigned & shined over all in ye Citty then I past foorth Into ye Countryes: And setled ye monthly meetinges in Essex: & from thence Into Norfolke {& Suffolke}: & Tho: Dry[1] went alongst with mee: & from thence after I had visited {ye} meetinges {in y$^{t}$ Country} & sett uppe ye monthly meetinges there [I had a mens {monthly} meetinge {alsoe} at a preists house y$^{t}$ had beene convinced: & from thence] wee past Into Huntingeton sheere: where wee had very large blessed meetings though there was some opposition butt ye Lords power came over all {& ye monthly mens meetinges was established there alsoe}.

And from thence wee past Into Bedfordesheere: where wee had some opposition but ye Lords power come over it all.

And from thence wee past into Nottinghamsheere: & after ye monthly meetinges was setled wee had many pretious meetinges {in those Countryes}.

And from thence wee past Into Lincolnesheere: & [on ye day caled Christmas day] att his house whoe had beene formerly {ye Sheriffe of Lincolne} wee had some {men frendes} of all ye meetinges in ye County & all was quiett & after ye meetinge was donne wee past away.

[And from thence wee past to a freinds house & I was very weake] & ye constables & bayliffes had seised upon all Will Smyths[2] goods to ye very bed hee lay upon for truths sake: whoe was very sicke & weake att y$^{t}$ time.

And they threatned to come & breake uppe our meetinge but ye Lords power chained y$^{m}$ blessed be his name & our meetinge was quiett.

And after ye meetinge was donne I went to visitt Will: Smyth: & ye bayliffes & constables watcht his corne & his beasts y$^{t}$ none might carry his goods & corne away.

And ye Lords power chained y$^{m}$ y$^{t}$ they had not power to medle with us.

And hee y$^{t}$ was ye Sheriffe of Lincolne was with mee & from thence wee past over Trent Into Nottinghamsheere where wee had some of all ye meetinges in y$^{t}$ County: togeather: & our meetinge was very glorious & peaceable & many pretious meetinges wee had in y$^{t}$ County.

And from thence wee past Into Leistersheere & soe Into

Warwickesheere where many blessed meetinges wee had & ye order of ye gospell {was} sett uppe {& ye mens monthly meetinges were established in all those Countryes}.

And from thence wee past Into Darbysheere where wee had sevrall large blessed meetinges: & in many places {wee were} threatned but escaped by ye power of ye Lord.

And from thence wee past Into Staffordsheere over ye Peake hills: which were very colde Itt beinge snow & frost & I was soe exceedinge weake I was haredly able to gett off or one my horse backe:[1] & att Tho: Hammerslyes wee had a generall mens meetinge where all thinges was setled in {ye} gospell order {& ye monthly meetinges were established alsoe}.

And from thence wee past Into Chesheere where wee had severall blessed meetinges a generall mens meetinge where all ye monthly meetinges were setled accordinge to ye gospell order in ye power of God.

And after ye meetinge was donne I past away.

And ye Justices hearde of it: after it was donne & were very much troubld y$^{t}$ they had not come & brooken it uppe & taken mee but ye Lord prevented y$^{m}$ & so after I had cleered my selfe there {in ye Lords service} I past Into Lancasheere: to Will: Barnes[2] neere Warrington: where there mett mee some of most {of ye} meetinges in y$^{t}$ County: {&} there all ye monthly meetinges were established in ye gospell order {alsoe}: & soe I sent papers Into Westmorelande: by Leo: ffell & Rob: Withers & Into Bishopricke Cleveland & Northumberland & Into Cumberland & Scotland: for y$^{m}$ to setle ye monthly meetinges in ye Lords power: which they did.

And soe ye Lords power came over all: & all ye heires of it came to Inheritt it for ye authority of our meetinges is ye power of God ye gospell which bringes life & Immortality to light: y$^{t}$ they may see over ye Devill y$^{t}$ has darkned y$^{m}$.

And soe ye order of ye glorious heavenly gospell is not of man nor by man.

Soe y$^{t}$ all ye heires of ye gospell might walke accordinge to ye gospell: & glorify God with there bodys soules & spiritts which are ye Lords.

And soe from Lancasheere: I past Into Chesheere: &

Margaret ffell beinge a prisoner att Lancaster {gott leave to} come uppe to ye meetinge & went with mee to Jane Milners[1] in Chesheere: & soe past backe again.

And soe out of Chesheere I past Into Shropsheere: & from thence Into Wales & Into Tenby[a] sheere & Mountgomery sheere & had a large generall {mens} meetinge att Charles ffloydes[2]: where some opposers came in butt ye Lords power was over all.

And from thence wee past to Marioneth sheere where wee had severall blessed meetinges: & from thence wee past to ye sea syde where wee had a blessed meetinge: & soe past through severall countyes & had many large meetinges & ffreinds were established upon Christ there foundation.

And from thence wee returned Into Shropsheere: againe haveinge setled ye [mens] monthly meetinges {in ye power of God} both in Wales: & Shropsheere & those other countyes wee came Into: {Worcestersheere}

[3]And after wee had had many meetinges uppe & doune in y[t] country amongt ffreinds: wee had a generall mens meetinge: att Pashur: att Henry Gybbs[4]: his house: where wee setled all ye monthly meetinges in ye gospell order: & ye sessions beinge in tounde y[t] day: ffreinds were very much Concerned least they shoulde sende some officers to breake uppe our meetinge but ye Lords power chaind y[m] all soe y[t] our meetinge was quiett: through which power wee had dominion & after ye meetinge was donne I past away: & had sevrall meetinges in y[t] country amongst frends & after came to Worcester & it beinge there fayre time: wee had a pretious meetinge & after I was gonne out of tounde: there was one Major Wilde[5] a wicked persecutinge man & some of his souldyers enquired after mee butt I past away to Witch[b] & left ffrends setled in good order.

[c]And at Witch there came Jo: Cartwright[6] to a freinds house & was moved to speake a few words before supper [in praise to God]: & there came an Informer & hearkned under ye wall & hee went [to Lichfeilde] for an order to distrein under pretence of a meetinge & y[t] hee shoulde gett some reward: where there was none but:[c]

[a] Ellwood editions: *Denby*

[b] Ellwood editions: *Draitwich*

[c]...[c] Erased in the MS. The incident reappears later, under date of 1671. See page 168.

And from thence wee came to Shrewsberry: where wee had a pretious meetinge & ye maior & his officers hearinge of my beinge in tounde: they mett togeather to consult what to doe against mee for they said ye great Quaker of England was come to towonde & therfore they tooke councell togeather to Imprison mee but some of y$^{m}$ opposed it butt ye Lord confounded y$^{m}$.

And from thence wee past Into Radnoll sheere: where wee had many pretious meetinges & wee setled ye monthly meetinges.

And as wee came foorth of ye country att a markett tounde wee stayde a while: & a Justices Clarke & some others combined togeather: to doe us some mischeife in ye roade: & they overtooke us: but Meetinge many markett people they were somewhat hindred of there designe: but they light one two of our Company y$^{t}$ ridd behinde us: & one of y$^{m}$ drew out his sworde & cutt him Itt beinge Rich: Moore[1] of Shrewsberry a D$^{tr}$ {of physicke}: & ye other came gallopinge after mee & another ffreinde y$^{t}$ was with mee: & hee ridd Into a brook ye bridge beinge narrow to gett before us: soe y$^{t}$ his horse fell Into a deepe hole in ye water: & soe I saw there designe: & I desired freinds to bee patient & give y$^{m}$ noe occasion: & soe Rich: Moore came uppe to us & another ffreinde y$^{t}$ knew there names: & soe wee ridd alonge ye roade & there wee mett another man drunke: whoe was a foote with a naked rapier in his hande & in a bottome: wee mett two men & two women: one of which men had his thumbe cutt of by this man {y$^{t}$ wee mett with a naked rapier in his hande} for hee would have ravished ye younge woman: & hee went to rescue her: & soe hee cutt his thumbe of [& ye other man was ye father of ye daughter].

And this foote man y$^{t}$ had ye naked rapier in his hande y$^{t}$ would have ravished ye maide his horse was a pretty way behinde followeinge off him: & I ridde after ye horse & ketcht him: & brought him to ye man y$^{t}$ had beene wounded by him & bid him carry ye horse to ye next Justice of ye peace: & by y$^{t}$ meanes they might finde out {& pursue} ye man.

Soe upon this I writt a letter to ye Justices & to ye

Judge of ye Assises & I imployed som freinds to carry it to ye Justices of peace first.

And ye Justice rebuked his Clarke & ye others for abuseinge & disturbeinge us upon ye high way & they made entreaty to ffreinds not to appeare against y^m^ att ye assises[a]: which thinge did a great deale of good in ye country & stoppt many rude people in ye country y^t^ had used to abuse freindes formerly.

And soe wee past Into Heriforde sheere where wee had severall blessed meetinges & wee had a generall mens meetinge alsoe where all ye monthly meetinges were established.

And from thence wee past into Monmouthsheere where I had severall blessed meetinges: & att Walter Jenkins whoe had beene a Justice of peace we had a large meetinge & there was [b]4 preists[b] convinced.

And at another meetinge {before this} there came ye bayliffe of ye hundred almost drunk {unto his house to ye meetinge}: & hee was to take uppe ye speakers {hee said}: but ye Lords power chained him: & a mighty power of God there was in ye meetinge though hee raged: & soe after meetinge was donne I stayde a while & hee stayde there: & I spoake to him & soe past away.

And att night some rude people came & shott a muskett against ye house but did noe hurte.

And thus ye Lords power came over all & chained y^m^ & wee escaped y^m^ & went to Rosse y^t^ night & had a meetinge there att James Merrickes[1].

And soe wee came Into Glocestersheere: where wee had a generall mens meetinge att Justice Crispes house: & setled all ye monthly meetinges in ye Lords everlastinge power & exhorted all ye heires of ye power of God to take there possessions of ye gospell for that was ye authority of there meetinges.

And soe after wee had many blessed meetinges upp & doune in y^t^ Country wee came to Bristoll & after wee had {had} severall powerfull meetinges wee setled ye mens monthly meetinge there & ye womens meetinge.

And as I was lyeinge in my bed: ye worde of ye Lord

[a] Ellwood editions add *which, upon their Submission and Acknowledgment of their Fault, Friends granted*

[b]...[b] Ellwood editions state, simply, *some*

came to mee y^t^ I must goe backe to London: & Alex: Parker & sevrall others came to mee {ye next morninge} & I askt y^m^ what they felt: & they askt mee what was upon mee & I tolde y^m^ I felt I must returne to London & they said it was upon y^m^ ye same.

And soe wee gave uppe to returne to London: for which way ye Lord moved us & ledd us wee went In his power.

[And after ye meetinge aforesaid: in Glocestersheere at Nat: Crisps was ended there was a Justice of peace hearde of it & was in a great rage y^t^ hee had not come & broake uppe ye meetinge but ye Lord disapointed him.]

And about this time there was a proclamation against meetinges & as wee came through Herifordsheere there was a great meetinge of ye Presbyterians & they had engaged y^m^ selves to stande & give upp all: butt when they heared of this Proclamation ye people came but ye preist was gonne & then they mett in Lemster privately & ye bayliffe came In & tooke y^m^: butt they had provided breade & cheese & drinke y^t^ if ye officers came there they would putt uppe there bibles & fall upon there colde meate.

And ye bayliffe said hee woulde have ye speakers: & then they cryed what woulde become then of there wiffes & children.

And ye Bayliffe tolde y^m^ ye breade & cheese should not cover y^m^: but hee took away there speakers: & kept y^m^ awhile & this ye bayliffe tolde our frende Peter Younge[1] y^t^ they were ye veryest hypocrites y^t^ ever made a profession.

And before this there was one Pococke[2]: y^t^ marryed ye Lady Dorsett[3] {which Lady Dorsett was convinced & this Pococke} was a tryer of {ye} preists[4] & hee used to call our ffrends house creepers: & I comeinge Into his house his Lady saide unto mee: I have somethinge to speak to thee against my husbande nea said I: thou must not speake against thy husbande yes said shee but I must[a].

Ye last first day said shee hee & his preists ye presbyterians mett & they had candles & tobacco pipes & breade & cheese & colde meat att table: & if ye officers had come in then they had agreed to leave there preachinge & prayinge & fall to there colde meate: & I said unto him is not this a shame to you: y^t^ persecuted & Imprisoned us: &

[a] Ellwood editions add *in this Case.*

spoiled our goods because wee wulde not follow you & bee of your religion & caled us housecreepers & {now} you dare not stande to your owne religion your selves: did you ever finde our meetinges stufft with breade & Cheese & tobacco pipes or did you ever reade in ye Scriptures of any such Practises amongst ye saintes[1].

Why says ye old Pococke ye tryer of ye preists wee must bee as wise as serpents says hee: then said I: this is indeed ye serpents wisedome: & whoe would have ever thought y$^{t}$ you presbyterians & Independants y$^{t}$ persecuted & Imprisoned & spoiled ye goods of others & whippt such as wulde not follow your religion: & now dare not stande to your owne: but cover it with tobacco pipes flagons of drinke colde meate & breade & cheese.

And this was a common practise amongst y$^{m}$ in many places in this time of persecution {to use such deceitefull covers for there worshippe}.

And soe as I said before: wee past from Bristoll into Wiltsheere & established ye mens monthly meetinges in ye Lords power there: & soe past through ye Countryes visitinge frends till wee came to London: & after wee had visited frends in y$^{t}$ Citty & {had} stayde there a while: I was moved to {exhort y$^{m}$ to} bringe all there mariages Into ye men & womens meetinges y$^{t}$ they might lay y$^{m}$ before ye faithfull there: for many had gonne togeather contrary to there relations: & some times younge rawe people had mixed with ye worlde: & widdows had marryed & had not made provision for there children before mariage.

For I had given foorth a paper about 53: concerneinge of mariages[2] when truth was litle spreade over ye nation y$^{t}$ they might lay it before ye faithfull & then publish it In ye markett or before ye Justices & In ye ende of ye meetinge & when all thinges was founde cleere: & they free from all other & there relations satisfyed then they might appoint a meetinge of purpose for ye takeinge of one another: & not under 12 faithfull wittnesses.

And these thinges not beinge observed it was therfore ordered by ye same power & spiritt of God: y$^{t}$ mariages might bee layde before ye mens monthly & Quarterly meetinges or as the meetinge{s then} was {established} soe y$^{t}$ they might see y$^{t}$ ther relations were satisfyed: & that

they were cleere from all others: & y$^{t}$ widdowes had made provision for there {first husbands} children before they marryed again.

And {after ordered} if they came out of another County or nation they must bringe a certificate from ye men & womens meetinges they belonged unto: to ye men & womens meetinges where they tooke there wiffe or husbande.

Soe y$^{t}$ all thinges might bee kept cleane: & pure & donne in righteousnes to ye glory of God.

And soe after these thinges with many other services for God were sett in order & setled in ye Churches {in ye Citty} I past out of London into ye Countryes againe.

[1668] And went Into Harfordesheer & setled there ye mens monthly meetinges & after I had visited freinds there I went to Baldocke where I had a great meetinge of many 100$^{ds}$ of people & came by Waltom & established a schoole for teachinge of children[a] there.

And ordered ye womens schoole to bee sett uppe[b] to Instruct younge lasses: & maydens in whatsever thinges was civill {& usefull} in ye creation[1].

And after I had sevrall pretious meetinges in ye Country: I came to London againe: & after I had stayde there in ye Lords service & worke awhile I past Into Buckinghamsheere where I had many pretious meetinges: &[c] had some of all ye men ffreindes of each meetinges & I established ye mens monthly meetinges amongst y$^{m}$ alsoe: in ye order of ye gospell: ye power of God & ye power of ye Lord received[d] it in all y$^{t}$ felt it: & they came to see & feele y$^{t}$ ye power of God was ye authority of there meetinges.

And after I had setled ye monthly meetinges there: in ye order of ye gospell & upon ye foundation Christ Jesus: I past Into Oxfordesheere: where wee had some of all ye meetinges togeather: & there att Nath: Balls[2]: whoe was a freinde in ye ministry: wee setled ye monthly meetinges in ye power of ye Lord: & frends was very glad of y$^{m}$ for all came Into possession: & to take care of Gods glory: & from thence wee past through ye Countrys visiting ye frends till

[a] Ellwood editions read *Boys*
[b] Ellwood editions add *at Shacklewel*
[c] Ellwood editions insert *at John Brown's*[3] *of Weston near Aylsbury*
[d] Ellwood editions: *confirmed*

wee came Into Glocestersheere & through y^t^ Country visitinge ffrends till wee came Into Monmouthsheer: to one Rich: Hamboroughs: where wee had some of all ye meetinges.

And there wee in ye Lords power setled ye monthly meetinges: & y^t^ all in it might take {care} of Gods glory & admonish & exhorte such as did not walke as became ye Gospell [y^t^ it made a great cry In ye Country: insoemuch as ye very Justices saide never such a man came Into there Country: y^t^ had rereconcled neighbor to neighbor & husbande to wiffe: & turned many people from there loose lifes].

And indeed these meetinges did make a great reformation amongst people.

And from thence wee pased through ye Country: after wee had visited freinds & Rich: Hamboroughs & his wiffe accompanyed us: a days Journey through ye hills: & wee came to a widdow womans house & there wee stayde all night: & from thence wee past over ye hills[1] declareinge ye truth to people & visitinge freinds & came to another widdow womans house where wee had a meetinge but ye woman coulde not speake one worde of English: but praised ye Lord y^t^ hee shoulde sende mee over those hills to come & visitt y^m^.

And from thence wee past through ye Country: till wee came to Swansey.

There one ye first day: wee had a generall meetinge large & pretious: & ye Lords presence was amongst us & one a week day: after: beyonde Swansey: wee had a generall mens meetinge from Tenby: Swansey: Hartforde west & many other places where ye monthly meetinges were setled in ye gospell order: & all receved ye power of ye Lord: & ye Lords truth was over all.

And from thence wee past uppe to Swansey: & soe to Mumbles thinkeinge to gett over ye water: there: Into Cornewall but ye master deceved us: whoe after hee had promised us: would not carry us.

And from thence wee past unto another passage: & after wee had gott in our horses there was some rude gentry threatned to pistoll ye master of ye boate: & hee beinge afraide turned ye horses out againe: & soe wee saw litle

hopes of our gettinge over y^t^ aways: soe wee came back againe Into ye Country: & stayde {uppe} all night & did not goe to bed: & in ye morninge about two of ye Clocke wee travailed through ye Country: & came neere Cardiffe where wee stayde all night: & ye next day wee came to a place caled Newport: & it being markett day: ffrends came to see us [& a Justices sons wiffe]: & after wee had visited ffreinds wee past away.

And overtakeinge a man: or rather hee way layinge of us: hee ridd alonge with us: & begann to examine us: {& askt} many questons {of us} & att last meetinge with two great mens pages: hee stoppt us: in ye high way: & I hearde him tell y^m^ y^t^ they woulde take us uppe & stoppe us: & hee galloped on & wee ridd after him beinge in our way: & when hee woulde have stoppt us: I tolde him hee oft[a] not to stoppe us: in ye kinges high way for it was as free for us: as for y^m^.

And perceveinge hee Intended to stoppe us: att Shippton[1] in Wales it beinge a garrison tounde on our way {as wee were to passe through} where hee galloped before us [& soe when hee left us] I was moved to exhort him to feare ye Lord.

And when wee came to Shipton it was ye markett day: & walkeinge doune our horses: Jo: {appe} Johns beinge with mee.

Soe wee walkt doune ye hill Into ye tounde & meetinge severall ffreindes they woulde have had us: to have gonne Into an Inn butt wee was not to goe into any Inn but walkt through ye tounde over ye bridge & then wee was out of there Count{r}y.

And thus ye Lords everlastinge arme & power preserved us & carryed us over in his worke & service & labor.

And then on ye first day: wee had a large generall meetinge in ye forrest of Deane: & all was quiett.

And then ye next day: wee past over ye water & came to a frends house.

And from thence wee came to Oldston & visited frendes & soe past over ye water againe to [b]Jobs Courte[b] in

[a] = *ought*, a form of the word found specially in the dialect of South West England. See Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*.

[b]...[b] Ellwood editions read *William Yeoman's*[2] *his House at Irb's Court*

Somersetshere: & there wee past doune to a meetinge att Possett where severall Bristoll ffrends came to us: & visited us.

And from thence wee past uppe Into ye Country: where wee had severall large meetinges: & ye Lords liveinge presence was with us: in his[a] labor & travell.

And wee came to {a Place} neere Myneyarde where wee had a generall meetinge of ye men frends in Somersetsheere: & there came alsoe a Cheate: which some frendely people wulde have had mee to have taken alongst with mee: & I bid y^m^ bringe him to mee: & see whether hee coulde look mee in ye face for I sawe hee was a Cheate: & some freinds was thinkeinge I was hardehearted because I woulde not lett him goe alongst with mee.

And when they brought him to mee hee was not able to looke mee in ye face but lookt hither & thither: for hee had cheated a preist pretendinge hee was a minister & gott his suite & went away with it.

[And after hee had like to have cheated those freinds y^t^ wulde have had mee to have taken him alongst with mee but after hee was discovered & had his rewarde.]

And from thence after ye meetinge was donne wee past to Myneyard where there is severall freinds[1].

And severall of y^m^ accompanyed us ye next day: as farr as to {Bastable & Appledore} where wee had a meetinge: & this Bastable had beene a bloody persecutinge tounde for there was two men {freindes y^t^} had been a great while att ye sea & comeinge home to visitt there relations: whereof one {of y^m^} had a wiffe & children: ye maior sent for y^m^ under pretence to discourse with y^m^: & putt ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy {to y^m^} & sent y^m^ to Ex{eter} goale: & there Judge Archer[2] praemunired y^m^: & one of y^m^ dyed in prison.

And I was moved to write a letter one to Judge Archer: & another to ye Maior of Bastable & layde there wicked & unchristian actions upon there heads {& y^t^ ye bloode of this man woulde bee required att there hands}.

And soe from Apledore after wee had {had} a pretious meetinge there amongst some pretious freinds: wee past to Stratton: & there stayde att an Inn all night.

[a] Ellwood editions read *our* in place of *his*

And ye next day: wee past through ye Country: till wee came to Humfry Lowers: where wee had a very pretious meetinge & from thence wee past to Truroe: & soe through ye Countryes visitinge freinds till wee came to ye Lands end: & soe came uppe by ye south: visitinge ffreinds: & att Tregangeeves att Loveday Hamblyes wee had a generall meetinge for all ye County: where wee setled ye monthly meetinges in ye Lords power & ye order of ye gospell: soe y$^{t}$ all in it might admonish all: & exhort all: y$^{t}$ walkt not accordinge to ye gospell: So y$^{t}$ ye house of God might bee kept cleane & righteousnesse might runn doune & swepe away all unrighteousnesse.

And severall were brought to condemne thinges: & {they} came in againe y$^{t}$ had beene out.

And soe after wee had visited ye meetinges in Cornewall & was cleere of it wee came Into Devonsheere: & came to Plymouth & had a meetinge there amongst ffreinds.

And from thence wee past to Rich: Brownes[1] & from thence [Into ye Southams] to ye widdow Phillipps[2] where wee had some of all ye men frends togeather: & there setled ye mens monthly meetinges in ye heavenly order of ye gospell ye power of God: which aunswered ye power of God in all.

And soe there was a great noice of a troope of horse comeinge to disturb our meetinge for ye servant was a wicked man in ye house: but ye Lords power prevented & bounde y$^{m}$: & by it wee came over all.

And after ye meetinge was donne & all thinges was setled wee came to Kingebridge & visited ffreinds thereaways.

And from thence wee past (having left ffreinds well setled in ye power of God in those parts) through ye Country to Topsham: & soe from thence to Membury: & had many meetinges in ye Countryes visitinge freinds till wee came to Illchester in Somersetsheere Where Wee had a generall mens meetinge: & there setled ye monthly meetinges in ye Lords everlastinge power: ye order of ye Gospell ye power of God before ye Devill was.

And after: ye meetinges was setled & freinds comforted in ye Lords power & established upon Christ there rocke & foundation: wee past to Puddimoore to Will Beatons:

where wee had a blessed meetinge: & all was quiett though ye Constables had formerly threatned.

And after: wee had visited most of ye meetinges in Somersetsheere: wee past Into Dorsetsheere to one Harris[1] his house: where wee had a large mens meetinge & there all ye mens monthly meetinges were setled in ye glorious order of ye gospell: & y$^{t}$ all in ye power of God might seeke y$^{t}$ which was lost & bringe againe y$^{t}$ which was driven away & might cherish ye good & reprove ye evill.

And after: wee visited ye meetinges of freinds through ye Countrys till wee came to Southhampton where wee had a large meetinge on ye first day.

And from thence wee went to one Capt: Reeves[2] where ye generall mens meetinge of Hampsheere was appointed: & some of all ye County came to it & a blessed meetinge wee had.

And ye mens monthly meetinges was setled in ye order of ye gospell which had brought life & immortality to light in y$^{m}$.

And there came a rude Company[a]: y$^{t}$ had opposed much our meetinges.

[b]And I went to ye house where they lived togeather: for I heard y$^{t}$ one [Rose Atkins[3]] had layne with a man: & I tolde him of it & ye man of ye house said: why did I make soe strange of it: & another of y$^{m}$ sade it was for to stumble mee.

But I tolde y$^{m}$ there wickednesse shoulde not stumble mee for I was above it [& said: what doe yee keepe a baudy house {heere}]: & ye man y$^{t}$ had layne with y$^{t}$ Rose[c] tolde mee of it & had declared: his wickednesse: att ye markett crosse & gloryed in it.[b]

And after they went uppe & doune ye Country till at last they was cast Into Winchester goale.

And this Rose[c] had like to have cutt a Childes throate & hee y$^{t}$ went for her husbande did stabb ye goaler butt not mortall.

And after they was out of prison hee that stabbed ye goaler hanged himselfe.

[a] Ellwood editions add *who were run into Ranterism*

[b]...[b] The order of the wording of these paragraphs is transposed in the Ellwood editions.

[c] *Woman* in Ellwood editions.

Now these people had prophesyed in London: y^t^ ye rest of London should bee burned within 14 days: & they much disturbed our meetinges.

And I was moved of ye Lord God to goe to y^m^: & to tell y^m^ howe y^t^ ye plagues & Judgements of God woulde come upon y^m^: & overtake y^m^.

And they beinge raunters: ye people of ye worlde said they was Quakers: soe I was moved of ye Lord to give foorth a paper: to ye Justices & people of Hampsheere to cleere our selves & truth off y^m^.

And soe after wee had setled ye mens {monthly} meetinges {in those parts} & visited freinds & ye Lords power was over all: wee past to {a tounde}[a] where wee had a meetinge with freinds & from thence wee came to Farneham: where wee mett many ffreinds It beinge markett day: & wee had many {pretious} meetinges uppe & doune y^t^ Country.

And freinds in these Countryes had {beene sorely plundered: &} there goods much spoiled for tyths: & goeinge to meetinges: but ye Lords power preserved us {& y^m^}.

And soe wee past Into Surrey where wee had a generall mens meetinge {att a frends house whome they had scarcely left Kowe or horse or swine: they had soe plundered him} & setled ye mens monthly meetinges: & ye constables threatned: to come & breake uppe our meetinge but ye Lords power stopt them.

And after wee had visited freinds in y^t^ country & had many large {pretious} meetinges {amongst y^m^} wee past Into Sussex: to [b]Rich: Baxes[b1] where wee had a generall mens meetinge & sevrall freinds from London to visitt us.

And there wee had a blessed meetinge & setled ye mens monthly meetinges in ye Lords eternall power & Gospell of salvation & all in it to keepe ye order of ye gospell.

And after wee had setled ye meetinges & ye meetings was quiett though att y^t^ time there was much threatninge wee past away.

And wee had severall large meetinges in y^t^ County: though freindes was in great sufferinges & many in prison.

[a] A space was left in the MS. for the insertion, probably, of a name, and later the words *a tounde* were added.

[b]...[b] Ellwood editions, simply, *a Friend's House*

And I was sent for to a freinde y^t^ was sicke & to see a freinde y^t^ was prisoner & there was daunger of my beinge apprehended but I went in ye faith & Gods power & ye Lord in it did give mee dominion.

And from thence I past through ye Country visitinge frendes till I came Into Kent: & after I had visited a many meetinges there wee had a generall meetinge att a freneds house: of some of all ye men frends from most of ye meetinges in y^t^ Country: & ye {mens} monthly meetinges was setled in ye power of God: & established in ye order of ye Gospell & for all ye heires of it to take there possessions: & ffreinds in ye power of God was joyfull of ye order & of ye setlement in ye order of ye gospell which is not of man nor by man.

And soe after: I passed away: visitinge freinds in there meetinges uppe & doune in Kent.

And when I had cleerd my selfe off ye Lords service in Kent I came uppe to London.

And thus: ye {mens} monthly meetinges was setled: haveinge before setled ye Quarterly meetinges through ye nation.

And I had beene in Barkesheere before: where most of ye eminent ffrends of y^t^ County were in prison: & I informed y^m^ concerneinge ye mens monthly meetinges: & they were setled.

And I sent papers over Into Ireland: by faithfull frenedes & Into Scotlande & Hollande[1] & Barbadoes[2]: & America ffor ffreinds to setle there mens monthly meetinges in those Countryes alsoe: for they had there generall Quarterly meetinges before: but now truth encreased: they should setle there {mens monthly} meetinges in ye power & spiritt of God y^t^ did {first} convince y^m^.

And since ye time y^t^ these meetinges has beene setled y^t^ all ye faithfull in ye power of God y^t^ bee heires of ye gospell has right to ye mens meetinges ye power of God beinge ye authority of y^m^.

Now since these meetinges has been {soe} setled ye Lord has opned many mouths: & many has blest ye Lord: y^t^ ever ye Lord God did sende mee to sett y^m^ uppe yea with teares they have praised ye Lord: for now all comeinge to have a care of Gods glory & honor: & y^t^ his name bee not

blasphemd which they doe professe: & to see y^t^ all does {walke in} ye truth & righteousnesse: & walkes in holynesse which becomes ye house of God: & y^t^ all comes to order there conversations aright y^t^ they may come to see the salvation of God.

[And y^t^ all y^t^ does professe: y^t^ they professe noe more then what they doe possesse.

And to see y^t^ all does not onely hear ye worde but doe it & y^t^ there conversation is as becomes ye gospell of Jesus Christ: & every one y^t^ names ye name of Christ to departe from iniquity & as every one has receved Christ soe to walke in him &] soe to walke in holynesse which becomes ye house of God.

Soe all haveinge a Care of Gods glory: in his holy power & holy spiritt: in ye order of life & order of ye gospell: where they may see {& knowe & possesse} ye goverment of Christ ye Increase of which there is noe ende.

Soe ye Lords everlastinge renoune & praise is sett uppe in every ones hearte: soe y^t^ wee can now say y^t^ our gospell order is not of man nor by man: but by Jesus Christ [a]sent from Heaven by[a] ye holy ghoast.

And soe this order of ye gospell: which is not of man nor by man but sent from Christ ye heavenly man: is above all ye orders of men {in ye fall} & ye Jews orders: & Itt will bee when they are all gone for ye power of God ye everlastinge gospell lasts for ever.

I say the power of God was before ye Devill was & remaines when hee is gonne: & before ye Jews & gentiles & all ye Apostatised Christians orders was: & it will bee when they are gonne.

And as ye everlastinge gospell was preacht in ye Apostles days to all nations y^t^ all nations might come Into ye order of it which power bringes life & immortality to light.

Now as they was heires of it they {might} inherit ye power & authority of it.

And soe againe as ye gospell was preacht to all nations soe since all nations has drunke ye whores cuppe: & all ye world has worshiped ye beast: but whoe had there names written in ye lambes booke of life before ye foundation of ye

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *in and through*

worlde was: such worshiped God in spiritt & truth: as Christ commanded [above 1600 yeeres since].

And now seeinge y$^{t}$ all ye worlde has worshiped ye beast & drunke ye whores cuppe & ye beast has power over ye tongues which is caled ye originall: to order y$^{m}$ by which they make devines: John ye Devine said ye everlastinge gospell shoulde bee preacht againe to all nations kindes tongues & people: & this everlastinge gospell torments ye whore & makes her & ye beast to rage.

And soe all y$^{t}$ receves ye gospell ye power of God which bringes life & immortality to light by which they see over ye beast Devill whore & false prophett y$^{t}$ has darkned y$^{m}$: & all there worshipps & orders: & comes to bee heires of ye gospell ye power of God: which was before {ye} beast whore false prophett {& Devill} was: & ye gospell ye power of God will bee when {they are} all gonne & cast Into ye lake of fire soe they y$^{t}$ be heires of this power of this gospell: they Inheritt ye power which is ye order & authority of our meetinges.

And every man & woman y$^{t}$ bee heires of ye Gospell they are heires of this authority & ye power of God which was before ye Devill was which is not of man nor by man.

Soe they come to inheritt & possesse ye Joyfull order of ye Joyfull gospell: ye comfortable order of ye comfortable gospell: & ye glorious order of ye glorious gospell: & ye everlastinge order of ye everlastinge gospell: ye power of God which will last for ever & outlast all ye orders of ye Devill & y$^{t}$ which is of men or by men.

And soe they shall see ye goverment of Christ whoe has all power in heaven & earth given to him & ye increase of his glorious righteous holy Just goverment there is noe ende: but his govrment & his order will remaine: & hee whoe is ye author of it whoe is ye first & last ye beginninge & endinge & over all ye foundation of God which stands sure: Christ Jesus ye Amen.

[1668] And soe after I had setled ye monthly meetinges throughout ye nation I stayde in London a time & visited freindes meetinges.

And after a while I went to visitt Esq: Marsh: & hee was att dinner & {hee} sent for mee uppe & there was severall great persons att dinner with him & hee would

have had mee sett doune with him to Dinner but I was not free.

And hee said to a great papist then there heere is a quaker which you have not seene before.

And ye papist askt mee whether I did owne ye Cristneinge of Children: & I tolde him there was no scripture for any such practise: what sayd hee not for Cristninge children: & I said nea but if hee meant ye one baptisme with ye spiritt Into one body y^t^ wee owned but to throwe a litle water in a childes face & say they was baptised {or cristned} there was noe scripture: for y^t^.

Then hee askt mee whether I did owne ye catholicke ffaith & I said yes.

But neither ye pope nor ye papistes were in y^t^ catholicke faith ffor {ye true catholicke} ffaith workes by love & purifyes ye hearte: & if they were in y^t^ {faith} y^t^ gives victory by which they might have accesse to God they woulde not tell people of a purgatory after they were deade.

Soe I woulde prove y^t^ neither pope nor papists y^t^ helde uppe purgatory was in ye true faith for ye true pretious & devine ffaith which Christ is ye author off: gives victory over ye Devill & sin y^t^ had seperated man & woman from God.

And if they was in ye true faith they woulde never make rackes & prisons goales & fires[a] to persecute & force others y^t^ was not of there faith: for this was not ye practise of ye true faith of Christ y^t^ was {wittnessed & enjoyed} by ye Apostles & primitive church neither had they any such commande from Christ & ye Apostles butt it was ye practise of ye faithlesse Jewes & heathens {soe to doe}.

And I said unto him y^t^ seeinge hee was a great & leadinge man amongst ye papists: & had beene taught & bredd uppe under ye pope: & seeinge thou says there is noe salvation but In your Church I have two questions to aske thee.

Ye first is what is it y^t^ does bringe salvation in your Church hee aunswered a good life.

And nothinge else said I: yes said hee good workes: & is this it y^t^ bringes salvation in your Chuch: a good life & good workes is this your doctrine & principle.

[a] Ellwood editions: *fines*, but this may be a printer's error, as the word *fires* occurs in a similar passage on page 95.

{Yes said hee.} Then I sade y^t^ neither ye papists pope nor thee does knowe what it is y^t^ bringes salvation.

Then hee askt mee what brought salvation in our Chuch: I tolde him ye same y^t^ brought salvation to ye Chuch in ye Apostles days ye same brought salvation to us: & not another: which is ye grace of God which bringes salvation which hath appeared unto all men: which taught ye Saintes & teaches us: then & now: & this grace is it which bringes salvation which teaches to live godlily righteously & soberly & to deny ungodlynesse & worldely lusts.

[Soe this grace which teaches to deny ye bad worke & ye bad life: & to live ye good life & to doe ye good worke: this grace is it which bringes ye salvation.]

Soe it is not ye good worke nor ye good life y^t^ bringes it but ye grace.

What says ye papist dos this grace y^t^ bringes salvation appeare unto all men yes said I: but I deny y^t^ saide ye papist: {then} I said I knowe yee papists will deny y^t^: & therfore yee are sect makers & are not in ye universall faith grace & truth as ye Apostles was in.

[1]And often ye severall sorts of sects in Christendome woulde accuse us & say wee forsakt our mother Chuch.

And one while ye papists would bee chargeinge of us: for forsakeinge ye mother chuch: whoe woulde say Rome was ye {onely} mother Church.

And another while ye Episcoparians & they would bee chargeinge of us for fo{r}sakeinge[a] ye olde protestant religion & {they woulde} say theres was ye mother chuch: & ye reformed Chuch.

And then againe ye presbyterians & Independants they woulde bee accuseinge of us for forsakeinge of y^m^ & they woulde say theres was ye right reformed Chuch.

And unto y^m^ {all} I aunswered: if wee coulde owne any outward Citty {or place} to bee ye mother {Chuch} or any outwarde profession: we woulde owne outwarde Jerusalem: where Christ & ye Apostles preacht & suffered: & where ye first {great} Conversion by Peter to Christianity was: where Christ commanded his disciples to waite att outwarde

[a] The correction in this word is in another handwriting.

Jerusalem untill they was endoued with power from on high & att outwarde Jerusalem was ye types & figuires & Altar[a] which Christ ended.

Soe if any outwarde place deserved to bee caled {ye} mother y$^{t}$ was ye place where ye first great conversion to Christianity was.

But ye Apostle saith in ye 4$^{th}$ of ye Gal. 25 : 26$^{th}$ v :— Jerusalem which now is in bondage with her children but Jerusalem which is above is free which is ye mother of us all : for it is written rejoyce thou barren y$^{t}$ beareth not : bringe foorth & cry : thou y$^{t}$ travellest not : for ye desolate hath mor children then shee y$^{t}$ hath an husbande.

Now this wee doe see y$^{t}$ Jerusalem below which was ye highest place of worshippe & all y$^{t}$ bee like her in profession without possession : has mor children then ye free woman y$^{t}$ has a husbande : which is Jerusalem y$^{t}$ is above ye mother of us all {ye} true Christians.

Soe ye Apostle dos not say outwarde Jerusalem was ye mother though ye first great conversion of Christians was there.

And therfore ye title mother cannot bee given to Rome nor {to} any other place nor sect by Jerusalems children y$^{t}$ is above & free & they are not Jerusalems children y$^{t}$ is free & above y$^{t}$ gives ye title of mother either to outwarde Jerusalem or to Rome or to any other place or sect of people.

And this title mother has been given to places & sects amongst ye degenerate Christians since ye Apostles days [b]but ye Apostle[b] said Jerusalem y$^{t}$ is above is ye mother of us all.

Soe wee say still y$^{t}$ Jerusalem which is above is ye mother off us all : & cannot owne noe other neither outwarde Jerusalem nor Rome nor any sect of people for our mother : but Jerusalem which is above which is free : ye mother of us all y$^{t}$ are borne againe & become true beleivers in ye light & whoe are grafted Into Christ ye heavenly vine.

And I say {y$^{t}$ all} whoe are borne againe of ye immortall seed by ye worde of God y$^{t}$ lives & abides & endures for ever feedes upon ye milke of ye worde ye breasts of life &

[a] Ellwood editions : *Shadows*
[b]...[b] Corrected from *whoe*

growes by it: in life {& cannot acknowledge any other to be there mother: but Jerusalem which is abuve}.

Oh says Esq Marsh {to ye papist} you doe not knowe this man: if hee woulde but come to ye Chuch {nowe & then} hee woulde bee [a]ye bravest man y[t] ever was[a].

And soe after many wordes {with y[m]} I went asyde with {Esq} Marsh Into a nother roome for hee was a Justice of peace [b]at Lyme house[b] & beinge a Courtyer ye other Justices putt of ye management of matters more upon him.

And hee said unto mee you cannot sweare & soe say{d hee} ye Independant & baptists & monarchy people {say alsoe}: & therfore say{d} hee howe shall I knowe howe to distinguish betwixt you {& y[m]} seeinge they & you all say it is for conscience sake {you cannot sweare}.

Then I said I will shew thee how to distinguish: ffor these thou speakes of can & doe sweare in some cases: butt wee cannott in any Case.

For if a man shoulde take there cowes or horses if thou shouldst aske y[m] whether they woulde sweare they was theres: they woulde readily doe it.

But if thou try our freindes: they cannot sweare for there owne goods: soe when thou putts ye oath of Allegians to y[m] aske y[m] whether they can sweare in any Case: or for there cowe or there horse: which they cannot doe butt can beare wittnesse: ffor there was a theife stoale two beasts from a freinde in Barkesheere which theife was taken & cast in{to} prison: & ye ffreinde appeared against him att ye assises: & some people tolde ye Judge y[t] ye freinde {y[t] prosecuted} was a quaker & woulde not sweare: & before hee hearde what hee woulde say: Is {hee} a quaker sayd {ye Judge} & wont hee sweare then put ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy to him: soe they cast ye frende Into prison & premunired him & lett ye theife goe at liberty y[t] had stolen his goods.

{Then said Esq: Marsh: y[t] Judge was a wicked man.}

Soe {then I said} thou must see y[t] if wee coulde sweare in any case wee woulde take ye oath of Allegians to ye

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions, simply: *a Brave Man.*
[b]...[b] Ellwood editions read *for Middlesex*

kinge whoe is to preserve ye lawes which lawes preserves every man in his estate.

Butt they can sweare for there owne ends: or y$^{t}$ such a man stoale from him {or y$^{m}$} to bringe him to ye law to preserve a parte of his estate: & yett they will not take an oath to ye kinge whoe is to preserve them in there whole estates & body alsoe.

Soe thou maist easily distinguish {& putt a differens} betwixt us & other people: soe this Marsh was after very serviceable {to freindes in this & other matters} for hee stopt severall freinds & others from beinge premunired in those parts where hee was a Justice.

And in ye time of ye {late} act for persecution severall frends was brought before him & many of y$^{m}$ hee sett at liberty & some hee sent to prison for an houre or two or a night: but at last hee went to ye kinge & tolde him hee had sent to prison some of us contrary to his Conscience & hee coulde not doe soe noe more: & tooke lodgeinges neere James Parke & removed himselfe & family from Lyme house & hee tolde ye kinge y$^{t}$ hee might give liberty of Conscience for y$^{t}$ woulde knocke doune all att one blow for then none coulde have any pretence & hee was a very serviceable man to truth & frends in his day.

And soe after I had stayde a while in London I past foorth Into ye Countryes: & Into Sussex & Surrey visitinge freindes & Into severall other places of ye nation.

But wee had great service at London this yeere: & ye Lords truth came over all: & a meetinge was sett uppe off condemnation & y$^{t}$ if any one had any thinge to say they might come & testify unto ye truth.

[And Margarett ffell came uppe to London] & soe after I had stayde a while in London: I visited ffrendes uppe & doune in ye Country [& Jo: Swinton & many others y$^{t}$ had been out came in this yeere].

And soe [hee] travailed with mee [&] L: ffell {doune} Into ye Country: & wee visited ffreindes till wee came to Warwick where there was many ffreindes in prison.

And wee had a meetinge in ye tounde & after I passt from thence to Brumigem & to Bagley [& Jo: Swinton & one other freinde past to Leister].

And I had a large meetinge at Bagley & I past from

thence through ye Country visitinge ffreindes till I came to Nottingham where one ye first day wee had a pretious meetinge: but not without danger of beinge apprehended ye constables haveinge threatned to take uppe freinds about y^t^ time.

And from thence I past through ye Country till I came to Balby in Yorkesheere: visitinge freindes: & from thence I past through ye Country till I came to Yorke att ye assises: att which time ye Quarterly meetinge was [a]att Yorke: & they had 7 monthly meetinges in Yorkesheere[a] & they was desireous to have mee come doune y^t^ they might have 7 more monthly meetinges sett uppe.

And att y^t^ time they were established for truth was much spreade in y^t^ Country: & soe whereas they had but 7 monthly meetinges {before} nowe they have 14 monthly meetinges in y^t^ Country.

And a blessed meetinge wee had & ye Lords power was over all: & there I mett with Justice Hotham: a well wisher to ffreindes & one y^t^ had beene tender unto mee att ye first.

And after y^t^ I had ffinished my service for ye Lord in York I past uppe Into ye Country: & a great burden fell upon mee as I went: & I came to a meetinge on ye first day {at one Shiptons}: which was very large & there was a preist sent to a Justice & gott a warrant: & came to another meetinge & hearde I was to bee at y^t^ & hee did much beate & abuse frends & haled some of y^m^ before a Justice of peace: as you may see [b]in this followeinge letter[b][1].

But hee thought I woulde have beene at y^t^ meetinge & not findeinge mee {there} they sett freindes att liberty againe.

And after ye foresaid meetinge was donne I past through ye Countryes visitinge frendes att Whitbey & Scarborough & when I came Into Scarborough ye governor hearde y^t^ I was come to tounde & sent {to mee} by one of his souldyers & said surely I woulde not bee soe unkinde as not to come to see him & his wiffe.

Soe after meetinge was donne I went uppe to visitt him & hee was very curteous & loveinge.

[a]...[a] In the margin opposite this line is the date *1669*.
[b]...[b] Altered from *as follows*

And soe after I had visited most of ye meetinges in Yorkesheere & uppe to Woules & Holdernesse I past through ye Country till I came to Henery Jackesons where I had a great meetinge & to Tho: Taylors : & {to} Eldrah to John Moores [where Sarah ffell & Susannah fell mett mee]: & there was not farr off Coll: Kirby sicke off ye goute whoe had threatned y$^{t}$ if I ever came neere hee woulde sende mee to prison again & had bidd 40 to any man y$^{t}$ coulde take mee.

And wee had a very large meetinge at this Eldrah & ye Lords power & presence was a mongst us.

And after ye meetinge was donne I past through ye Countryes till I came Into S(t)affordesheere & soe Into Chesheere where wee had many large & pretious meetinges [& in Chesheere : there was one Sir Jeffry Shakkerley[1] y$^{t}$ had beene a cruell persecutor of ffreindes hee lights off a younge man about 18 or 19 yeere olde y$^{t}$ had beene at mill with a loaden horse or two.

And ye younge man coulde not gett ye loaden horses soone out of his way : upon which hee beate him with his Kane & ye younge man tooke it out of his hande & layde it doune by him: & then hee tooke out his pistolls & ye younge man tooke y$^{m}$ out of his handes alsoe & layde y$^{m}$ doune {by him ye way beinge narrow} & then hee drew his rapier att him & hee tooke it out of his hande alsoe & layde it doune by him.

And his man whoe was a litle behinde him : whoe were both full of drinke : hee caled to his man & sayde this Quaker hath disarmed mee : & his man would have had ye freinde give him his weapons again which hee was loath to doe least hee shoulde doe mischeife with y$^{m}$.

And soe at last the man desired ye frende to give him ye armes againe & ye frende said if hee would promise to keepe y$^{m}$ from his master y$^{t}$ hee might not doe mischeife with them hee woulde deliver y$^{m}$ to him.

Soe Shakerly sent away his man to fetch ye Constable & to bringe a booke to tender ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy to him.

{And Shakerley sate on his horse backe: all ye while: & kept ye younge mans horses loaden all ye while till his man came backe againe.}

Soe when his man came backe againe hee tolde his

master hee coulde not finde ye constables: & they were poore people & hee coulde not gett a bible.

Then after the freinde gave his man his masters weapons & then they went both away: to looke for a constable & his man: was more civill then his master: & bid ye frende stay at a smyths shoppe a while till they were gonne & past away: & soe ye frende stayde there a while: & seeinge they came not hee passet away over a Common with his loaden horses: & there Shakerley {after hee had ridden uppe & doune for a constable a longe while & coulde not finde any} espyeinge of him hee followed ye younge man: to ye tounde & there came ye preist & constable {to him}: & there Shackerley woulde make a mittimus to sende him to goale for disarmeinge of him.

And then ye Constable {& ye preist} disswaded him to sende him foorthwith seeinge ye freinde was in his old cloaths: & {ye preist said} y$^{t}$ his father was a very honnest man: though his father was ye veryest drunkarde in ye tounde & used to beate his son: in his drunkennesse: & his son had beene used to disarme his father of his weapons in his drunkennesse which made him soe expert in y$^{t}$ worke.

But after this Shakerly {rode away &} gave noe mittimus {to ye Constable} but it made such a noice in ye Country: y$^{t}$ frendes perswaded him {to goe} uppe to London to live: to putt him out of this Shakerleys way.

And this relation I had from Will: Gandys owne mouth.

And from Will: Gandys I came to Warrington] & [from thence] to Will: Barnes[1] where wee had a very large meetinge two miles of Warrington.

And Coll: Kirby was again at Warrington whoe had threatned as aforesaid: & was breakeinge uppe ye meetinges but ye Lords power prevented him & stoppt him.

[a][And from thence] wee past to neere Liverpoole where wee waited for shippinge & winde [{to passe for Irelande}].

And when ye winde presented wee tooke shippinge to witt my selfe: Rob: Lodge[2]: James Lancaster: Tho: Brigges & John Stubbs [& ye Lords eternall power was with us as you may see in our journall as followeth: more att large].[b]

[a] Ellwood editions: *Now was I moved of the Lord to pass over into Ireland to visit the Seed of God in that Nation:*

[b] Narrative continued on page 149.

[1][*G: ff: his travailes into Irelande, & In and out of Irelande, as ffolloweth.*]

Hee waited severall days for A winde, & sent James Lancaster to take Passage [for four or five men, not matteringe to have A noyse made of his owne name, because Collonell Kirkby of Lancaster, had saide hee would give 40li and ride his horse fourty Miles to take him, and that hee had gotten an order from the Kinge, and this was his Enmity to truth, as severall told him; And where I[a] was to take shippinge t'was in ye County where this Kirkby Lived] and James Lancaster bringinge news yt the shipp was ready, and would take Gff: in at blacke Rocke, which he goeinge afoote a great way, was well nigh sweltered, and soe beinge come, & the shipp not there, hee went to the Towne, where hee & they tooke shippinge, and Gff saide to ye rest of his Company, come, yee will triumph {in the Lord} for yee will have faire wind, & weather, & many passengers beinge in the shipp, many were sicke and cast downe about them, but none of these [5:] that went with Gff were sicke; many of the passingers and the Master of ye shipp was very Loveinge, & beinge on the first day at sea, Gff was moved to declare somethinge to them, The Master of ye shipp said, come heare is things that yow never heard in your lives.

And soe when wee came neare to Dublin, wee tooke boate, all beinge well, and 4: times wee passed through ye custome officers, yett our selves without searchinge, some of them beinge soe Envious they could not looke at us, knowinge what wee were; Soe when wee came on shore, ye Earth and ye very aire, smelt with ye corruption of the Nation, and gave Another smell then England to mee, with ye corruption & ye blood, and the Massacres, & ye foulenesse yt Asscended.

Soe wee [wandered from betwixt ye 8th & 9th houre in ye Morneinge, to ye 2d houre &] could not finde ffriends, wee tooke up an Inn, & sent out to Enquire, & soe when wee had founde ffriends, they were very Joyfull of seeinge us, & Receiveinge of us with great Joy, & soe wee stayed the weekly Meettinge, where there was A great one; and ye

[a] Altered from *he*

power & life of God Appeared in it, and afterwards wee passed to A province Meetinge, which lasted 2: days, A Mens Meettinge about y^e^ poore, and another Generall Meettinge, & Amighty power of the Lord appeared, & truth was [a]very pretious[a], and friends were much Refreshed.

And soe from thence wee passed 24: miles to another Meettinge, where wee had a very good Refreshing meeting, at which meetting after it was done, some of y^e^ Papists was angry, & raged very much, and Gff: heareinge of it, he sent for one of them beinge A Schoolemaster, and hee would not come at him, then Gff: gave forth a challenge to him, & his friers, & Monks, preists, & Jesuits [and the Pope himselfe], to come forth & try their God, & their Christ, that they had made of breade & wine.

And from thence hee went to New Garden, where there was a great Meettinge, & soe all alonge through Meettings [which would be to large to write], untill hee came to Bandon bridge, & y^e^ Lands End, & A mighty power of y^e^ Lord was in y^e^ Meettings, & people taken with truth & Refreshed.

[And soe comeinge to A Towne, y^e^ time, they call Whitsunday holy days, the Ireish people had beene at their Masse, y^e^ streetts being full of them, Gff: called for their Jesuites & Priests, & the people asked, what hee would doe with them, & Gff: saide two pennyworth of Mass for his horse, & hee would give any of them two pence for their Labours; & soe hee said, the candles had A Mass, & y^e^ Lambs had A Mass, why might not his horse have A Mass, as well as they, hee was a good Creature, & soe in many Towns, and Citties hee called for y^e^ same, and the Papists saide why doe yow meddle with our Religeon;] but noe Answer could he gett, from y^e^ papast Jesuits to try their God, & their Christ, which they had made of breade & wine; soe hee told them, they were worse then Baall, for Baal's preist tryed their wooden God, which they had made; but they durst not try their breade, & wine God, and baal's preist & people, did not eate their God as they did, & then make Another.

And at Bandon the [provost or] Mayors wife, being convinced, desired her Husband to come to y^e^ Meettings, & hee answered her, & saide, for her life, she should not make

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *livingly declared*

knowne, y^t^ Gff: was in Towne at A Meettinge there. And y^e^ Mayor of Corke was very Envious against y^e^ truth, & friends, haveing many in prison.

As Gff: was in Bandon [gettinge up, & dressing himselfe in y^e^ Morneinge], there appeared a very ugly vissiaged man, blacke & darke, & hee strucke at him in y^e^ power of God, & with his horse rode over him, &[a] putt his foott on y^e^ side of his cheeke, & this was, as hee was dressinge of himselfe, and he went downe y^e^ staires, & told A friend, y^t^ was with him, that the Command of y^e^ Lord was to him, y^t^ hee must ride through Corke, but Gff: bad him tell noe creature, & soe as he was goeing, some y^t^ rode with him, Expectinge him to ride Another way, for ffriends desire was y^t^ he might not ride through, for there was then 4: warrants out against him from y^e^ Mayor [haveing y^e^ Presidents Letter, by which his warrant reached over y^e^ Province.

And soe Gff: passing neare Corke, friends perceiveinge y^t^ hee would goe through y^e^ Towne, severall asked him to goe to their houses, but hee saw, y^t^ if hee alighted to their houses, he sunk to[b] A fire, but he kept on his horse, which was y^e^ Command of God, and {dear G: F:}[c] he ridd pure and cleare over, for y^e^ word was to him, y^t^ his horse was fittest for them, & was to be next them] And soe the friends asked him to goe y^e^ backside y^e^ Towne, & he said nay, his way was through the streetts [& they told him y^e^ way was soe slippery in y^e^ hight of the Markett, y^t^ hee could not goe, & his horse could nott stand, & he saide y^t^ was but litle, & soe hee called to them y^t^ rod with him, which of them would ride through y^e^ Towne with him, & all y^e^ rest stay behinde] soe there was one Paule Morris[1] rode alonge with him [soe he bid him ride Either afore him, or aside him], to guide him through to y^e^ Markett place [& through y^e^ Markett], & soe by y^e^ Mayors doore [y^t^ had given forth y^e^ warrants]; & said {t}hee {Mayor} there goes George ffox [& soe there y^e^ vission came to bee fufilled], & hee had noe power.

[But oh what A fire there was in y^e^ hearts, & spiritts of

[a] Ellwood editions insert *my Horse*

[b] The copy of this MS. referred to in note [c] has *into*

[c] The writer of the MS. left a space between the words *and* and *he*, which a later writer filled with the words *dear G: F:* A similar space is also apparent in an ancient copy of this MS preserved in D.

people, when he rode through y^e^ Towne, hee beinge Generally knowne, they looked, & peeped. And soe when I came neare y^e^ prison, the prissoners saw mee, & knew mee, & trembled for feare, least I should bee taken,] & soe I passed through y^e^ next sentinell, & came over y^e^ Bridge [& I asked Paule as it was with mee, whether there was A friends house thereabouts, & soe he guided mee] to A friends house, & I alighted, & soe friends when I came in, were tellinge mee, what rage there was in y^e^ Towne, & how many warrants to take mee [& of y^e^ takeinge mee].

And after a litle while, [I went to another Roome, to speake with some friends, & soe] sittinge with them a while, I felt y^e^ evill spiritt in y^e^ Towne, in a great rage against mee [a]& soe I rose up, & strucke at it in y^e^ power of God[a]; and Immediately some ffriends came in, & told mee, y^t^ it was all over y^e^ Towne amongst y^e^ Magistrates, y^t^ I was in y^e^ towne, & soe I saide, lett y^e^ devill doe his worst, and soe after a while, I called for my [Coate, &] my horse, {& A friend} to guide mee [to y^e^ Inn, for I was onely to alight, & stay, & soe many would have gone {with mee}, but I called one aside, & hee saide he would goe, & soe when I had gone a litle way, I asked him where y^e^ stable was, where my horse was, hee said, hee had caused my horse to bee brought to meett mee, on y^e^ topp of y^e^ hill; & soe beinge hott, hee tooke my coate, & soe wee crossed over y^e^ great roade, & went A middle way, & I looked over my horse Necke, when hee came to mee, & I Espied, 5: or 6: horsmen who went to a house, after they had A Councell, & soe they came together againe, & had Another Councell, & 2: of them galloped backe againe, & 2: went one way, & y^e^ rest alonge y^e^ roade; And soe I saide, yonder bee scouts after mee, and when I came to y^e^ roade on y^e^ topp of y^e^ hill, I espied 2: horsemen in y^e^ great roade I passed over; I saide to them, yonder be the scouts againe in the other roade], and soe wee passed in our way [(with A friende y^t^ was A steward to a Justice, & Paule y^t^ went through y^e^ Towne with mee) about 10: miles.

And soe at night some friends from Corke came to tell what News there was, who next Morneinge told us, that]

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *and I felt the Power of the Lord strike at that Evil Spirit*

they were in A pittifull rage, y^t^ they had missed mee [& were ready to Eate their owne flesh. Soe y^e^ next day I rode to a place, where there was A few friends, beinge y^e^ first day, & y^e^ next day haveinge ridden a matter of 16 : miles, wee were come againe within 20 : miles of Corke, & baiteinge at an Inn, there came in a man, in a litle poore Roome next unto us, and ffriends were speakeinge together, I asked them & y^e^ tapster, who was in y^e^ next roome, feeleinge somwhat strike at my life, he saide A gentleman, and I stayed there about 2 : hours, wee paide our Reckoninge, & went out to our horses, & this man comeinge out after us, stared upon us, & soe asked which way wee were goeing, being a man of Corke, and soe hee sunge, & went into y^e^ house, as if he had gott his prize, (& y^e^ Inn keeper came alsoe, lookeinge most strangly upon us,) hee had almost spoiled his horse, and soe wee gott on our horse backes, & rode away, & when we had rode severall miles further, we parted, & some went to y^e^ Citty {Limbrick[1]}, and I went to one Abels[2], where y^e^ Meetting was, & ffriends y^t^ came to y^e^ meettinge, & a brave meettinge there was, in the power of God, & after y^e^ Meetinge was done, friends tould mee] they had y^e^ manner of my haire, & my Clothes,[a] [where y^t^ man was in y^e^ Inn, at y^e^ Towne, where hee came y^t^ night, where they came from, & I goeinge there Escaped.

Now y^e^ province of Munster's meettinge, (to which Corke beelongs to y^e^ Generall Meetting) & mens Meettinge being over before y^e^ warrants were issued out against mee,] where y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord was soe great, y^t^ friends in the power, & spiritt of y^e^ Lord brake out into singeing many together with an Audable voice, makeing mellody in their hearts[3]; [and soe I passed to Another province, through friends, & went to the Generall Meetinge, & mens Meetting which lasted 2 : dayes, where there was horse & ffoott like Afaire; from thence I passed to other Meettings, where y^e^ power of the Lord God, & his spirit was, wonderfully manifested, to y^e^ Refreshinge of ffriends, and from thence to the ffoxes Country[4], who claimed kindred, but I tould them my kindred, were them that stood in y^e^ life, & power of God; and there was a good meetting of friends, & many of y^e^ world came in, as in most places, which sett y^e^ Justices

[a] Ellwood editions add *Hat and Horse*

and Papists on A fire,] & y^e^ Jesuits sware in some of our faces, did wee come to spreade our principles in y^t^ Nation, they swore wee should not doe it, [and yet they durst not dispute with us, or Answere to try their God.

And from thence I passed Northward, a matter of 36 : or 38 : Miles off y^t^ place, where wee had A very good Meettinge amonge friends & y^e^ world, & from thence a matter of 36 : miles further, and lieinge at A friends house, I felt y^e^ evill spirit to worke againe to purpose, (being always on my watch) I saw as it were, A grimm blacke fellow, who was fetterringe of my legs, with A coarde, y^t^ I had much adoe, to preserve my feett from him.

And y^t^ day I went to y^e^ Meetting, & when I came to it y^e^ meettinge was pretty well gathered, and I tooke A friende of Ireland, & said lett us walke a litle into y^e^ Garden, & when we came into y^e^ garden, I felt y^e^ power of darknesse strongly workeinge against mee, & I said unto him looke what is in y^e^ Meettinge, for I feele y^e^ power of darknesse at worke strongly, & soe he went, & came againe, beinge sencible of my feelinge, for hee perswaded mee, not to come into y^e^ Meettinge, before hee went in, I tould him it was their desire, & I saide, I thought to reserve my selfe for A province Meettinge, where all mett together, and when he came backe from y^e^ meettinge, hee saide y^e^ devills Messenger is come, he is stareinge up & downe in y^e^ meetting, & soe he, & another desired mee againe, not to come into the meetting, soe I saide againe to him, goe to the devills messenger, & inquire of him his intent, he came againe, & tould mee y^t^ this messenger of y^e^ devill saide, he had severall writts for to take friends, he was A Papist & a baylife, hee was as bad a man, as any in y^e^ Country, soe when friends had done speakeinge, this man goes away, & soe I went up to y^e^ Meettinge, & them y^t^ was out came in againe, & wee had a fine Meettinge afterwards.

And when I had done, I tooke my horse, & ridd about 9 : miles, & as I was goeinge many beinge with mee, I bad them Either goe before, or keep after, & as one was passinge alonge, the Preists man stood in the way with A picke, to take such a man, as he was, and questioned where he had beene, and Gff: comeinge, by y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord went over him, & though the man, y^t^ went afore, ridd to acquainte us,

of being stop't, but missed us, for A preist, who is made A Justice, (to whom this man belonged, which Preist hath given over his twatleing Tubb) he had sent in y^e^ morneing a litle way over hedge & ditch, to the baylifes house, with a speciall warrant, haveinge my haire, my clothes, my person, and my horse in it, & with it this bailife came to the Meettinge, & he had 3 : fellowes in the next garden to mee, to assist him, when he had taken mee, y^e^ Justice priest, & 2 : priests more on y^e^ topp of a hill, a quarter of A mile, from y^e^ Meetting, at the friends house where I stood in the garden, I thought first, they were 3 : shades of trees, but at last I perceived they were 3 : blacke coats who were peepeinge, & soe the preist thought all sure, & thought, the meettinge longe, and tould friends Children, y^t^ y^e^ Quakers would preach themselvs hungery, & soe went into y^e^ ffriends house, to gett some drinke, and soe haveinge his bayliffs, & his men in another roade, they thought to have mee sure in their fetters.

And soe, when I was in y^e^ power of God over all ; at night, y^e^ Preist sent to y^e^ bayliffe, to know, why he did not bringe mee, and the bayliffe saide there was noe such person, as was Prescribed in y^e^ warrant, for hee had looked over all y^e^ Meettinge, & then y^e^ Justice preist came to y^e^ ffreinds house, & asked him, whether George ffox was not there, and y^e^ friende said y^t^ he was there, & spake there to, then y^e^ Preist & y^e^ bayliffe fell a knockinge, & a Jangleinge, thus y^e^ devill was foiled, & with his darknesse could not comprehend the light ; and it was strange to mee, how they got news of mee passinge almost an hundred miles to y^t^ Meetting, but when some friends questioned of his Knowledge, he said, he had A Letter from London, before my comeinge to Irelande ; And it may be seene what Judases there bee to betray truth ; and then I passed over y^e^ water, where soe many was drowned, in y^e^ massacre.

And on y^e^ first day was the Generall Meettinge of y^e^ province, and on y^e^ second day, was y^e^ mens meettinge like A faire, y^e^ first was like a faire abundance of friends, and y^e^ world, and soe at the later end of the Meettinge, came severall into y^e^ Meetting one after Another ; & one I felt was a spie, & went his ways, but y^e^ meeting was quiett, and A mighty Convincement was y^t^ day, and A mighty power

of God was there y^t^ day; and the Justice priest Questioned some sober people that were at y^e^ Meettinge, & threatened them in A rage, & they tould him, they would goe every day, if the could heare George ffox.

Then I passed from that place to visitt some other friends in my way, & came to A Market Towne, where there were more ffriends, & to visitt them, when I alighted, I was pittifull burthened with the wicked spiritt, & haveinge not slept y^e^ night before, there A couple of Ladies came in with their Attendance, twice to looke at mee, my name beinge over the Towne, they Inquired whether such a man was not come to towne, & y^t^ still struc't more at my life; and y^e^ friends y^t^ was with mee, asked mee twice to put y^e^ horse to grasse, & I forbad them as feeleing y^e^ darknesse; and soe Asked them whether they had not a backside to walke in, & soe they led mee into y^e^ backside, & when I had walked a turne or 2: there came in two men, I asked them what they were, they that were with mee Answered one was A Captaine, y^t^ was at y^e^ Meetting the other day, & y^e^ other A friende, & soe the friend tooke mee aside, & said, hee had somethinge to speake to mee; hee saide y^t^ y^e^ Justices were mett together, & had [a]gone over[a] to the baylifes to take mee in y^t^ Towne, and soe after a while I tooke leave of friends, & bid y^e^ man that was with mee, to bringe out the horses, soe wee gott on horse backe.

And soe wee passed towards y^e^ next County to A Meettinge, which was neare A Knights house, which Knight had sent a private Letter, to y^e^ Justice of y^t^ Towne {in another county}, for I did not intend to stay longe in y^t^ Towne, but visitt friends as I passed through, & soe next day wee came to y^e^ place of Meettinge, where we had a brave Meettinge, in y^e^ power of God; oh the brokennesse, & life y^t^ flowed, & when y^e^ meetinge was done I passed 12: miles further, then y^e^ Knight did rage, y^t^ I should have a meettinge soe neare him, who had sent a private Letter to y^e^ Justice of y^e^ other County, soe y^e^ power of God made them all to rage together, and then I passed many Miles farther.

Then I came backe againe to the Grainge, where we had a great meettinge, & quiet; from thence wee passed

[a]...[a] Ancient copy reads *given order*

almost 30: miles farther, where wee had Another Meettinge, where y^e^ scots raged, and there I felt y^e^ wicked spiritt Extreamely madd, but y^e^ power of God had great dominion, for some friends thought, some officers would come in.

And after meettinge, we passed severall miles farther, & when we came within 2: miles of y^e^ towne, wee saw 4: men, & I told them they were friends, for I felt their spiritts, & [a]som of[a] they had come 32: miles to bringe mee Newes, & said, y^e^ Justice preist had gott y^e^ Judgs warrant of the Assizes, to goe over all his Circuit, which reached nigh a hundred Miles, as farr up as Tredarth[b], and in it was my hatt, & my haire, & my clothes, & my horse; Well saide I, if they be politick they will lay all the post Townes, & places where friends live, & soe I went into y^e^ Towne with y^t^ man of y^e^ Towne, for y^t^ was in y^e^ same province & circuit, and friends came into mee, but I could neyther Eate nor Sleepe, & bid y^e^ rest goe to their Inns, and I said, lett the divell doe his worst, and this Towne is Blessed; But Nevertheless be ready in y^e^ Morneinge by two of y^e^ clocke, for I shall stay of none of yow, ffor this many times was our usuall houre, though wee were up till Eleven.

Soe I[c] passed alonge takeinge one with mee, lettinge y^e^ rest come after, & soe our Roade was within a stones cast of y^t^ Knight y^t^ sent a private Letter to take mee; And soe y^e^ friend saide George, we will not baite in the Towne, for y^e^ Bishopp, & his deacon lives in y^e^ towne, who had his hand in y^e^ persuite against mee, & when we were alighted, & looked[d] at y^e^ window, I Espied friends comeinge up, & one of them shooke his heade & stroake his hand on his side, I bid him alight, & bid y^e^ rest ride on. Alack said hee y^e^ bishopp lives here, and y^e^ deacon in y^e^ next house. Soe I said never heed, the power of y^e^ Lord God is over them, & in litle time, we passed away, & overtooke y^e^ rest, & baited againe, and 4: went from our company to y^e^ North.

Againe we passed on our Joarney, & next Morneinge when we went, to goe away from our Inn, I inquired over night, what time y^e^ post came in, they saide y^e^ next

[a]...[a] Altered from *soe*
[b] Altered from *Droghedagh* Ancient copy is unaltered.
[c] Altered from *wee*
[d] Ancient copy has, as insertion, *out*

Morneinge by 6[a]: and soe as I was goeing out in y^e^ yard, hee blew his post horne; and struck at my life, said I goe on, they have Letters to open; soe wee came to another County, there I sent y^e^ Postmaster a good Letter, & a papist Challenge to stick on his crosse, insteade of takeinge of mee.

And then wee passed another Roade farther into y^e^ Country, for I had cleared all the Meettings in y^e^ North, Exceptinge one or two, before mee; before y^e^ Judges warrant came out, & there was A scotts shiriffe, downe in y^e^ North which saide, The officers, if they could but take y^t^ old Jesuitt, they would quickly knock all y^e^ other downe presently, & I felt their Rage soe against mee, y^t^ I felt my body, as cutt into peices, & yett I was well, yett y^t^ Nation swarmes with Jesuitts; The Jesuits, protestants, & presbiterian Preists Joyned all in A rage against mee, but the power of y^e^ Lord God was over them all.

And soe I passed into y^e^ Country, & came through ffriends near Tredarth[b] into y^e^ Judges circuite, where y^e^ former warrants reached, & I had a meettinge, where some friends were afraide, but all was quiett, and a fine Mettinge wee had, & soe by y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord, I passed through y^t^ Judges Circuitt, & after y^e^ Meettinge was done, wee passed 10: Miles, and soe came to an Inn, & there all night, I could not sleepe for Toryes[1], I was soe troubled about them, at last I passed through a very dangerous River, & saw them on y^e^ other side, & smiled at them, y^t^ I had Escaped them.

And soe next Morneing, wee passed on to A ffriends house, where there were some ffriends, & y^t^ was in another Judges Circuitt, who was A very bad Judge, and soe after wee had visitted friends there, it beinge but alitle Mile of y^e^ place, & towne where y^e^ Judges sate y^t^ day; and ffriends said, y^t^ if they knew y^t^ I was in y^e^ Country, they knew they would send for mee, and my way was to passe through a dangerous River, which I had seen, which lay by y^e^ townes side, which I had seen before, & the Tories which I saw before, were these Judges; for though there were tories up in severall places of y^e^ Nation, none hurt mee, but y^e^ Judges Justices, & Priests, & soe then I came to an Inn, &

[a] Altered from *2*

[b] Altered from *Droghedagh* Ancient copy is unaltered.

y^e^ next day to Dublin, where there was noe smale Joy amongst ffriends, y^t^ I had passed over y^e^ Nation, but some friends had A tender feare, beecause my name had made such A noyse in the Nation, And a great meettinge, in y^e^ power of God had wee there, though some when y^e^ meettinge was done, y^e^ power beinge over all, were afraide, y^t^ y^e^ officers would come in, but y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord God was over all.

And the next day many friends passed away, & faine would have mee out of y^e^ Citty, but I was moved to stay y^e^ first days Meettinge, before I went out, which was A very great Meettinge, & soe went to the Mens Meetting, & weomens meettinge, and all was cleare at Dublin.

And I arose earely in y^e^ Morneing to goe to y^e^ Generall Meettinge, & y^e^ mens Meetting, and the Nationall Meettinge about the sufferrings, where some might see more into things then others, there beinge some out of every Meettinge: when wee parted, oh the tendernesse, & brokennesse, & life, & power, that was manifested there, And in y^t^ Nation, onely a weeke] I resolved with my selfe to lay apart, to answere severall papers & writeings, from Munks, fryers, & protestant Preists.

And soe when I had cleared all, I came to Dublin againe [for wee did beleive, y^t^ after y^e^ great Meettinge was done, that the winde would turne; and I went out, & tould James Lancaster, y^e^ wind is for us, Now all the businesse in the Nation is over, for it was against us in the Morneinge, & soe when I came to Dublin, I Lodged neare lazy hill, & haveinge sent James afore, to take shippinge, next day y^e^ shipp was ready; Hee Meettinge a man (A souldier) by y^e^ way, y^t^ was troubled y^t^ he was not at y^e^ great meetting, tellinge y^t^ hee heard of such a man, as was never heard to come out of England, & soe truth had such A savor amongst all people].

Soe wee gott our horses, and our things on board, & our selves in y^e^ Afternoone, & soe there Accompanied us, [a]y^e^ best part of an hundred[a] ffriends to y^e^ shipp, and when wee were gone 3: or 4: miles upon y^e^ sea, there came more Eminent ffriends & friendly, which was very dangerous, onely their love to see mee [but I felt y^e^ power of darknesse 20: miles afterwards, as I was at sea.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *many*

And when I was Just goeing to a great boate, some questioned one of y^e^ boates, & I bad them putt of y^e^ boate to y^e^ sea, from the Land, & soe y^e^ other boate came after at last, and ffriends in y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord God, came over them all, & how glad were friends in y^e^ power of God, & his life is beyond all words to utter, admireinge y^e^ love of God, & his mighty power, life, & seed, sett over the Nation, & soe all passed away, & we came on, onely two friends Thomas Holmes, & a friende of Dublin would see us over y^e^ water, & soe came over y^e^ watter into England with us] and in y^e^ night time A Mighty storme arose, y^t^ was almost ready to rent all to peices, it rained & blew [I was faine to watch y^e^ winds as I had watched y^e^ torie priests], & I say[a] y^e^ power of God went over y^e^ winds, hee had them in his fist, his power bounde them.

And soe wee beinge 2: nights on y^e^ sea [& many passengers beinge with us, were sicke, & some friends alsoe, but it would not make mee sicke, though I had hardly slept of 3: nights before I came to sea, & soe] y^e^ same power of y^e^ Lord God which carried mee over, brought mee backe againe, and gave mee dominion over all, in the life & power.

And James Lancaster, Tho: Briggs, Robt Lodge, & all came over with mee, onely I left John Stubbs behinde.

And a good weighty people there is, & true, & tender, & sencible of y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord God, & his truth in that Nation, worthy to be visitted, and very good order, they have in their meettings, & they stand up for Righteousnesse, & holinesse, that damms up y^e^ way of wickednesse [oh y^e^ sufferrings, & tryalls gone through, by reason of y^e^ bad spiritts, the Lord have y^e^ glory, whose power went over them, like atide y^t^ covers y^e^ Earth; and never ahatt man or bad spiritt opposed mee in y^e^ Nation, but Robt Cooke & another foolish lad with him at Corke, was Exceedinge envious, beyond y^e^ bonds of Civility, humanity, or Christianity, but y^e^ seed & power of y^e^ Lord God Reignes over all, Blessed be his name for ever].

And a gallant visitation they had, & there is A gallant spiritt in them, worthy to bee visited; many things more might I write, too large to mention, but soe much I thought

[a] Ellwood editions and ancient copy: *saw*

good to signify to ffriends, & Bretheren, y^t^ they may Rejoyce in the power & seed of God.

[G: ff:]

[And when G: ff: was come to Liverpoole the master of the Ship raised a scandall of G: ff: that he staide all night at Liverpoole drinking, & this he reported when he came to Dublinn, & friends heareing of it, two of which were eminent men & came over with G: ff: & knew that he did not stay above a quarter of an houre in that towne, soe they made him to repent of his slander, where he had slandered him, and as he came back from Dublinn, his Ship was cast away, & soe the Just Judgments of God overtooke him.]

[a][1669] And att James Hutchisons[1] In Ireland there came a many great persons & they woulde discourse with mee about election & reprobation.

Soe I tolde y^m^ : as for our principle of truth it was to high for y^m^ though they Judged it foolish : but I woulde discourse with y^m^ as a man [of election & reprobation by way of hystory].

For you say God hath ordained ye greatest parte of men for hell : & they was ordained soe before ye worlde began & your proofe is in Jude : & you say Esau was reprobate & ye Ægyptians & ye stocke of Ham.

Now Christ sayth {to his disciples} goe teach all Nations & goe Into all nations to preach ye gospell : now was they not to goe to Hams stocke & Esaus stocke : for did not Christ dy for all for ye stocke of Esau & Ægypt & Hams stocke : & God woulde have all men to bee saved Marke all men : then ye stocke of Esau : & of Ham : alsoe.

And doth not God say Ægypt my people : & y^t^ hee woulde have a temple in Ægypt[b] & was there not many Christians formerly in Ægypt for woulde not ye Bishoppe of Alexandria formerly have beene pope.

And had not God a Chuch in Babibilon.

And now I confesse ye worde came to Jacob : & ye statutes to Israell ye like was not to other nations : for ye law of God was given to Israell but ye gospell was to bee preacht to all nations : & is to bee preacht ye gospell of

[a] Narrative continued from page 136

[b] Ellwood editions insert *Isa. 19*

peace & of glad tydeinges to all nations & hee y^t^ beleves is saved & hee y^t^ does not is condemnd already.

Soe ye condemnation comes by unbeleife: & y^m^ In Jude where its said they were condemned of olde or written of olde for this condemnation: it doth not say before ye worlde begann: & written of olde was by Moses: & whoe were they y^t^ were written of olde Cain Core Balam & ye angells y^t^ kept not there first state: & such Christians as followd y^m^ in there way: whoe were apostatised from ye first state of Christianity: such was & are ordained for condemnation with ye light & truth whoe goes from it.

And ye Apostle speakeinge of {Gods} loveinge {of} Jacob & hateinge of Esau says

Wee {which} are Jacobs stocke by nature are children of wrath: & soe if by nature children of wrath then vessells of wrath: soe both Jews & gentiles all was concluded under sin soe under ye condemnation: y^t^ God might have mercy upon all through Jesus Christ.

And soe ye election {& choice} stands in Christ: & hee y^t^ beleives is saved & hee y^t^ beleives not is condemned already.

And Jacob is ye seconde birth which God loved: & soe both Jews & Gentiles which are caled of Jacob must bee borne againe before they can enter ye kingedome of God.

And when you are borne againe: you will know election & reprobation.

[For if ye gentiles was grafted into Christ by beleife & ye Jews was cast off because of unbeleife: & concluded under sin as well as ye gentiles when they were under unbeleife: & they y^t^ was of Jacob stock y^t^ said they was of Abraham Christ said unto y^m^ if they were of Abraham they woulde doe the workes of Abraham but they were of there father ye Devill & his workes they did.

And God sayd Ægypt my people: whome you looke upon in ye state of reprobation.

And now how will you holde reprobation in persons & election in persons: when ye Jews: y^t^ were of Jacobs & Abrahams stocke: was persecutinge Christ in his flesh: & through there unbeleife {were} cutt of.]

And a grate deale more of this I coulde speake: for ye

Election was in Christ ye seede before ye worlde began: & ye reprobation was since ye worlde began: & lyes in ye evill seede since ye worlde begann.

[And ye Apostle bidds y^m^ take heede of an Esau & a Cain & Cast foorth ye bondewomans son a thousand yeeres after they were deade outwardely.

Soe you may see its ye nature y^t^ makes ye reprobation: & ye election is in Christ: of such as are borne again in him & by beleiveinge in him] & much more I tolde y^m^ I coulde declare of these thinges: & they confesst they never hearde soe much before.

And after I had finished my service for ye Lord in Irelande I came to Dublinn & tooke shippinge & came to Liverpoole.

[1669] And when I came to Liverpoole I went to ye maiors house whoe kept an Inn: [& wee went Into his parlor where was many officers & magistrates.

And I walkt out againe & they caled in Ja: Lancaster & askt whether y^t^ was not G: ff: & hee said yes: but y^t^ they had not power to medle with mee] & after I had stayde about a quarter of an houre in ye house wee went about a mile {out} of ye tounde to a freindes house & stayde a while & from thence wee went to Rich: Johnsons[1].

And ye next day wee past to Will Barnes his house & from thence to Will Gandys visitinge frendes & had many pretious meetinges in Lancasheere & Chesheere [& soe from thence wee came to Tho: Hammersleys: & from thence to White Haugh where a Captain threatned to come & break uppe ye meetinge but ye Lords power stoppt him].

And soe from thence wee past through ye Countryes visitinge freindes in there meetinges till wee came to Nailsworth in Glocestersheere: & there it was noised all over ye Country: by ye presbyterians: y^t^ G: ff: was turned a presbyterian: & they prepared him a pulpitt & sett it in a yarde & there woulde bee a 1000 people they said {y^t^ woulde come to heare him} ye next day beinge ye first day: then I said: this is strange y^t^ such a report shoulde bee of mee: & as wee came farther to other frendes houses wee mett with ye same reporte.

And then wee came farther where frendes meetinge place was & there wee stayde all night & there was ye

same report alsoe: & wee came by ye yarde where wee sawe ye pulpitt erected.

And on ye next day {beinge first day} there was a very large meetinge [of many hundreds of people] & ye Lords power & presence was amongst us.

And there was one Jo: ffox[1] a presbyterian whose name they gave out was G: ffox: a wicked man y^t^ came to a freindes house y^t^ had beene one of ye Cheife of his hearers: & hee said: hee woulde rather have lost all his hearers: then to have lost them {& him}.

But they tolde him they coulde not profitt under his ministry & y^t^ hee had walkt in ye stepps of ye false prophetts preachinge for hire & filthy lucre: & they tolde him y^t^ times was harde: for there was a Company of presbyterian preists whome {a woman y^t^ had ye Impropriation of ye tyths of ye parish}[a] askt councell of y^m^ what to doe {against our frende}: seeinge shee as Impropriator tooke ye tyths of ye parish: but this freinde had refused to pay any[2]: & soe shee askt there councell & advice what to doe with him: & soe they gave councell to her to sende in reapers: & cutt doune & carry away all his corne which shee did & undid this poore man.

Then said this Jo: ffox: God blesse preachinge for y^t^ bringes in money: lett times goe howe they will: & fill my belly with {good} victualls & call mee false prophett or what you will & kicke mee about ye house when you have donne: & this relation I had from ye man & womans owne mouth [whoe lived neere Sedbury in Glocestersheere] whome these preists & this woman had served soe.

And in ye afternoone ye people hearinge y^t^ I was soe neere: they haveinge hearde this Jo: ffox ye forenoone in ye afternoone there came severall hundreds of his people: to ye meetinge where I was: & I turned y^m^ to ye grace of God which woulde teach y^m^ & bringe there salvation.

[And soe people generally saw & were ashamed of ye forgery of ye presbyterians & ye Lords power & truth came over all {as you may se more at Large as followeth: A: B:}.

And After I had cleered my selfe of ye Lords service y^t^ aways I past away & there was Tho: Atkins[3] & his wiffe whoe lived not farr off Naylesworth a shopkeeper: & {they

[a] This insertion takes the place of the word *shee*

tolde mee} there was a seperate meetinge of ye presbyterians & they tooke an oath of there people y$^{t}$ they shoulde neither buy or sell or eate or drinke with freindes: & ye eminenest woman amongst y$^{m}$ fell sicke & {fell} in{to} a {be}numbe condition soe as shee could neither stirr hande or foote: & all ye Doctors coulde doe her noe good.

And att last there came two or three women to Tho: Atkins wife into her shoppe pretendinge to by somethinge {of her} & shee shewd y$^{m}$ thinges {they askt for} & soe they did confesse in discourse with her y$^{t}$ they had taken an oath as aforesaid: but ye occation of there comeinge was concerneinge this woman y$^{t}$ lay in y$^{t}$ misery {to desire some helpe & advice from her as to her recovery}: & shee askt y$^{m}$ how they coulde dispense with there oath: & they said they must bee forct to breake it.

Soe Tho: Atkins wiffe tooke ye woman in hande & cured her.

And soe ye Lord broake ye wicked bonds of ye presbyterians {asunder} y$^{t}$ they had ensnared there people with.

And much might bee written of these thinges.]

And from thence wee came through ye Country [& had many pretious meetinges] till wee came to Bristoll [where I had many pretious meetinges {when I came to Bristoll this letter mett mee there from Jo: Stubbs in Ireland as followeth[1]}].

And there Margarett ffell: & her daughters: & son in laws mett mee: where wee was marryed[2].

And before wee was marryed I was moved to write foorth a paper[3] to all ye meetinges in England {both of men & women} & elsewhere for all meetinges of frendes which was begotten to ye Lord was but as one meetinge to mee.

And I was moved to aske ye children whether they was all satisfyed & whether Margarett had aunswered {them} accordinge to her husbands will to her children shee beinge a widdowe & if her husband had left any thinge to her for ye assistans of her children: which if shee marryed they might suffer losse therein whether shee had aunswered y$^{m}$ in leiu of y$^{t}$ {& all other thinges}.

And ye children made aunswer & said: shee had [doubled it] & woulde not have mee to speake of those thinges.

And soe when it had beene layde before severall meetinges {both of ye men & women: assembled togeather for y^t^ purpose} & all was satisfyed there was a large meetinge appointed of purpose: where there was severall large testimonyes [as followeth][1].

After which I stayde in Bristoll about a weeke & then past with Margarett Into ye Country: to Oldstone: where Margarett past homewards towards ye North[2]: & I past one Into ye Country in ye worke of ye Lord Into Wiltsheere: where I had many large {&} pretious meetinges.

And from thence I past Into Barkesheere: where I had many large pretious meetinges & soe from thence till I came Into Oxfordesheere & Buckinghamsheere where I had many pretious meetinges all alonge till I came to London[3].

And soe after I had stayde a while in London & visited frendes & ye Lords power was over all: I past doune Into Essex: & Hartfordesheere where I had many pretious meetinges & from Hartfordesheere I passed Into Cambridgeshere & Huntingetonshere: & Leistersheere & Warwickesheere & Darbysheere & soe through ye Countryes visitinge freindes & had many large & pretious meetinges: amongst y^m^.

[And there was one Walter Newton[4] a neighbor to my relations whoe had beene an auncient puritan said unto mee hee hearde I was marryed: & askt mee ye reason: & I tolde him as a testimony y^t^ all might come uppe Into ye mariage as was in ye beginninge: & as a testimony y^t^ all might come uppe out of ye wildernesse to ye mariage of ye lamb.

And hee said hee thought marriage was onely: for ye procreation of children & I tolde him I never thought of any such thinge but onely in obediens to ye power of ye Lord: & I Judged such thinges as below mee: though I saw such thinges & established Marriages but I lookt on it as below mee: & though I saw such a thinge in ye seede: yett I had noe commande to such a thinge till a halfe yeere before though people had longe talkt of it: & there was some Jumble in some mindes abut it[5] but ye Lords power came over all & layde all {there} spiritts {& some after confest it}.]

And about this time whilst I was in Leistersheere this Jo: ffox aforesaid: did preach in a steeplehouse sometimes

in Wiltsheere by leave of a common prayer preist & att last hee & ye other preist aforesaid: fell out: & ye common prayer booke was cutt to peices: & great tumult was in ye steeplehouse betwixt ye presbyterians & ye Episcopall men.

And the Episcopall men sent uppe to ye parlament: & petitioned ye parlament against ye said Jo: ffox: but Insteade of mentioninge his name: Jo: fox the presbyterians gott his name changhed: & putt in George ffox ye quaker.

[And in there petion they mention y$^{t}$ ye people shoulde cry: noe kinge but George ffox: & this was putt in ye news booke y$^{t}$ was sent over all ye nation.]

But ffreindes gott a certificate under some of ye parlamente mens handes as aforesaid to cleere George ffox: from y$^{t}$ abuse: & how y$^{t}$ it was Jo: ffox: ye p(r)esbyterian preist & not G: ff: ye quaker[1].

[And ye p(r)esbyterians deceitfully woulde come & aske ffreindes where was G: ffox now: & wee woulde have ye parlament men to put ye certificate Into ye Gazette to cleare mee but they woulde not: but ye Lords power came over y$^{m}$ all: though from this grounde: some of ye members in parlament tooke an occasion to move in ye {parlament} house for ye bringeinge foorth ye last act against seditious conventicles {as they caled it}[2] which after a litle while came foorth.

1670. And {after} I haveing beene in ye Country: as I came uppe ye streetes in London ye drums beate: for every householde to sende foorth a souldyer Into ye trained bandes: to bee in readynesse: ye act beinge then {come} in force.]

And whilst I was in ye Country I hearde y$^{t}$ Margarett was haled out of her house & carryed to Lancaster prison againe an order beinge gotten: from ye kinge & concell: to fetch her backe Into prison againe upon her olde praemunire: though shee was deschardged from y$^{t}$ Imprisonement by an order from ye kinge & his Councell ye yeere before.

And upon ye first day after ye act came in force[a] [ffrendes mett as they used to doe {in ye morninge}: wher every minister declared there goeinge to ye severall meet-

[a] Ellwood editions add *I went to the Meeting at Grace-Church-Street, where I expected, the Storm was most likely to begin.*

inges as they was moved[1]: & frendes askt mee to what meetinge I would goe: & I tolde y^m^ Into ye high feildes to Gratious streete meetinge.

And this day all ye traine bands was uppe: &] as I past through ye streete to ye meetinge all ye street was full of people And a guarde sett to ye meetinge house doore: to keepe out ffreindes: & I went in ye other way: through Lunbart street & there was another guarde sett & ye Curte full of people.

And a frende was speakinge but hee had sone ended: & I was after moved of ye Lord: to stande upp [on a doore thresholde in ye Courte]: & said: Saul Saul why persecutest thou mee: it was harde for him to kick against ye prickes: soe it was Sauls nature y^t^ persecuted still: & y^t^ it was ye birth of ye flesh y^t^ persecuted ye birth borne of ye spiritt & Itt was ye nature of doggs to teare & devoure ye sheepe.

And After I had spoaken a while {to this effect} there came an officer with a file of musketeers: & pulled mee out: & this officer said I was ye man hee looket for: & hee putt mee amongst his file of musketeers: & said hee must carry mee to ye Lord maiors[2] [& when hee had mee in ye streets: Tho: Lower: followed after mee & Ger. Roberts: ye people cryed to y^m^: have a care off him hee is a princely man]: butt as wee came alongst ye streets to ye exchange: & there they made a stande a while: & then {they} had mee on towards Moorefeildes & as wee was goeinge alongst ye streets this officer was layinge his hande upon mee & at last hee was askeinge Will Warwicke[a] a question [whome ye Constable had taken prisoner ye same time {alsoe} how one might know ye Scriptures: & William did not aunswer him & I turned to him & said: by ye same spiritt y^t^ they was in y^t^ gave y^m^ foorth.

Oh sayde hee this is a rationall man I will talke with him:] then said hee: [where was all these new religions abut 200 yeeres agoe: & y^t^] it woulde never bee a good worlde untill all people came to ye {good olde} religion y^t^ was: 200 yeeres agoe.

What said I: to him art a papist: what a papist Informer for 200 yeeres agoe there was noe other religion heere but ye popish.

[a] In place of this name, Ellwood gives *one of the Company*

And after hee saw y$^{t}$ hee had insnared himselfe hee was vext: & as hee went alongst in ye streets I often spoake to him & manifested his wickednesse: & when hee came Into ye Lord maiors yarde there was severall people gott about mee: & askt how & for what I was taken: soe I desired y$^{m}$ to goe & aske ye Informer & know what his name was: but hee would not tell his name [but began to gnawe his fingers ends]: & then one of ye maiors officers lookeinge out a window spoak to him & said hee should tell his name before hee past out of y$^{t}$ house for ye Lord maior woulde know by what authority hee Intruded himselfe with his souldyers: Into ye execution of those lawes which belonged to ye civill magistrate to execute & not to ye military [& for ought hee knew hee was come to Informe against his Lord: as much as against any other].

After which words hee was restlesse: till hee gott out: & came to ye doore keeper to lett him foorth whoe was caled unto not to lett him goe foorth till ye Lord maior came but hee forceablely pulled open ye doore & went out {& one of ye officers caled to him & said have you brought people heere & now will you goe away before ye Lord maior comes yes said hee}.

And noe sooner: was hee come foorth Into ye streets butt ye people made such a shoute y$^{t}$ ye streets runge with ye noice & cryed a papist Informer a papist Informer [& fell upon him: & woulde have torne him in peices]: soe we caled to ye constable & souldyers: to rescue him out of there handes which they did: {& brought him Into ye maiors entry: & kept him awhile & then hee went & they shouted after hee came foorth againe & then they fell upon him againe & then ye souldyers rescued him againe} & gott him to change his periwigge: & then hee past away [towards Moorefeildes] unknowne.

Soe when ye Lord maior came home I was brought before him: & some of ye officers of his house woulde have taken off {my hatt &} ffrendes hatts: but hee caled to y$^{m}$ & bid y$^{m}$ lett y$^{m}$ alone & not to medle with our hatts: for sayd hee they are not brought yett before mee in Judicature.

Soe hee caled some of ye p(r)esbyterian & Baptists teachers before him & was somewhat sharpe with y$^{m}$ & convicted y$^{m}$.

And after hee had donne with y^m^ I was brought uppe before him to his table: & then ye officers tooke of my hatt & ye maior very loveingely said: M^r^ ffox: you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession: pray will you bee Instrumentall to disswade y^m^ from meetinge in such great numbers: ffor seeing Christ hath promised y^t^ where two or three are mett in his name hee will bee in ye midst of y^m^ & ye Kinge {& parlament} are grtiously pleased to allow of foure to meete togeather: to worshippe God: why will not you {bee content to} pertake both of Christs promise to two or three: & ye kinges Indulgens to foure.

Unto which I[a] aunswered y^t^: if Christ had promised to manifest his presence in ye midst of such an assembly where but two or three were gathered: in his name: then how much: more: to where two or three hundred are gathered in his name: & would not this act have taken holde upon Christ & his Apostles & disciples in there day: whoe often mett togeather above y^t^ number {of foure whoe had 70 & 12 disciples which was a considerable number [to which ye maior said you speake to popular: then said I: is it not true}.

Then Tho: Moore said unto ye Lord maior: hee thought y^t^ was a mistake in sayinge y^t^ ye kinge & parlament in this act allowed of foure: for though: ye act takes holde of all y^t^ are mett togeather above y^t^ number: yett it doth not allow of foure: nor two: to meet togeather to worshippe God in other manner then ye liturgy allowes: & though if two three or foure soe mett togeather: are not punnishable by this act: yett by severall other acts: they are: & therfore there was noe allowans for any to meete togeather to worshippe God: in any other manner then ye liturgy allowes: which hee thought was very harde & unchristian to which ye Lord maior replyed M^r^ Moore I will talke with you upon this subject another time. {Then ye maior said to Jo: Burnyeat[1]: come said hee your countenans shewes you have come lately from beyonde seas: & are some Jesuite: but I said hee was neither Jesuite nor papist: but

[a] The words *Tho: Moore aunswered* were first written and immediately erased. Then *G. ff.* was written and also crossed through; and finally *I* was written, as above. Ellwood editions omit all reference to Thomas Moore.

an honnest Country man: as in ye folowinge paper may bee seene more at large}].[a]

[1][*gf descrs with the mare of london 1670*

On the 15 day of the {3} month 1670 when the act was com out from the perlament in the dayes of king Charles signd by him against sedishus meetings & convetcles I was moved to goe up to gratious street meeting & when I came thither the street was full of People & the Court neere the Meeting place, & there stood a Company of watchmen & kept freinds out of the Meeting place & W^m^ Warwick was speaking & after he had donne I stood up and spoke & was moved to say Saul Saul why persecutest thou me, & it was hard for him to kick against that which prickt him & they y^t^ doe persecute Christ in his members where he is made manifest kickt against that which prickt them {now} for wee was a peaceable People & wee did love them y^t^ persecuted us; & wee suffered as sheep, y^t^ did not bite againe but others they might persecute that would bite againe therefore all to stand still & see the Salvation of God, & lett the peace of God keep their heartes, for y^e^ bright morning starr was risen.

And after I had spoken a pretty many more words in came y^e^ Constable with an Informer & 2 files of Musquetteers, & I cryed blessed are the peacemakers then they pluckt me downe & putt me among y^e^ souldiers & bidd y^m^ secure me & took W^m^ Warwick & haled us along y^e^ streets & people was mighty moderate & some mockt at the Constable & told him wee would not runn away & so the Informer sett upon W^m^ Warwick & askt him some tempting questions & how he might know y^e^ good spirit from the badd. I told him by their fruites & soe after a little discourse with him I found him out to be a Papist, for he said y^t^ about 200 yeare ago there was none of all this soe I askt him what Religion he was of but he would not be known nor discover it soe I made it manifest to the People y^t^ he was a Papist Informer & was not only against us but against the Protestants, & so when I came to the Mayors house he was putting me forward with his hand I said

[a] Narrative continued on page 161.

what thou thinkst to gett money, but Ile warrant thee, & so when I was in the Mayors Court People sett upon the Informer & askt him his name & where he lived & none took his parte, & after a while he went & whispered to y^e^ Constable & said he would goe his wayes he could doe little more there but the Constable would not have had him goe, but he said he would be gon, & when he was out of y^e^ doores the streets being full of People they discovered him & cryed out the Papist Informer, & soe a great showt there was & soe wee desire the Constable to goe, & thought they would kill him, who said he darst not go out so the souldiers bein there they rescued him from y^e^ People & brought him back againe & after they kept him a while he went again towards Mooregate, & the People shouted againe, & the souldiers rescued him & had him into an Alley into a house & there he chainged his Perrewigg & Vest, & so escaped y^m^. It was judged he would have gon to y^e^ Mayor y^e^ Mayor being not come home to informe him.

And when the Mayor came I and W^m^ Warwick & Jn^o^ Burnet was called before him, & he swore the watchmen, y^t^ wee were speaking at such a Meeting, & soe I told him that Act did not concern us, which was made against seditious meetings y^t^ mett under a Collour to contrive insurrections; for wee had been tryed & was allwayes found peaceable, & therefore he should putt a difference betwixt the pretious & the vile & he said y^e^ Act was made against Meetings & a Worship not according to y^e^ Litturgy, & I askt him whether the Litturgy was according to the scriptures, whether they might not read scriptures & speak scriptures, & he said yes. Then I said according to is not y^e^ very same thing, & wee ought to worship god in all times & all places; & the spirit & Truth was within, & because this Act did take hold upon such as did meet & contrive &c as late Experience had shewed, they found no such experience by us for because theives was sometimes on the Road must not honest men travell; because Plotters & Contrivers of mischeife had sometimes mett must not therefore peaceable people meet, & that wee was not the people concerned in the Act; for if wee was such as did meet to plott & contrive wee did not beleive five pounds or Tenn or 20^li^ could cleere us.

Nay said the Mayor that would reach {further: yea said I to} life & estate. Now if wee had been the People y^t^ did meet and contrive then wee might draw our selves into foures, but 4 might doe more mischeefe then if there were a hundred for they might speak out their mindes which they cannot doe before 100 so well; therefore wee being Innocent & not the people this Act concernes wee keepe our meetings as wee used to doe, & so he took our names & recorded where I lodged. I told him I was but a lodger in London; & had been there much since the Independents & Presbiterians had brought me up in Olivers time as a Plotter finding nothing against me invented such a thing, & soe John Burnett he thought was a Papist because he lookt {like as if hee had come from sea,}[a] I told him he was an honest man I knew him, the Mayor said he would have a Certificate from him, I said that he might he might give him one.

Soe at last he sett us at libertie & said y^t^ the act did allow foure {of} us might meet, & it was told him by Tho. Moore it did not allow of two, & I said againe if it did allow of 4 to meet it must be such as meet to contrive under a Collour &c: & not such as are Innocent & I beleive said I that he knew in his Conscience wee were Innocent.

G ff

This was some parte of what passed betwixt y^e^ Mayor & G ff]

[b]Soe hee sett us at liberty: seeinge ye informer was gonne: onely tooke our names & places of aboade.

And as I was goeinge away: I spoake to ye Maior & tolde him hee knew in his owne conscience wee was an innocent people & y^t^ y^t^ act did not concern us.

And soe after wee were sett at liberty frends askt mee whether I would goe & I tolde y^m^ to Gratious street meetinge againe: & when wee came there ye people was gonne onely some people stoode att ye gate.

And soe wee went Into Gerard Roberts house & I sent out to know how all ye meetinges was: & some was kept

[a] This insertion, in the handwriting of Thomas Lower, takes the place of the single word *whitely*

[b] Narrative continued from page 159.

out & some was taken but sett at liberty againe a few days after & ye Lords power came over all: & a glorious time it was for ye Lords everlastinge truth for as fast as some were taken doune y^t^ was speakeinge others was moved of ye Lord to stande uppe & speake to ye admiration of people.

And many baptists & other sectaryes forsooke there meetinges & came to see how ye Quakers woulde stande [both in Citty & Country].

And this Informer was soe frightned y^t^ there durst hardley any Informer appear in London for severall yeers after.

And yett this Lord maior[a] after this proved a very great persecutor of our frendes & cast many In{to} prison: as you may see in ye bookes of ye tryalls of Will: Pen[1] & Will: Meade[2] [& Tho. Rudyarde[3] & his name became a stinke & ye Lord cutt him off].

And persecution after a time came to asswage againe.

[And in ye time of this persecution ye presbyterians & all other sectaryes generally fled: & when ye Constables came to apprehend preist Vincent[4] at Devonsheere house[5] hee woulde give ye people a psalme & in ye meane time gett away: & some times aske leave of ye Constables to goe & refresh himselfe & in ye meane time fly away.

And att Spitle feildes they had a meetinge: & some of ye people said they was comeinge they was comeinge: & ye preist & people fled away in such hast they had like to have spoiled one another though it was but a false alaram: given by there owne watche{men} thrugh a mistake.

And these were the presbyterians {&} Independants y^t^ had persecuted us when they had power: because wee woulde not follow there religion which now durst not stande to it y^m^ selves.

And after this Tho: Lower: & his wiffe[6] past towards Bristoll & from thence to Cornewall: & Sarah ffell: & Jo: Rouse & his wiffe[7] past doune Into ye North.]

And Tho: Lowers wiffe {Mary} & Sarah ffell went to ye kinge & they gott an order from ye kinge y^t^ there mother shoulde not bee molested nor disquieted in ye enjoyment of her estate nor house which ye kinge commanded Sir Jo: Ottway: to signify his minde by letter Into ye Country to

[a] Ellwood editions add *whose Name was Samuel Starling*[8]

ye sheriffe & others concerned which hee did: & they brought it doune Into ye Country with y^m^ [as may bee seene in ye foloweinge letter[1]].

And after y^t^ I had visited freindes & thinges was pretty quiett in ye citty I past Into ye Country: & severall meetinges I had amongst freindes in Midlesex: & in Buckinghamsheere & Oxfordesheere: though in some places there was much threatninge: & frendes much desired mee: for to come to Readinge where most of frendes was in prison.

[And some of Readinge ffrendes came to mee to a place caled Turvall heath where wee had a quiett meetinge though much threatned.

And after I came to Readinge of a 7^th^ day {&} I went to ye prison & diverse frendes came in & sober people & I was loath to goe to meetinges in prison for I told y^m^ I woulde rather bee taken in a publicke meetinge then in prison.

And Anne Curtis tolde mee y^t^ Jo: Story stayde there a great while & had many meetinges in prison: & I tolde her y^t^ was nothinge to mee.]

Soe ye prisners beinge gathered togeather: & severall other persons come in: I declared ye worde of life amongst y^m^ & encouraged y^m^ in ye truth: & they were refresht in ye Lords power & presence.

And After ye meetinge was ended: ye goaler understoode y^t^ I was there: then frends was troubled as fearinge how to gett mee out free againe.

And after I had stayde with y^m^ & suppt with y^m^ I went doune ye stayres & ye goaler {was} standinge att {ye} doore {&} frendes was very fearefull: soe I putt my hande in my pockett which hee had such an eye unto & ye hope of some sylver y^t^ hee forgott to question mee: soe I gave him some sylver: & bid him bee kinde {& civill} to my freindes in prison {whome I came to visitt} & soe I passed out [& ye Lords power came over him & chained y^m^ all].

But the next y^t^ came to visitt y^m^ hee stoppt to witt Isaace Penningeton[a].

And ye next morneinge I past {about 14 mile} Into Hampesheere: to a place caled Bagus[2]: & when I came Into ye parish there were some sober people came to us

[a] Ellwood editions add *and caused him to be made a Prisoner.*

& tolde us y$^{t}$ ye preist was an envious man & did threaten us.

But when our meetinge was gathered which was very large & Tho: Briggs had donne speakeinge whoe was with mee ye preist had gott a warrant & sent ye Constable & officers & they came Into ye house: but did not come Into ye meetinge roome: & soe they past away againe.

And wee knewe not in ye meetinge y$^{t}$ they was come & gonne againe: soe after Tho: Briggs had donne speakinge I was moved of ye Lord to stande uppe & when I had declared ye word of truth & life to ye people & a pretious fresh meetinge wee had: & I had donne & stept doune {& ended ye meetinge}: I hearde a great clutter in ye yarde.

And soe after ye meetinge was ended: wee came foorth: & ye man of ye house tolde us y$^{t}$ ye preist had sent ye Constables againe & his owne servant with y$^{m}$ in a great rage: & they had beene in ye house as aforesaid but came not in to ye meetinge roome: but went there ways & thus ye Lords power preserved us: over ye Divelish designe of ye preist & out of his snare.

[a]And soe after wee pased away & many frends past by ye preists house which sett him in a {great} rage.[a]

And soe I came upon ye edge of Barkesheere to a frends house: where severall frendes came to visit us: & ye Lords power was over all & wee in it {were} preserved.

And from thence wee past Into Surrey visitinge frendes & had many pretious meetinges & came to Steephen Smyths[b] where they had taken very much goods away from frendes for there meetinges & there was great threatninges yett wee had severall blessed meetinges there & ye Lords power was over all.

And from thence I past Into Sussex: to Rich Baxes[1] where wee had a large pretious meetinge & quiett though ye constables had threatned.

And after I had {had} many meetinges uppe & doune y$^{t}$ Country though there was much threatninge but quiett [for ye Lords power was over all]: & frendes were refreshed & established upon ye foundation of God y$^{t}$ stands sure.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions, simply: *but the Priest was in a great Rage.*
[b] Ellwood editions add *near Guilford*

After this I came Into Kent & had many glorious & pretious meetinges: & all was quiett: & travailed most parte of y^t^ County over: & at last came uppe to Canterbury to a great meetinge neere Dale beyonde Canterbury: & after ye meetinge was donne I came to Canterbury: & ye next day visited frendes & from thence I came Into ye I{s}le of Shippey where I stayde two or three days: & A: Parker: & G: Whiteheade & Jo: Rouse came to mee {there}.

And ye next day wee past away after I had finished my service for ye Lord there: & as I was goeinge I [{lighted &}] walkt doune a hill & a great weight & oppression fell on my spiritt & soe I gott on my horse againe but my weight & oppression remained soe as I was hardely able to ride.

Soe wee came to Rochester: but I was very weake to ride & very much loaden & burdned with ye worldes spiritts y^t^ my life was oppressed under y^m^.

Soe I gott to Graves ende & went to an Inn: but coulde hardely eate nor sleepe.

And ye next day J: R: & A: P: went for London & I past with Jo: Stubbs [& G: Whiteheade] over ye ferry: Into Essex: & soe wee came to Hornechuch: where there was [a]a meeting on y^e^ first Day [but I was so oppressed I could not goe into it[a].

Butt] after ye meetinge was donne [I came doune & spoake to ffreindes {a few wordes} & {after} desired y^m^ to gett mee my horse ready: soe] I endeavored to ride [10 miles] to Stratforde 3 miles off London: to a[{n honnest}] frendes house y^t^ had beene a captaine whose name was Williams[1]: but I was exceedinge weake: & severall freindes came thither unto mee from London: but at last I lost my hearinge: & sight soe as I coulde not see nor heare.

And I said unto freindes y^t^ I shoulde bee as a signe to such as woulde not see & such as woulde not heare {ye truth} & in this condition I Continnued a pretty while & severall people came about mee: but I felt there spiritts & discerned y^m^ though I coulde not see {y^m^} whoe was honnest hearted & whoe was not.

And severall freindes y^t^ was Doctors came {& they

[a]...[a] These words are inserted by another hand at the foot of the page to complete the sentence, the same words in the ordinary handwriting, continuing the sentence on the next page, being erased.

woulde have given mee physicke} but I was not to medle with there thinges.

And under great suffringes & groanes & travells & sorrowes & oppressions I lay for severall weekes.

[And younge Margarett Rouse[1] continnued with mee & I was sensible of her tendernesse & love: & Edwarde Mans[2] wiffe.]

Soe I saw {y$^{t}$ I} had a travell to goe through & I spoake to frendes to lett none but [a]sober women[a] to bee about mee.

And one time when they had given mee uppe & severall went away & said they woulde not see mee dye: [& others saide I woulde bee still enough by such a time:] & it was all over London & in ye country y$^{t}$ I was deceased: & past hopes of recovery.

And ye next morninge I spoake to freindes to gett a Coach to carry mee to Ger: Roberts about 12 miles {off}: [& caled for my cloaths which putt y$^{m}$ Into more feare & doubts: because people had used to desire a litle before there departinge to bee changhed: & soe they said I had all ye symptoms of death upon mee & all there hopes was gonne except two or three.

And when they thought to putt mee by concerneinge my cloaths & made excuses I perceived it & tolde y$^{m}$ it was deceite but att last they brought mee my cloaths & thinges & putt y$^{m}$ on: & soe I spoake to ye man & woman off ye house] & had a litle glimmeringe sight [& saw Ed: Mans wiffe puttinge uppe my cloaths & tolde her shee did well: & I felt ye Lords power was over all: soe I went doune a paire of stayres to ye Coach: & when I came to ye Coach I was like to have falen doune I was soe weake & feeble: but I gott uppe into ye Coach & some freindes with mee] & I coulde discerne ye people & feildes & y$^{t}$ was all.

[And it was neoised uppe & doune in London y$^{t}$ I was deceased but ye next newes they hearde I was gonne 12 miles in a coach to Ger: Roberts whoe was very weake {which astonished y$^{m}$ to heare it}.]

And I was moved to speake to him & encourage him [though I coulde hardely heare[b] or see]: & there I was about 3 weekes [& many times I coulde not tell when Itt was day

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *solid, weighty Friends*

[b] Altered from *speake*

or when it was night & once I lay 24 houres & I askt y^m^ what day it was: & they said I had mist a day].

And then it came to mee I might goe to Enfeilde & they was afraide y^t^ I should remove: but I tolde y^m^ I might goe [& they shoulde gett a Coach: & when they had gotten {one} I was moved to speak to Ger: Roberts whoe was very weake: & to take leave of y^m^].

And when I came to Enfeilde I went to see Amor Stodart whoe lay very weake & almost speechlesse: whome I was moved to tell him hee had beene faithfull as a man & faithfull to God: & y^t^ {ye} immortall seede of life was his crowne & with many other wordes I was moved to speake to him though I was soe weake I was haredly able to stande.

And from thence I went to ye widdow Dryes[1] & within a few days after: Amor Stodart dyed [att Sam: Newtons[2] harde by].

And there I lay att ye widdow Dryes all y^t^ winter warringe with ye evill spiritts [& coulde not Indure ye smell of any flesh meate]: & saw all ye religions & people y^t^ lived in y^m^: & ye preists y^t^ helde y^m^ uppe {as} a Company of men eaters & howe they eate uppe ye people like breade & gnaweinge ye flesh off there bones: & great suffringes I was under att this time beyonde wordes to declare for I was come Into ye deepe & ye men eaters was about mee: & I warred with there spiritts & att this time there was great persecutions & there had beene searchinge for mee att London: & some meetinge houses pluckt doune & {were} broken uppe with souldyers sometimes they would come with a troope of horse & a Company of foote: & they woulde breake there swords musketts: carbines pikes: with beatinge ffrendes & wounded abundans: soe y^t^ ye bloode stoode like pudles in ye streets.

And frendes was made to stande by ye Lords power: & some of ye ...alists[a] woulde say: if ffreinds did not stande ye nation woulde run Into Debauchery: & Coll: Kirby hee came to severall meetinges to breake uppe ye meetinges with a Company of foote: & as hee went over:

[a] The first two or three letters of this word cannot now be read. Ellwood editions have *Sober People of the World*

ye passage to Horsey doune: there was some striveinge betwixt his souldyers & some of ye boate men & hee commanded his men to shoote y$^{m}$: & they did & killed some [{men} of ye worlde].

And often hee woulde enquire for mee att ye meetinges y$^{t}$ hee came to breake uppe.

[1][1671] And att Droit wich there came John: Cartwright to a freindes house & beinge moved of ye Lord to speake a few wordes before supper [in praise to God][2] there cam an Informer & hearkned under ye window & hee went [to Lichfeilde] for an order to distraine ye freinds goods of ye house under pretence y$^{t}$ there was a meetinge att ye ffriendes house: hopinge to have gott some prey: & gaine whereas there was none in ye house: att y$^{t}$ time when hee spoake before supper but ye man of ye house & his wiffe & servant: mayde: soe hee gott a warrant to distreine: & as hee returned In ye night [to Droite wich] with his order [as hee was comeinge uppe a bottom neere ye tounde & another man with him an owle flew before him & screecht & ye other man cryed God blesse him: oh sayde ye Informer why say you soe what was hee afraide of an owle: but] hee presently after fell off his horse & broake his necke: & there was ye ende of this wicked Informer who hoped to have spoiled ffreindes: but ye Lord prevented him & cutt him off in his wickednesse: & spoiled him.

And it was a cruell bloody persecutinge time but ye Lords power went over all & his everlastinge seede: & as persecution began to cease I begann to arise out of my sufferinges[3].

And as for religion & worshippe & ministers of God alacke I saw there was none in ye worlde {amongst those y$^{t}$ pretended it but amongst such as were in ye truth} & all they y$^{t}$ pretended such thinges & so ye Chuch was but a Company of men eaters men of cruell visages & of longe teeth y$^{t}$ had cryed against ye men eaters in new Englande but I saw they was in ye same natures.

For ye great professinge Jews did eate uppe Gods people like breade: & {ye false} prophetts & preists & others preacht peace to people when they putt Into there

mouths & fedd y$^{m}$: but if nott they gnawed there flesh off: to ye bone: & chopt y$^{m}$ for ye Cauldron.

And these y$^{t}$ professe y$^{m}$selves Christians {nowe} both preists & professors were in ye same nature: men eaters: whoe were not in ye same power & spiritt {as} Christ ye prophetts & Apostles was in.

[Soe in my deepe misery I saw thinges beyonde wordes to utter & I saw a blacke Coffin but I past over it.]

And at last I overcame these spiritts & men eaters [though many times I was soe weake y$^{t}$ people knew not whether I was in ye body or out]: & many pretious frends came farr & nigh to see mee & attended upon mee & was with mee: & towards ye springe I began to recover: & to walke uppe & doune to ye astonishment of frendes & others.

Butt they all saw {& tooke notice} y$^{t}$ as ye persecution ceased: I came from under my travailes & sufferinges [{as by this folowinge letter[1] in parte appears}].

And then when persecution was a litle Ceased I was moved to speake to Martha ffisher[2] & [a]Hannah Stringer[3a] to goe & speake to ye kinge for Margaretts liberty & they went [b]in ye Lords power[b].

[1671] And soe after I coulde stirr uppe & doune I went from Enfeilde to Ger: Roberts: & from thence to ye womens schoole: & soe to London: & went to ye meetinge at Gratious street though I was but weake yett ye Lords power uphelde mee to declare his eternall worde of life[4].

[{And I was moved of ye Lord to speake to Martha ffisher & Hannah Stringer to goe to ye kinge & his Councell & to move y$^{m}$ for Margaretts liberty.}]

And those two women gott Margaretts dischardge under ye brorde seale[5]: whoe had beene 10 yeeres a prisoner {& præmunired} which was never ye like hearde in Englande.

And I sent doune ye dischardge by [c]Jo: Stubbs[c] [with my horse]: & sent her worde[6] y$^{t}$ if shee came uppe: to see mee shee might come uppe [with John Stubbs] for it was upon mee to goe beyonde ye seas Into America & Barbadoes

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions have *another Woman-Friend*

[b]...[b] Ellwood editions: *in the Faith, and in the Lord's Power; and the Lord gave them Favour with the King*

[c]...[c] Ellwood editions omit the name and read *a Friend*

& those countryes [{as may bee seene by this {my} folowinge letter[1] to her}].

And soe I went in a Coach to Kingston to Jo: Rouses where I stayde till shee came uppe.

And whilst I was in my travailes & suffringes I sawe ye state of ye citty new Jerusalem: which comes out of heaven [And I & Rich: Richardeson & Jo: Stubbs wee cast it uppe accordinge to ye account as is written in ye revelations which accordinge to ye {worldes} account of ye measure of ye earth was ten times bigger then ye earth]: which ye professors had lookt upon to bee like a{n outwarde} Citty or some tounde y$^{t}$ had come out of ye elements [{&c: y$^{e}$ paper of which is as followeth}[a]].[b]

[2][*Concerning the measure of y$^{e}$ Cittie*

The Greek coppy with Arias Montanus his interlineary translation hath it in Revelations 21. 16—σταδίους δώδεκα χιλιάδων δώδεκα, that is furlongs twelve twelve thousands that is 144000, that is the length and the bredth; And the height being equall is 12000 / 12000 / 1728000 furlongs 1728000 (216000 miles that is 10 times the compasse of the earth, as it is commonly accounted or thereabouts. Twelve in the propheticall maner of speach is a full number, as twelve tribes. And the height, length and breadth being all twelve, is y$^{e}$ compleatnesse. And the wall twelve times twelve the compleatnesse of a wall in cubits, that is $\frac{12}{12}$ 144 cubits, the wall bearing proportion to the city, as cubits to furlongs, as the enclosing to the enclosed.]

[3][*a faithfull warning to y$^{e}$ other powers by g: ff:*

The spirituall raigne of Christ Jesus in his Greate City twelve thousand {times twelve thousand} furlongs y$^{t}$ is within y$^{e}$ L$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ City of y$^{e}$ liveing god which makes up more then y$^{e}$ world so all within y$^{e}$ L$^{t}$ {within the Cittie. And} Christ tasted death for every man and he shed his blood for every man {&} enlightens every man {&

[a] This insertion is in another handwriting.

[b] Narrative continued on page 173.

woman} y^t^ cometh into y^e^ World {&} y^e^ grace appeared to every Man y^t^ bringeth Salvation {&} enlighteneth every man {& woman} y^t^ cometh into y^e^ world. So here is y^e^ City within y^e^ L^t^ there is noe place or Language but there his voice may be heard.

The gate stands open night & day y^t^ all may come in here is {12 times} 12 thousand furlongs Summed up according to y^e^ account of y^e^ World. Soe now without y^t^ City are dogges, without it {are} y^e^ dogges, So now within this city here is light here is life here is y^e^ {heavenly breade &}[a] blood of y^e^ Lamb {to eate & drinke of}[a] all without it are dogges Adulterers {&c} where should they else be.

[b]I would have Rich: Richardson to unfould y^e^ thing.[b]

Here are Rivers cleare as cristall I am Just in y^e^ City.

Oh y^e^ heavenly Jerusalem y^e^ bride is come downe y^e^ mariage of y^e^ Lamb y^t^ must goe over all y^e^ false Cityes y^t^ have gotten up since y^e^ Apostles dayes as Caine his false City was destroyed &c. But y^e^ glorious City of Enocke Abell & faithfull Abraham & those & theire Cityes were preserved oh blessed for ever.

Soe Likewise all along there was a holy blessed Seed a righteous Abell, a faithful Abraham, {&} so all along till you come to Christs time & then a glorious blessed City a blessed truth appeared oh y^e^ day of Christ Jesus y^e^ holy one y^e^ blessed one & his blessed seed {which made theire holy Cittie}.

Oh glorious City it is since y^e^ Apostles dayes y^t^ all these false Cityes & false Churches appeared as papists & protestants noe difference {in nature}[a], being out of y^e^ faith out of y^e^ Love out of y^e^ power & truth & worship both papists & protestants all degenerated from y^e^ faith mercy & truth & righteousnes y^e^ Apostles were in & so have lost y^e^ true faith & have made faiths & have lost y^e^ true worship & have made Worships & have lost y^e^ true righteousnes & have made Theire owne Righteousnesses. Thou oh blessed god hast seene all these things.

Therefore be faithfull all yee chosen ones to y^e^ Lord god who is blessed for ever.

G F[c]

[a] This insertion was made by Thomas Lower.
[b]...[b] This sentence has been erased.
[c] These initials are in the form of a monogram.

This true City is come downe since y^e^ Apostles dayes & comeing downe from god y^e^ Gate stands open night & day yett y^e^ Adulterer murderer nor Idolater cannot enter.

Oh this blessed City {is}[a] appear'd.

Oh glorious thinges will come to passe you will see glorious thinges will come. I desire I wish y^t^ these outward powers of y^e^ earth were given up I can tell what to say to y^m^.

Oh Hypocrisy It makes me sicke to thincke of y^m^. I have given y^m^ a vissitation & as faithfull a warneing as ever was: [b]There is an ugly a slubering hound an ugely hound an ugely slobering hound[b] but y^e^ Lord forgive y^m^—destruction—destruction.

We have given y^m^ indeed a vsitation & salutation we have done it to these & they will not heare but Refuse it & reiecte y^e^ Lord but we shalbe cleare of all theire blood.]

[1][*A few words to y^e^ King* (*if he should Inquire after me*)]

We have all given y^m^ a vissitation & have faithfully warned y^m^ of our Innocensy & uprightnes & That we never did any hurte to y^e^ King nor to any of his people, we have nothing in our heartes but Love & good will to him & his people & desire theire eternall welfare If y^t^ they will not heare nor forbeare, {then} y^e^ day of Judgment & Sorrow of Torment & misery will come from y^e^ Lord upon y^m^ & Sudaine destruction That have beene y^e^ Cause of y^e^ sufferings of many thousand Simple innocent harmeles people y^t^ have {done} noe hurte nor have had ill will towards him or y^m^ But have desired theire Eternall good for y^e^ Eternall truths sake. Destruction will come upon y^m^ y^t^ turne y^e^ Sword backward [I[c] have nothing but Love & good Will.

G ff:

Let Squire Marsh know this].

[Postscript.]

Doe not blind your eyes y^e^ Lord will bring swift destruction and misery upon you Surely he will do it &

[a] This insertion was made by Thomas Lower.
[b]...[b] These words are struck out.
[c] Altered from *we*

Releive his innocent people who have groaned for deliverance & have also groaned for your deliverance out of wickednes.

Blessed be y^e^ Lord god y^t^ he hath A people in this nation y^t^ seekes y^e^ good of all men & of all people & of all women upon y^e^ face of y^e^ earth. [Its not a secte nor opinion but y^e^ good of all.] We have y^e^ mind of y^e^ Lord Jesus Christ y^t^ desires not y^e^ death of a Sinner but y^e^ good of all people blessed be y^e^ name of y^e^ Lord god for ever.

G ff:

[a] But all{y^t^ are}within ye light of Christ & his faith y^t^ hee is ye author off & within ye spiritt & ye holy ghoast y^t^ Christ & ye prophetts & Apostles was in: & was within ye grace & truth: & within ye power of God which was before ye Devill was which was ye walls of ye Citty: such were within ye Citty: & without ye grace & ye truth: & ye light & ye spiritt & ye power of God: such as resiste ye holy ghoast quencht & vext & greived ye spiritt of God: & hated ye light & turned ye grace of God Into wantonnesse & walked despitefully against ye spiritt of it & had erred from ye faith & made shipwrack of it & a good Conscience & abused ye power of God: & despised prophesy revelation & Inspiration.

Such were ye dogges & unbeleivers without ye citty & made uppe ye great citty Babilon Confusion & her Cage with ye power of darknesse it caged y^m^ over & surrounded y^m^ & ye evill spiritt of error: & there was ye beast & ye whore from ye spiritt of God & from Christ the husbande.

And there was ye false prophett{s} & false power & false spiritt: & ye beast in ye Dragons power out of Gods y^t^ was worshiped which ye worlde wondred after: & compeled all small & great: which ye Devill beast & false prophett {& whore & dragon} was for ye lake of fire y^t^ burnes: & all y^t^ follows y^m^ in y^t^ beastly spiritt: & dragons power: & ye whores flesh was to bee burnt: & ye Lords power was over all this power of darknesse: cage whore beast: Dragon & false prophetts & there worshipers: which {power} is ye walls of ye heavenly Citty: & all in ye light & life spiritt & grace & truth & faith of Jesus were members of this

[a] Narrative continued from page 170.

Citty within ye wall within ye power: & such had right to ye tree of life & ye river of life {within ye Citty} ye leafes of which tree heales ye nations: which beares every month: ye fruitefull tree beyonde all ye trees in ye worlde.

And all y$^{t}$ bee without this power of God truth & life are without ye Citty: where ye beast & ye dogs & ye unbelevers devill dragon whore & false prophett are: & soe not come to ye first resurrection: & over such ye 2 death has power: but they y$^{t}$ come to ye first resurrection by Christ Jesus whoe destroyes death & ye devill ye power of death: in Christ they are elected before ye worlde began & in him they sit doune & are blessed & ye seconde death hath noe power over them.

And soe all y$^{t}$ comes to within this heavenly citty new Jerusalem y$^{t}$ is above ye olde which is ye mother of all true Christians they must come to ye truth & light in there heartes & ye faith y$^{t}$ Christ is ye author of in there heartes & ye holy ghoast & power of God in there heartes if they come to bee members of this Citty & {to} within this Citty: & they must beleive in ye light by which its seene & ye tree of life Christ Jesus & soe grafted into him: y$^{t}$ they might bringe foorth heavenly fruite to ye heavenly father y$^{t}$ has begotten y$^{m}$ & drawne y$^{m}$ Into Christ.

And many thinges more did I see concerninge this Citty which woulde bee harde to bee uttered: for ye Christians in ye primitive times were caled a Citty by Christ sett on a hill: & were caled ye light of ye worlde & ye salt of ye earth.

But when {ye} Christians lost ye light & salt & power of God: then they came to bee troden under foote like unsavory salt.

And ye Jews whilst they kept ye lawe of God: they was kept above all nations but when they turned there backes of ye Lawe of God & turned there backes of God then they was troden under foote of other nations soe as Adam & Eve whilst they obeyed God they were kept in dominion over all ye workes of Gods handes & in his image & in ye paradice of God.

But when they disobeyed God they was drove out of paradice & lost ye image of God & righteousnesse & holy nesse: & there dominion & {soe} fell under ye darke power

{of Sathan} & soe came under ye Chaines of darknesse but ye promise of God was y^t^ ye seede of ye woman Christ Jesus should bruise ye serpents heade: hee should breake his power & authority which had led Into Captivity & helde {man} in it.

Soe Christ {whoe} was first & last sets man free: & is ye resurrection of ye just & unjust & ye Judge of ye quicke & deade & they y^t^ are in him are invested with everlastinge rest & peace {out of} all ye labors & travell & miseryes of Adam in ye fall.

Soe hee is sufficent {&} of Ability to restore: man uppe Into ye state y^t^ man was in before hee fell & not Into y^t^ {state} onely but uppe Into y^t^ state {alsoe} y^t^ never fell {to himselfe}.

[And I had a vision about y^t^ time y^t^ I was in this travaile & suffringes y^t^ I was walkeinge in ye feildes & many frendes was with mee & I bid y^m^ digge in ye earth: & they did & I went doune: & there was a mighty vault toppe full of people kept under ye earth rockes & stones: & soe I bid y^m^ break open ye earth & lett all ye people out: & they did & all ye people came foorth to liberty & it was a mighty place.

And when they had donne I went on & bid y^m^ digge againe {they did} & there was a mighty vault full of people & I bid y^m^ throwe it doune & lett all ye people out & soe they did.

And I went on againe & bid y^m^ digge againe & ffrends said unto mee George thou findes out all thinges & soe there they digged & I went doune: & went alonge ye vault: & there sate a woman in white lookeinge att time how it past away: & there followd mee a woman doune in ye vault in which vault was ye treasure: & soe shee layde her hande on ye treasure on my left hande & then time whisket on apace: but I clapt my hande upon her: & said touch not ye treasure.

And then time past not so swift.

Them y^t^ can reade these thinges must have ye earth...[a] stony nature off y^m^: & see how ye stones & ye earth...[a] came upon man since ye beginninge since hee...[a] from ye image of God & righteousnesse & holyn...[a]: & much I

[a] Edge of sheet worn away.

could speak of these thinges but I le...[a] y^m^ to ye right eye & reader to see & reade.]

And [to returne] when I was att Kingston: ye kinges d...[a] y^t^ cleered {Margarett} from her former præmunire it came dou...[a] Into ye Country as aforesaid: & shee was cleered & soe...[a] shee came uppe to London.

And after shee came to London [a free woman] I beg...[a] to prepare to goe beyonde sea.

And after ye yeerly meetinge where many came uppe from all parts of ye nation to it: & a mighty meetinge it was: & ye Lords power was over all: & his glo...[a] everlastinge renouned seede of life was sett over a...[a]: & soe after I had finished my service heer...[a] Englande for ye Lord

[1671] About ye 6^th^ month I went doune with Margarett: &[b] Will Pen: & Mary Penningeton[1]: & her daughter {Guly[2]}[b]: & wee gott [c]ye kinges barge[c]: & they carryed us doune 3 miles belowe Graves ende.

[{And soe they went with mee to ye dounes where wee went...[a] ye larger account whereof yee may see in ye journall as...[a] & in ye severall letters y^t^ gives an account of passages.}][d]

[3][*A Journall of George ffoxes, with other friends, who accompanyed him from London in England, towards America and some of the Isles thereunto belonging vizt: Thomas Briggs, William Edmondson*[4]*, John Rouse, Solomon Eccles*[5]*, John Stubbs, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Withers, George Pattison*[6]*, John Hull*[7]*, Elizabeth Hutton, Elizabeth Meeres*[8] *&c begining the Eleaventh day of the Sixth Month 1671.*

*The sixth Month and eleaventh day.* Most of those ffriends before mentioned (after they had a very good Meeting at Thomas Yoklyes[9], they went by water to Graves end that evening in order to goe aboard the Catch called the Industry, wherein we were to goe (the masters name being Thomas ffoster) then lying there.

[a] Edge of sheet worn away.
[b]...[b] Ellwood editions: *several Friends*
[c]...[c] Ellwood editions: *a Barge*
[d] Narrative continued on page 259.

*12th* G: ff: with his wife and severall ffriends who had a desire to beare him Company to the Downes, went from James Struts[1] in Wapping in one of the Kings Barges to the said Ship, where G: ff: staid aboard that night, but most of the Company with W: Penn &c lodged that night at Graves end to whom John Hull came likewise downe that night, who after waiteing upon the Lord in his Chamber about two houres viz$^{t}$ the 9$^{th}$ and 10$^{th}$ in the morning was moved to follow them in order to goe the voyage with them.

*13th* Early in the morning George Pattison, by G: ff$^{s}$ order roused ffriends up who lodged at Graves end about the first[a] houre, and about the sixth those friends with some others of our Passengers went a Shipboard the Anker being weighed, and Ship ready to sayle, Then after a litle while, many of our friends haveing taken their leaves passed away in very great tendernesse; but G: ff$^{s}$ wife with severall others sailed with us as farre as the downes, where that Evening wee arrived, haveing had a very fine and quick passage of it, haveing outsailed all such Ships that were likewise outward bound. About the eleaventh or twelfth houre that night G: ff: his wife with some other friends went a shoare to Deale and lodged there. where we were presently informed, that some had an order from the Governour to take our names in writeing.

*14th* In the morning one comes and tooke our names, though he was told they were taken at Graves end, haveing taken leave of Edward Man and his wife (who in love came to the Downes with us) and severall other friends at Deale, about the afternoone we came aboard, where wee mett with some Dover friends and Countrey adjacent who likewise came to visitt G: ff: &c who afterwards tooke their leaves and soe departed.

And then wee were hindered from proceeding on our voyage some houres, by reason that one of the Captaines of the Kings two men of warre which lay in the Downes sent his Presse master aboard us who prest and carryed away three of our Seamen which might have proved very prejudiciall unto us, even to the losse of our voyage had not the Captaine of the other of the Kings ffriggotts (being made

[a] Altered from *fifth*

sensible of the much leakinesse of our Ship and length of our voyage) out of Compassion and much Civillity spared us two of his owne men.

And before this was over, an officer of the Custome house came aboard to peruse their packets and gett fees, soe that what betweene one and the other we were hindered from saileing on till about Sunsett, dureing which stop, a very Considerable number of Merchant men bound outward thence, were gott severall leagues before us. But being now cleare, we sett saile that evening, wee were in number of passengers about fifty.

*15th* Wee overtooke part of the aforesaid ffleete about the height of Dover in the morning.

*16th* We came as farre as the Isle of Wight.

*17th* In the morning wee were as farre as Apsum in Devonshire, Note, as wee overtooke the ffleete soe we got and kept before them well nigh these two dayes past.

Wee had this evening a very good Meeting. wee were in the afternoone as high as Dartmouth, the winde being scant the fleete still not farre from us, In all which time, through mercy wee have beene generally pretty well, This evening wee were within two or three leagues of the Eddistone which had destroyed many Ships, whereupon wee bore away S. B. W., about the ninth or tenth houre that night we haled a Ship we met with, which came from Ireland bound for London. A very fine gale all night.

*18th* About the fifth houre in the morning wee past the Lizzard foure leagues south of it. and in a litle time saw the Lands End. And three leagues Southward saw all in a Range a ffleete of Ships of Hollanders most about fourty bound outwards, which came from the downes a weeke before us. the ffleete that came from the Downes the morning before us, wee left behind, and no sight of them. wee have a pretty fine Gale winde being N.E. wee get ground of the ffleete.

*19th* In the morning wee were about fifteene leagues west of Silly, winde being S.W. somewhat scant, wee saw this morning, but two or three of the ffleete, leward of us about three leagues distance, That evening wee lost sight of the ffleete which made towards the straits, leward of us, onely two of them singled themselves out and stood westward towards Virginia as was supposed.

*20th* Wee saw those two Ships early windward of us about foure leagues distance. In the afternoone towards the evening the winde began to blow hard which made the billowes mount a loft, soe that the master by perswasion of friends lored the maine topmast, which if he had not done it is very probable that it had broken, And at that Instant George Pattison casting his eye towards those two Ships, he perceived the formost had lost maine mast, fforemast, if not the bow sprit, they could discerne nothing but as it were the Mizzen, his Consort came up to him after a while, but makeing litle stay left her, it began to grow darke, soe that we never saw them more.

This morning wee mett with a ffleete of Hollanders and some English, one of them hailed us, who said he belonged to Lubick but came out of the straits and enquired whether there were warre with ffrance or no. wee were that day about fifty leagues of Silly and before the Bay of Bisky.

*21th* Winde N.W. our shrouds were straightned being too slack and our Mainmast fixt close to the deck.

*22th* Wee are still Crosseing the Bay, being about a hundred leagues off of the Lands end of England about the twelfth houre, towards the afternoone it was pretty calme, and Seas somewhat smooth to what they were before, ffriends were sickish these two or three dayes, especially John Cartwright who was something feavourish, and that evening George ffox was moved to pray for him and felt an intercession for his life.

*23th* Early our Mainstay was cutt sheere in tow by rubbing caus'd, which was mended ere night in latitude 44d 41. minutes. Sayld from noone to noone thirteene leagues two miles winde being N:W: b. N. friends mostly pretty well this day also John Cartwright who told us, he thought hee should have dyed, but it was revealed to him he should not, but that he must goe and preach the gospell. That evening wee had in our Cabbin a very good Meeting.

*24* This morning John Stubbs wee found somewhat ill, and feavourish, as the Surgion said; he was in a breathing swett: wee are past the northern Cape, and are off of the Coast of Portugall about eighty leagues. winde N.E. and a fresh Gale, the Sea somewhat lofty, wee sailed about fifty

sixe leagues from noone to noone steereing our course S:W: J: S: somewhat better this evening. wee saw severall Gramposses sporting them selves in the briny Ocean, not farre from us, and two great porposes leapt a great height above water, wee Closed up this evening with a very fine and powerfull Meeting. In latitude fourty three degrees and 3′. some of our Company said they saw a great whale, some said they saw a Rainbow a good while after Sunn sett.

*25* From noone to noone wee ranne twenty nine leagues S:W: b. S: in latitude fourty degrees and 11′. winde variable and scant at E.N.E. to W.N.W. but a litle fresher this afternoone John Stubbs pretty well, and falls to his victualls. Wee tooke a Dolphinne, which made us good broth, and is a very good fish to eate, and a lovely for variety of Colours. It is very remarkeable how severall ffriends were soe soone raised up againe that were very ill.

*26* Sayld W.S.W. thirty sixe leagues, and a mile in latitude fourty degrees 36′. winde variable at E. B. N. a reasonable Gale, wee saw no fish to day. G: ff: J. S. and I spent two houres in our Cabbin in peruseing some scriptures.

*27* Saild S.S.W. thirty sixe degrees and {one} mile, winde variable at W. and W.N.W. litle winde this day a very smooth Sea wee tooke two Dolphins ffriends generally pretty well. two good Meetings, the passengers seemed to be very attentive. wee had a very fine Meeting by our selves in our Cabbinne at night wherein the power of the Lord was felt. our Ship soe leaky ever since wee came to the Downes that Seamen and passengers doe for the most part day and night pumpe. this day wee observed that in two houres she suckt in sixteene Inches of water in the well, some makes it tenne Tunn a day. It is well however for it is good to keepe Seamen and passengers in health.

*28* Course steer'd S. b. W. fifteene leagues and two miles from noone to noone. in latitude thirty nine degrees 14′. winde variable at N. b. W. and at W. and at S: W: b: W: This morning G: ff: J: S: and I were imployed about findeing out the signification of the foure Rivers of Eden, according to the Hebrew together with the misticall meaneing of them. bare winde this day, wee were in latitude with the Rock at Lisbone.

*29* Sayld S.S.W. seaventy five miles. winde at W.N.W. friends very well winde very scant, smooth seas, a very great Showre of Raine early in the morning.

*30* Course wee steer'd S.S.W. tenne leagues and two miles, winde W:S:W: in latitude thirty seaven degrees 44′. litle winde this afternoone soe as our vessell lay as in a Millpond very smooth litle Motion. wee are very hot, sweat exceedingly at night. it is very uncomfortable to lie two in a litle hole or Cabbinne.

*31* Course S.S.W. winde N.N.E. very bare, distance runne three leagues and a mile, from twelve to twelve, in latitude thirty seaven degrees 35′. wee hookt a great Albicore about an ell long, but through the hastinesse of the haler up broke the hooke, and dropt the fish. another Rainbow was seene after Sunne sett.

Followes the 7th Month.

*1st.* Steer'd S.S.W. fifteene leagues from twelve to twelve winde W:N:W: and bare in latitude thirty sixe degrees 53′. I was very ill yesterday and also this, water very smooth, in the afternoone wee perceived by the Cockling of the Sea a fine brees of winde approaching us, ffriends generally in health through Mercy, though it is a very hot time with us, especially in the Cabbin being soe many thronged and crowded together, and where wee laid two together wee were forc'd to part. this morning a great Dolphinne was taken by T: ff: with a ffisgig being likely companion to the last, for she followed the vessell ever since, haveing a flying fish, and a young Dolphinne, in her Maw, with another pretty bigg fish.

*2d.* Sayl'd foure degrees and 30′ westerly winde variable at W: b. S. and W.S:W. in latitude thirty sixe degrees 20′ about foure in the afternoone wee espyed a vessell foure leagues a sterne that seemed to give us a Chace. to prevent her, when it began to be darke we altered our Course who notwithstanding came up within a mile and a halfe of us. by the eleaventh houre following, whereupon as soone after as the Moone did sett, we steer'd N.E. a while and after that E. and S.E. till breake of day, and soe saw no sight of her, some conjectur'd by her sayles among the Marriners that it was likely a Sally man of warr, standing

of the A sores Ilands, which caused a great feare among some of the passengers, dreading to be taken by them, but friends were well satisfyed in themselves, haveing no feare upon their spirrits. And when the Master, and G: P: came to G: ff: to advise with him and understand his Judgment of it in the power made answer that the life was over all, and the power was betweene them and us.

*3d.* Sayl'd S.W. b. W. 1d. and 45′. southerly distance runne tenne leagues, winde variable at W. b. S. and W. and S.S.W. in latitude thirty sixe degrees 2′. this morning wee left quite the supposed Sally man, and had a very good Meeting.

*4th.* Sayl'd tenne leagues and two miles winde variable at S.S.W. and S. in latitude thirty sixe degrees 3′. a great calme.

*5th.* Course two degrees and 50′. from noone to noone westerly foure leagues and a mile winde variable at S.W. b. S. and S.W. and W.S.W. but scant in latitude thirty sixe degrees 5′. we tooke one bunitta, and one Pilate fish, many were about us, a fresh Gale all night.

*6th.* Sayl'd S. by W. five degrees and 30′ West from twelve to twelve distance runne thirty seven leagues and one mile. winde variable at W. b. S. and W.N.W. latitude thirty foure degrees 17′. a fresh Gale this day, store of Bunnittaes.

*7th.* Made our way good S.W. b. S. one degree and 4′. southerly, distance run thirty foure league. winde variable at N.W. b. W. and N.N.E. with a handsome fresh moderate Gale latitude thirty two degrees 54′.

*8th.* Sayl'd S.W. b. S. thirteene leagues and a mile from twelve to twelve in latitude thirty two degrees 22′. we are a litle to the Southward of the latitude of Bermoodos. winde somewhat scant.

*9th.* Sayl'd S.S.W. foure degrees. 30′. westerly distance runne sixeteene leagues winde variable at E.N.E. by E. faire and moderate weather in latitude 31d. 37′.

*10th.* Sayl'd S.W. b. S. fifteene leagues winde variable at N.N.E. and N.E. b. N. and N.E. with a reasonable Gale and faire weather in latitude thirty degrees 58′. wee had a very fine Meeting this morning, some Dolphins and Pilates seene.

*11th.* Sayl'd S.W. b. S. fifteene leagues and one mile winde variable at N.E. and N.N.W. a litle gale, and faire weather in latitude thirty degrees 20′ friends and passengers generally well onely myselfe.

*12th.* Sayl'd S.W. b.S. thirty two leagues. winde variable at N.W. and N.E. in latitude twenty nine degrees 1′. some pilates seene.

*13th.* Sayl'd S.W. b. S. seaventeene leagues winde variable at N.E. and N.E. b. N. in latitude twenty eight degrees 43′. no fish but Pilates about us. faire and hott weather. a very great Showre early, we beginne to come into the long reach.

*14* Sayl'd by the log board S.W. b. S. thirty leagues winde N.E. a handsome fresh gale all night in latitude twenty seaven degrees 35′. ffriends and passengers generally well. the Sunne beginns to be exceeding hot a very fresh gale all night, and by the logboard runne sometimes eight leagues a watch G: ff: leggs beginne to swell very much and very pimply itching and burning much.

*15* This morning a flying fish was taken upon the deck that flew in that night, we saw severall of them flying, ffriends and passengers Pretty well. sayl'd S.W. by. S. thirty eight leagues and one mile winde variable at N.E. and E.N.E. in latitude twenty sixe degrees 26′.

*16* Sayl'd S.W. thirty foure leagues winde variable at N.E. and S.E. with some raine in latitude thirty five degrees 13′. we account our selves within thirty leagues of the Tropick of Cancer, which lyes in twenty three degrees and halfe a degree ffriends &c generally in health, onely myselfe seldome well. a very fine fresh gale, which serves to quallify very much the burning heate of the Sunn.

*17* Sail'd S.W. twenty eight leagues winde E.S.E. in latitude twenty foure degrees 19′. this afternoone wee rann after foure leagues an houre.

*18* Sayl'd S.W. five degrees fifty min. westerly distance runne fifty foure leagues winde being at E.N.E. a very fresh gale in latitude twenty two degrees 36′. Southward of the Tropick fifty sixe miles. Severall flying fish I have seene on the winge five or sixe at a time some flying about two hundred yards or more.

*19* Sayl'd S.W. b. W. one degree 15′ southerly runne

fifty one leagues and two miles winde E.N.E. in latitude twenty one degrees 7′. we had a very good Meeting before we went to bed.

*20* Course by the Compasse S.W. b. S. five degrees 25′. westerly. runne fourty sixe leagues and two miles winde at N.E. in latitude Nineteene degrees 69′.

*21* Sayl'd S.W. five degrees westerly runne fourty one leagues winde at N.E. a handsome fresh gale, in latitude eighteene degrees 40′. G: ff: very ill this morning in his stomack. A Tropick bird was seene, and many Herring Hoggs and Grampasses.

*22* Sayl'd S.W. run twenty seaven leagues wind variable at N.E. and E.N.E. an ordinary gale, in latitude seaventeene degrees 47′. Tropick birds were seene. G: ff: very ill this night, he hath beene very much out of order for severall dayes past, being very much in his bones. we were much becalm'd most part of the night and next morning: G: ff: met with such stinkeing meate porke and beife which Caused him to loath flesh a long time after, and lost his stomack with it.

*23* Sail'd S.W. b. W. seaventeene leagues and 45′. westerly in latitude seaventeene degrees 18′: a Seaman told me they pumpt neere seaven hundred stroakes in halfe an houre, indeed they were necessitated to keepe it goeing still. we saw a Ship this afternoone about three leagues off of us steereing somewhat the same Course with us. This day G: ff: was some what better then before, And this evening Solomon Eccles seaven dayes fast was out haveing neither eate nor drunke all the time unlesse some times he washt his mouth with vinegar, neither did he goe to bed nor hardly slept dureing the time prefixt, unlesse now and then, he nodded a litle a night times as he sate up. this day I saw a Tropick bird.

*24* Course twenty sixe leagues in latitude sixteene degrees 39′. this morning we saw the Ship againe, which we discovered last night, being come very neere us, haveing it seemes a desire to speake with us, shee gott neere us towards the Evening. soe that wee perswaded the Master to stay for her. and soe she came side by side with us, our master haled them, who answered that he came from London about the time wee came away, the Masters name being Barber bound

for Barbados. G: ff: was very ill in his stomack soe as at last he vomited very much cold waterish flegme, though he was never sea sick.

*25* This morning wee saw the Ship againe leward of us about a league but after a litle, while we met with a fresh Gale we soe out went her, that before it was darke we runne them out of sight, we sail'd W.S.W one degree westerly runne thirty foure leagues winde at E.N.E. a fine handsome gale and faire weather in latitude sixteene degrees 2′.

*26* Course W.S.W. foure degrees 30′ southerly runne fourty nine leagues and a mile, winde at E.N.E. a very fresh gale, in latitude fourteene degrees 45′. store of Porposes were seene and Brunnittaes playing about the Ship this night and evening, severall birds were seene this day, G: ff: very ill to day. I saw two birds called men of warre somewhat like a Herne.

*27* Course S.W. sayl'd halfe a point westerly distance run fourty eight leagues and a mile, winde at E.N.E. a fine handsome fresh gale, about five knots an houre in latitude thirteene degrees 41′. G: ff: pretty well, it lightned very much this night.

*28* Sayl'd W.S.W. foure degrees westerly and fifty Minu: distance, fourty sixe leagues and two miles winde variable at E. b. N. and E.N.E. a fresh gale and faire weather, yea they are pretty temperate and coole most part of the long reach, the most sultry weather we had before when wee were some what becalm'd, and had but litle wind for neere a fortnight before we came into the reach. In latitude twelve degrees and 57′. three miles Southward of Barbados. some supposed the water began to Change, as usually it doth a good while ere they come neere the Iland. a fresh gale all night.

*29* Some suppose wee are about a hundred leagues East of Barbadoes. some saw a bird called Booby, as bigge as a wilde goose. a fresh gale also this morning. ffriends generally well and soe is G: ff: this day is called Michaelmas. No observations this day by reason the Sunn was soe Clouded as it appeared not, a handsome fresh gale, sayl'd W. five degrees northerly, runne fifty three leagues in latitude thirteene degrees eleaven Min. at E. b. N.

*30* The Sunn not appeareing this day, they could not well take any observation, wee sayl'd west two degrees southerly fourty foure leagues wind E. b. N. in latitude thirteene degrees 6′. ffriends generally well. Many Porposes were seene, and a flocke of birds at a distance. wee are somewhat yare[a] in looking out for land, to morrow or next day the master supposes wee may see Barbados.

The Eight Month.

*1st.* Sayl'd about thirty Leagues W. in latitude thirteene degrees: *2d* About thirty two Leagues in latitude thirteene degrees 20′.

*3* Wee saw early in the morning the Iland of Barbados, and about the ninth houre at night or tenth wee anchored in Carlile Bay. and about or after the tenth houre wee came a shoare. G: ff: walkt at that time of night with some others to Richard fforstalls[1] house a Merchant a friend, above a quarter of a mile from the Bridge, who being ill before he came a shoare and then by reason of soe Tyresome a walke at that time of night too, he was in a manner quite spent, and abode there very ill for severall dayes, and could not sweate, no not for three weekes before he was soe dryed and parcht up.

*5* On the fifth wee had a great Meeting at the Bridge.

*6* He told me this Iland lay as a heavy loade upon him, pointing at his breast. abundance of friends came daily to visitt him.

*7* Early in the morning G: ff: (being very restlesse that night) told me that the Iland was a very great weight upon him, reiterateing the same.

That afternoone John Rous brought Collonell Chamberlaines[2] Coach for G: ff: but it was late, ere we could gett to Thomas Rouses[3] his fathers. but G: ff: could take litle or no rest that night.

Some few dayes after the said Collonell came to give him a visitt who seemes to be a civill person.

Now to draw to a Close G: ff: though somewhat better at present, yet has not beene well hardly ever since he came from England, while at Sea his leggs swel'd somuch and feete, as if the skinne would breake, and but with much difficulty could one draw on his stockens, or slippers, for he

[a] = quick, ready, active. O.E. *gearo.*

comeing weake from London aboard, he did sweate exceedingly for the space of three weekes, soe that his head was as if it were sodden, and all his body broke out into pimples, and afterwards struck in againe on a suddaine, and the swelling of his leggs fell, soe that what with his old paines, and former bruises in his Joynts, all struck up to his heart and stomack, soe as that he became very weake beyond words, which was enough to have killed some others.

And then for the space of a Month after he could not sweate at all while at Sea, and when he came on land it was the same, insomuch that they gave him severall times some things to make him sweate, which was soe farre from workeing that effect, that it dryed up, and parched up his body the more. soe as it made him worse likely then it might otherwise have beene and soe could drinke hardly any thing but water all the time (aboard and after) mixt with a litle Ginger, that did best agree with him.

And now this three weekes and upwards since he landed, hee hath not sweated but hath still very much paines in his bones and Joynts and whole body. that he can hardly gett any rest; and yet notwithstanding he is Cheery and keepes above all.

This Island it is said was all of a fire as it were when they heard of his comeing, but divers Considerable persons, besides abundance of our friends came to visitt him from all quarters, which hath much abated and quencht it, and they are very desireous to heare him at Meetings but as yet hee hath not beene able to goe to any.

John Hull.]

[1][{Barbadoes y^e^ 1^st^ of y^e^ 10^th^ mo: 71.}]

Deare ffrends

I have beene very weake these 7 weekes past & so not able to write my selfe my desire is to you & for you all y^t^ you may live in y^e^ feare of god & in Love one unto an other & be subiecte one to another in y^e^ feare of god. I have beene weaker in my body then ever I was in my life yea my paines such as are beyound words or expreshons but yet my hearte & spirit is [as] strong [as ever]. I have hardly sweate these 7 weekes past though I am Come into a very hott Clyment where hardly any but are well nygh continually sweateing but as for me [&] my old bruises colds &

nummnes & paines strucke inwardly even to my very hearte so y^t^ litle Rest have I taken & y^e^ Cheifest thinges y^t^ were Comforte to me was a litle Water & powdered ginger but now I begin to drincke a litle beare as wel as Water & a litle Wine & Water mixed greate paines & travailes I have seene & In Measure am under but It is well my life is over all for this Iland was to me all of a fire ere I came to it but now it is somewhat quenched & abated since.

Many frends & Considerable persones have beene with me so I came in Weakenes among those y^t^ are strong & have so Continued but now am gott a litle Chery & over it we have ordred mens meeteings to be at Tho: Rouses & womens meeteings next weeke.

I tyered out my body much when amongst you in England Its y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord y^t^ helpes me & so I desire you all to prize y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord & his Truth for I was but a weake man in body when I came away after I saw my greate Travaile amongst you but after y^t^ it strucke all backe againe into my body which was not well fastend[a] after so sore travels in England & then so tyred out at see y^t^ I could not Rest & have had litle or noe Stomake a long time. Since I came into this Iland my life hath beene very much burdened but I hope if the Lord give strength to manage his worke I shall worke thoroughly [& thoroughly] & bring thinges y^t^ have beene out of Course into better order [but for y^e^ present am but in a Weake Capasity] & so deare frends live all in y^e^ peaceable Truth & in y^e^ Love of it serveing y^e^ Lord in Newnes of life for glorious thinges & everlasting Truths have beene manifested amongst you plentifully & to you y^e^ Riches of y^e^ kingdome hath beene reached.

I have beene almost a month in this Iland but have not beene able to goe abroad or Ride out but very Lately I Rode twice abroad here $\frac{1}{4}$ myle at a time which tyred me & wearyed me.

G. ff.

[Let a Coppey of this be sent into y^e^ North to M: my wife to Bristol & to W: Yeomans & to Tho: Lower in Cornwall & shew unto other frends to whome is my Love & life in Truth.

G. ff.]

[a] Ellwood editions : *settled*

[1][Barbados: y^e^ 2^d^ of 10^th^ mo. 1671.

My dear & Truely Honored in y^e^ Lord: M: F:

After y^e^ Salutation of my Love, & Respects to thee: And I thought it my duety indeed to write unto y^ee^ at this time, & at noe time would Account: it greivous to write unto thee, as a manifestation of that Love: & service, in y^e^ Lord I: owe unto y^ee^ in a speciall manner.

If my writeing might bee of any weight or worth, I have & doe y^e^ Rather forbeare: because thy husband is here himselfe: as also thy son Rouse; besides John: Hull: is Constantly with thy husband: & Robert Widders—when I was in John Hulls place with thy husband—I was not behinde in writeing frequently: but now I Judge it superfluous, to write so often: In Regard thou maist have a more perfect account: from thy son Rouse: or John Hull: or both: & so if I doe not write, so often to y^ee^ as heretofore, it is because that service peradventure, is done more effectually by another.

But now as I said before: I at this time thought it my duty to write unto thee to give y^e^ an Account of things here at present: In this Island: which take as followeth:—

In y^e^ first place, Thy husband is finely well: & prettie stronge: & Rides abroad to Meetings, from one side of y^e^ Island to Another: & hath been soe some weeks now by past.—I only give y^e^ an Account, how things are at present: as alsoe since y^e^ Account, I sent to William Dundas[2], which was ordered to be sent to y^ee^, which I hope is Commd to thy hands some weeks since; & so I omitt mentioning any thing: that was Contained in it;—only gives an account of things since, vizt, About 3 weekes: agoe: thy Husband] went to vissit y^e^ Governour: att his owne house: & hee was very Civelly & kindely Treated of him: Lewis Morris[3], Thomas Rouse [& I think his two sons & John Hull]: with other friends, went along with thy husband: & there they Continued most part of y^e^ day: & dined there also.

And that week thy husband Came downe to y^e^ Bridge Towne haveing not been there before, but as hee passed through it, when hee Came into y^e^ Island &c: And it was so that y^e^ Generall Meeting happened

to bee y^e^ same week: that thy husband was with y^e^ Governour, & his kinde Reception with y^e^ Governour, did give a sound amonge y^e^ officers, both Military & Civill, throughout y^e^ Island, In somuch as they came from all parts: of y^e^ Island as it were: & y^t^ not of y^e^ least Ranke: as Collonels: & Justices: & Judges: & Captaines: &c: Came to this Generall Meeting hearing that thy husband would be att it, & after [a]thy son Rouse, Tho. Briges, William Baylife[1a] had spoken: Then thy husband spoake, & opened things, to y^e^ Great satisfaction of people, but he was straitened for time [& indeed: I was Greived from my very heart for it, And they cannot but suffer: that was y^e^ Cause of it. —I must be short:—] then after y^e^ meeting, hee passed to Lewis Morrice house that night, which was about 9: or 10: miles distant: partly performeing his Journey along y^e^ sea Coast: in a boat: & y^e^ Rest upon horseback: by Land: & there hee Continued, about a week: there is y^e^ finest Ayre in y^e^ Island about Lewis his plantation.

The next day after he went to Lewis Morrices: Tho: Briges & W^m^ Edmondson went to him: to take their leave of him, being to passe to Antegoe: & Mevis, [y^e^ following day; which was upon y^e^ 7^th^ day of y^e^ weeke, iust this day 2 weeks: they passed away from thy husband: at that place:] & Lewis is gone along with them: [—So here is at present thy husband: & Solomon & I: & upon first dayes Meetings, thy son Rouse helps us: W^m^ Bailife is here.

The people in a manner Generally effects him very much & its well; here are mighty great Meetings: in y^e^ Island: a very Great Convincement in all parts: but wee will Leave y^e^ Issue of all: to y^e^ Lord, thy husband hath had severall meetings: Amonge y^e^ men: & women friends, to y^e^ generall satisfaction of all friends, in y^e^ Island: he hath had two great first day meetings at Tho: Rouses it being y^e^ greatest meeting in y^e^ Island except this generall meeting, at y^e^ Towne: aforementioned.

Now to morrow, being y^e^ first day: I thinke hee will have a meeting at one Jo^n^ Holders[2]: who is a Justice of peace: Solomon: & I: have been there already: at two severall meetings.

The Truth is freely preached, both to white people &

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *three other Friends*

Black people: Solomon & I have had severall Meetings among y^e^ Negroes in severall plantations: & its like must have more yet.

But thy Husband its Like hath had more then any of us; wee feell y^e^ Lords presence & power in that service, as well as when wee speake amonge y^e^ white people, & thats enough: thy husband had y^e^ first Meeting; with them, & then after a while, it fell upon mee, & Solomon: & it was a Great Crosse att y^e^ first, but now its made more easy:—thus much I thought to write to y^e^, in as short a manner as ever I could—wee have as much service, as wee are able to goe through: & not above our strength given us, everlasting prayses for ever: who renues our strength: dayly.

Thus with my Dear & tender: & true {Love} to thy selfe & Children, & ffriends in thy house who are thy servants, & to dear Leonard ffell & his wife, & R. & W. Salthouse: & all other Friends as though I named them: Farewell.

From thy Friend & Brother
in y^e^ blessed Light, Life, &
power made manifest:
Jo. Stubbs.]

[1][Deare ffrend M: ff

In y^e^ Blessed Truth that is pure & unchangeable is y^e^ Salutation of my deare & tender Love to the &c.

Last weeke I Recd Letters from Barbadoes by Thomas Hudson[2] with one directed to Sarah ff: which I was willing to send per post knoweing it would be, very acceptable to the to heare from thy deare Husband who I understand is better then he was Jn^o^ Hull hath given a Large account of particulars which I supose the hast some account of but Its thy deare Husbands desire that the should have Coppeyes of y^e^ Inclosed which I have taken Care to gett Coppeyed. Tho: Brigges & W. E. were to goe to Maevis & Antegoe I may also give the some account of y^e^ particulars of Jn^o^. Hulls Letter which I find Gff desires with the other: Meeteings are here quiett & very Large except on first dayes those 2 Meeteinges in y^e^ L^t^ of Towers Lyberty where frends are kept out. Ratliffe Meeteing place is Repaired which displeases y^m^ there was some talke of pulleing downe meeteing places which we heare not of now &c.

With my deare Love as also my wives to the & thy daughters & Leonard Rests

Thy Truely Lov: frend.
Edward Man

[12° of $\frac{11}{mo:}$ : 1671.]

Jn°. Hulls Letter.

After his Salutation he mentions somewhat of a former Letter which gave an account of theire arrivall at B. on 3$^{d}$ of 8° m° at x at night &c.

Tis well nigh a month since we came here & now G: ff: Growes somewhat better but as yet not very well & doubtles was & still is, farr y$^{e}$ worse by Reason of y$^{e}$ filth dirt & unrighteousnes which lay as a heavey Load & weight upon his spirit So as it pressed downe y$^{e}$ spirit of god in him as a Cart with sheaves. G: ff: R: W: & E: M: & my selfe Reside at Tho: Rouses these 3 weekes, W: E: T: B: J. St: & S: E: at y$^{e}$ bridge & Are sometimes here & Are up & downe y$^{e}$ Iland in Service Thrashing Cutting & heweing &c: & have very Considerable numbers at theire severall Meeteings which are many both as to place & time & are y$^{e}$ greater & fuller by Reason y$^{t}$ many of y$^{e}$ world flockes unto them ; so that people begin to be awakend both as to backsliders (as tis feared here are to many) & others not before Convinced. And are in an earnest & longeing Expectation of G ffs appearing at meeteings quæryeing when will G ff speake ? when shall we heare him for as yet he hath not beene at any by Reason of his much weaknes nor as yet like to be & therefore G: ff: appointed y$^{e}$ womens meeteing to be kept here at Th: Rouses & so they mett here yesterday accordingly In which he S. E. & myselfe spent 3 or 4 howers at Least delivering himselfe as to theire Concernes very sweetly & very fully there were it is suposed neere 100 women frends grave & sober & y$^{e}$ day before being y$^{e}$ first day of y$^{e}$ weeke was y$^{e}$ meeteing for this parte of y$^{e}$ Countrey It removing from one particuler family or houses each first day to another neere adiacent of another plantation & a very great one it was being in number about 3 or 400 persons to which Lewes Morrice & his wife came & with him a Neighbour of his one fretwell[1] one of y$^{e}$ Judges of this Iland who liveth about 14 myles of at least, one y$^{e}$ windward side here I say we had a very good meeteing

G: ff: being very powerfull to y^e^ greate satisfaction of y^e^ Judge yea also of most present though he was weake, he hath likewise appointed y^e^ mens meeteing to be here to morrow so y^t^ I question not but y^e^ Lord will Crowne his greate Undertakeings with blessed success That so y^e^ Iles may call him blessed of y^e^ Lord in y^t^ y^e^ Lord hath & will make him a Choice Instrument in his hand for much good unto them even unto y^e^ Blackes as unto y^e^ whites for y^e^ blackes (as tis said) expecte some good by his Comeing here but more of y^t^ it may be hereafter as occation serves although as yet he be not wel able to appear abroad yet most frends have often vissited him besides some others of quality of y^e^ world many Inhabitants of this Ile are wyse & sober & sivell & many allready reachd & Convinced meetings are very quiett without disturbance or noise so y^t^ here is like to be very greate worke & good service done for y^e^ Lord in so much y^t^ Its y^e^ faith of some y^t^ y^e^ Lord hath not brought G. ff. here for nought & y^t^ y^e^ Lord will now make good in this his day to these westerne Iles in y^e^ particuler as are Recorded promises or prophecyes or rather both in generall, as Isa: 42. 1. 2. 3 & v. 4^o^: y^e^ Iles saith y^e^ Lord by his servants y^e^ prophets shall waite for his Law: & 51: 5. 6 v. my Righteousnes is neare my salvation is gone forth & mine arme (y^t^ is) y^e^ mighty power of y^e^ Lord shall Judge y^e^ people y^e^ Iles shall waite upon me & upon mine arme shall they trust.

While I was at sea I tooke from y^e^ mouth of G ff: 2 severall papers them likewise I wrott faire out & Intend to transmitt y^m^ for London by T. H. with my letters & its G: ff: desire y^t^ thou hasten y^e^ well & Carefull printeing of y^m^ & send backe some of y^e^ printed bookes[1] by y^e^ first opportunity for they will savour exceeding well here & more I am prepareing so y^t^ I may truely say I am not nor have beene Idle, noe, y^e^ errand the Lord sent me upon is to do his worke according to my Capasity (with his dear Love to severall frends) for I must needs say praises praises be to his blessed name for ever more there is a sparke of Love from y^e^ alter of God kindled in me to all y^e^ seed y^e^ blessed seed of god. G. ff: Company is desired at L: Morris but as yet we cannot goe there but may ere long (—he writes of a horicane y^t^ hath done much hurte 2 weekes since y^e^

writeing of his Letter as to sugar canes, Indian Corne ships & houses &c.

Once more desireing the to mind my present Condition & likewise desire the p(r)ayers of all the faithfull there viz : y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Lord would manifest his life light power & Love to Salvation & Consolation in me more & more & y$^{t}$ he will keepe me in a virgin state pure & cleane & holy & Righteous & spiritually minded out of all vissibles to y$^{e}$ one invisible which is y$^{t}$ state my soul breathes after & is pressing forward to so deare frends farewell farewel saith my soul & y$^{e}$ Lord for y$^{e}$ good will of him y$^{t}$ dwelt in y$^{e}$ bush bless & prosper thy soul & my soul & cause all y$^{e}$ houshould of faith y$^{t}$ name y$^{e}$ name of Jesus to keepe y$^{m}$ selves unspotted from y$^{e}$ world & theire garments pure & Cleane & undefiled & to perseveer in wel doeing as in wel speakeing, in possessing as in professing.

J. H.

G. ff: Love to all ffrends both Male & female.

Jn$^{o}$. Huls Love is to the & thinckes meete to Inserte one Remarkeable passadges y$^{t}$ a frend in whose house & to whome it was spoken tould me namely W$^{m}$ ffuller[1] y$^{t}$] one Jn$^{o}$ Drakes[2] a person of Quality in y$^{e}$ Worlds account understanding of G ff: comeing over here out of England tould him y$^{t}$ if it were possible to procure it he would have him burnt one frend Quæried of him what he had done against him y$^{t}$ he was so violent against him Replyed againe he would have him burnte whereupon our frend tould him do not march on so furiously least thou come to soone to thy Journeyes end & about 10 dayes after he was strucke with a feavour & dyed burnt him up & so his body is Layd in y$^{e}$ dust.

As I hinted before G. ff. appointed y$^{e}$ mens Meeteing to be here & so accordingly they mett where came some of y$^{e}$ world among some others as one Coll: Lyne[3] a sober person who was much troubled at first y$^{t}$ he might not have admission but after y$^{t}$ G. ff: speakeing to all he was exceeding well sattisfyed & said to this purpose now I can gainsay such as I have heard speake evill of you y$^{t}$ say you owne not Christ nor y$^{t}$ he dyed but now I perseive y$^{t}$ you exalt Christ in all his offices as y$^{t}$ I never heard so much before

& seeing me tooke y^e^ heads of what was spoken desired me to give him a Coppey of it & after stayd with us an other day [even till 8^o^ at night I beleive we shall have more of his Company at Meeteings but now after this when cleare all of y^e^ world frends kept theire meeteing above in a Large Chamber where] G. ff: gave some directions as to severall thinges as to y^e^ well ordering & manageing theire affaires viz: to gett 3 distinct bookes 1 for births 2^d^ for Marriages 3^d^ for Burials as also distinte ones for Blackes unconvinced y^t^ were frends servants also about Convenient buryeing places for frends for in many places they burey there owne in theire gardens & also for y^e^ blackes likewise concerneing frends takeing one an other in Mariage & also of Kindred & how Christ y^e^ Restorer was now bringing y^m^ to y^e^ begining namely one man & one woman not many, as also when they take one an other to have a Certificate of theire good behaviour life & Conversation & of theire Comeing in order to Mariage twice to y^e^ womens Meeteing & twice to y^e^ Men & whereas there hath beene upon severall accounts much Wickednes both as to Marryeing kinn & of 2 wifes at once or 2 husbands & being uncleane to Marryed persons to such he used very sharpe Reproofe as also Concerneing Wils & Legasyes to frends for publicke use also Concerneing Condemnations after which 2 Read theire owne Condemnations for theire Uncleanes & abominations also about trayneing up theire Neigors in y^e^ feare of god bought with theire money & such as were borne in theire familyes so y^t^ all may Come to y^e^ knowledge of y^e^ Lord, y^t^ so with Joshua they may say as for me & my house we will serve y^e^ Lord & y^t^ theire overseers might deale mildely & gentley with y^m^ & not use cruelty as y^e^ maner of some is & hath beene & to make y^m^ free after 30 years servitude also Concerneing y^e^ hastey marryeing of ffrends after y^e^ death either of Husband or Wives & of ffrends Children when but 13 or 14 years old admonishing y^m^ to purge y^e^ flower thorowly & sweepe theire houses very cleane & y^t^ nothing be spoken out of theire meeteings to y^e^ Blemishing one an other many thinges more were spoken to & treated of &c.[1]

[M. ff.

I was willing to make use of this opportunity by R:

Pinder[1] to send these & had but litle time to write they are but scribled but I hope may be Read I was also y^e willinger for y^e to Judge Jn^o Hulls growth in Measure this voyage wilbe good for him.

E. M.]

[2][*j stubs to mff from Barbados of pasages of gf 1671*

Barbados y^e 20^D 11^m 167½

Dearly Beloved in the Lord M. ff.

After y^e salutaçon of my love to thee and thine remembred—I thus write unto thee to give thee a very short account of passages here in this Island as Relateing to truth—which prospers abundantly at which] the Priests and Professors rages much and stirrs up the Magistrates against us though hitherto wee have not been mollested in our meettings except twice or thrice by some Professors Especially Baptizts who came in Bawling against thy husband into y^e Generall meetting in the Towne occasioned by a Malitious {printed} paper sent over to this Iland by John Pennyman[3], and soe the Baptizts came into y^e meetting where there was an Exceeding great meetting of men and women of severall Ranks and quallities—[and Soe a Baptizt speaker when thy Husband stood up to speak asked him if his name were M^r Fox &c and asked him whether he owned such and {such} titles as were given to him by Solomon Eccles in a certaine Paragraph contained in a paper of John Pennymans[4] &c] and a great Bawling they made; and a great company came with {y^m} and its very Probable intended wickedly—and thy {husband} Answerd thinges soe in the pure wisdome of God y^t generally the Auditory received satisfaction—soe y^t the Professors lost by their Comming and soe when they had wearyed themselves with Bellowing they went away and thy husband continued the meetting and brought the life and power over all—[my time prevents mee from being large—but I thinke it my duty to write to thee by Every opportunity—but now I have not time to be large—only soe much as to speake of thinges in short.

Thy husband passed from this Island Towards Jemaica[5] the 8^D of this Instant Exceeding well Every way as ever

he was since I knew {him}—where after a very large and an heavenly meetting with y^e^ chiefe of friends in y^e^ Island y^t^ came to accompany him to y^e^ sea shore—he passed aboard where severall friends accompanied him the friends y^t^ goe with him are R. W: W^m^ Edmondson, Solomon Eccles & E. Hutton—Thomas Brigs is here with me left behinde; his love is to thee he is often very weakly—here is a great addition to our meettings the Priests and others are very angry at present at this great losse of their children.

The Magestrates in this Town have this weeke put severall of our friends into y^e^ Common Goale for not putting off their hats, in their Courts.—If the lord give me an opportunity of writeing again to thee I hope I shall have more time—for I thinke (God willing) not to misse any opportunity in writeing.—Soe hee hath left friends in this {Island} in a sweet frame Every way—and we y^t^ are left here behinde to doe as well as we can—T B who is very often ill—W^m^ Bayly and thy son Rouse helps us in the service as much as their occasions will permitt—I was at 5 meettings this week thy husband hath been twice with y^e^ Governour—once he went to him—and the Governour came once since to Thomas Rouses to him—I desire thee to Excuse mee for my Brevity for I have severall miles to travell this night {or to Morrow}—soe concludeing with my tender respects to thee and thy family and to friends y^t^ meet at thy house farewell

From thy friend and Brother
in a Spirituall Relaçon
J. Stubbs.]

[1]*G: ffs paper to y^e^ gouvernor & assembly att Barbados 1671*

For the Governor [{Cotterington[2] of Barbadoes}] & his Councill and Assembly & all others in power both Civill & Military in this Iland from the people Called Quakers.

Whereas many scandalous lies and slanders have beene cast upon us to {y^e^} rendering us the more odious (vizt) that wee doe deny God & Christ Jesus & the scriptures of truth &c, this is to informe you; that all our bookes & declarations (that for these many yeares have beene published to the

world) do clearly testifie to the Contrary but yet for your sakes this is now Given forth.

That God (who is the onely wise, omnipotent and everlasting God) we doe owne and beleive in who is y^e^ Creator of all things both in heaven & in earth; and the preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all blessed for ever; to whom be all honour & Glory and dominion {&} praise & thanks giveing both now and forevermore.

And that Jesus Christ is his beloved and onely begotten son in whom he is well pleased, who was Conceived by the Holy Ghost, & borne of the virgin Mary; in whom wee have redemption, through his blood even the forgiveness of sins, who is the express Image of the invisible God, the first borne of every Creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven and that are in the earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers {all things were Created by him}.

And wee doe owne and beleive that he was made sin for us who knew no sin {neither was guile found in his mouth}, and was Crusified for us in the flesh without the Gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried and rose again the third day by [a]his owne power[a], for our Justification, and wee doe beleive that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God, and that this Jesus is the foundation of the [b]prophets and Apostles, and our foundation, so[c] that there is no other foundation to be laid but what is layd even Christ Jesus; and that he tasted death for every man; and shed his blood for all men; that he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins onely, but also for the sins of the whole world for saith John (the Baptist) of him behold the lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Joh. 1. 29: and wee doe belive that he is our alone Reedeemer & Saviour, even the Captaine of our salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to Come, and destroyes the devill and his workes; who is the seed of the woman that bruises the serpents head: to witt Christ Jesus who is Alpha: and Omega: the first and the last, that he is (as the scriptures of truth saith) our

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *the Power of his Father*,
[b] Ellwood editions insert *Holy*
[c] In place of *so* Ellwood editions have *and we do believe*

wisdome and righteousnes, Justification and redemption [{&c}] neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven, given among men whereby wee must be saved, it is he alone who is the shepherd and Bishop of our soules he it is who is our prophet, whom Moses long since testified of; as read Acts 2. 22. 23: A prophet shall the Lord our God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto mee, him shall you hear in all things what-so-ever he shall say unto you, and it shall come to pass that every one that will not hear that prophett shall be destroyed from among the people.

He it is that is now Come and hath given us an understanding that wee may know him that is true; and to rule in our hearts [even] {with} his Law of Love and of life [in our inward parts], which makes us free from the Law of sin and death, and wee have no Life but by him, for he is the quickening spirit, the second Adam the Lord from heaven; by whose blood wee are clensed and our Consciences sprinkled from dead workes to serve the Liveing God [by whose blood wee are purchased], and [so] he is our mediator that makes peace & reconciliation betweene God offended and us offending, being the oath of God, the new Covenant of Light, Life, {grace} and peace, the author and finisher of our faith.

Now this Lord Jesus Christ the heavenly man Emmanuell God with us, wee all owne and beleive in, whom the high preist[s] raged against and said he had spoken blasphemy and the [cheife] preists and elders of the Jewes tooke Councell together and put him to death, the same whom Judas betray'd for thirty peices of silver which he had from y^e^ preists {as a reward}[a] and who gave a Large summ of mony to the soldiers to broach a horrible {lie} namely [that they should say] that his disciples Came and stole him away by night whilst they slept.

And after he was risen from the dead, {as} you may see in the Acts of the Apostles how that the cheife preists and Elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus for preaching Christ and his resurrection, this (wee say) is that Lord Jesus Christ whom wee owne to be our Life and salvation.

Now Concerning the Holy Scriptures

Wee doe beleive that they were given forth by the

[a] Ellwood editions add *for his Treason*

holy spirit of God through the holy men of God, who spoke (as {y^e} scriptures of truth saith) as they were moved by the holy Ghost in 2 of Peter 1. 21: and that they are to be read and beleived and fullfilled and he that fullfills them is Christ & {they} are profitable for doctrine for reproofe for Correction & for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all Good workes 2. Tim. 3. & 16[1]. and are able to make us wise to salvation through faith in Christ Jesus, and wee doe beleive that the [a]scriptures are the words of God, for it is said in Exod: 20. 1: God spake all these words saying &c, meaning the 10 Comandements Given forth upon Mount Sinai, and in Revel. 22. 18. saith John I testifie to every man that heareth the words of the prophesie of this booke if any man addeth unto these—and if any man shall take away from the words—(not word) of the booke[b] so in Luke 1. 20: because thou beleivest not my words and {so in} John 5. 47: & 15. 7: & 14. 23: & 12. 47; so that wee call the [a]scriptures as Christ and the Apostles called y^m and as the holy men of God called them vizt the words [{not word}] of God.

Another slander and Lye they have Cast upon us is namely that wee should teach the Negroes to Rebell[2] A thing wee do utterly abhorr and detest in [and from] our hearts the Lord knowes it, who is the searcher of all hearts and knowes all things and so can witness and testifie for us, that this is a most [egregious and] abominable untruth.

For that which wee have spoken and declared to them is, to exhort and admonish them to be sober & to fear God and to Love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithfull and diligent in their masters service & business & that then their masters & Overseers will love them and deal kindly & gently with them, And that they should not beat their wives nor the wives their husbands, nor multiply wives, and that they doe not steale, nor be drunk, nor Commit Adultry nor fornication, nor Curse, nor swear, nor lye, nor give bad words to one another nor unto any one else, for there is some thing in them that tells them that they should not practise those evills (or any other) [before mentioned] which

[a] Ellwood editions insert *Holy*
[b] Ellwood editions insert *of this Prophecy*

if not with standing they should doe them; [a]that there are but two wayes the one that Leads to heaven where the righteous goe and the other that leads to hell where the wicked and debaucht, whoremongers and adulterers murderers and lyers goe, To the one the Lord will say: Come O yee blessed of my Father inherit the Kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world, But to the other hee will say: Depart yee Cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Devill and his Angells: the wicked into everlasting punishment but y^e^ righteous into Life eternall. Math 25.

Now Consider ffreinds that its no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family him self or else some others in his behalf, but rather that it is a very Great duty incumbent upon them, as Abraham did and Joshua did, as to the first the Lord said Gens. y^e^ 18: 19: I know that Abraham will Command his Children and his household after him; and they shal keepe the way of the Lord to doe Justice and Judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him, and as for Joshua said hee Josh 24. 15: [and if it seemes evill unto you to serve the Lord] Chuse you this day whom you will serve [whether the Gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood or the Gods of the Amorite in whose land yee dwell]: But as for mee and my house wee will serve the Lord.

[b]And further Consider this that it is[b] a duty in Cumbent upon us, to pray[c] & to teach instruct and admonish those in and belonging to our families; it being the Command of the Lord—The disobedience to which will incurr the Lords displeasure, as you may see in Jerem 10. 25. where its written:—powre out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not and upon the familyes that Call not upon thy name.

Now Negros and Tawney Indians make up a very great part of ffamilies here in this Iland for whom an account will be required by him who Comes to Judg both quick & dead at the great day of Judgment when every one shall be

[a] Ellwood editions insert *then we let them know*

[b]...[b] In place of these words, Ellwood editions read *We do declare, that we do esteem it*

[c] Ellwood editions insert *with and for*

rewarded according to the deeds done in the body whether they be good or whether they be evill, at that day I say of the resurrection both of the good and the bad, the Just and the unjust, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angells in flameing fire takeing vengeance on them that know not God and obey not the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ who shall be panished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the Glory of his power when he shall Come to be Glorified in his saints and admired in all them that beleive &c 2. Thess 1. 8. 9.

[1][2 Pet 3. 3. 4. 5. 9, know this first that there shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their owne lusts, verse 3d.

And saying where is the promise of his comming for since the Fathers fell a sleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. verse 4th.

For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water & in the water.

9. verse. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise (as some men count slacknes) but is long suffering to us ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance &c.]

[2][Rhode Island the Nineteenth of the fourth Month 1672.

Much honoured
In the Lord M. ff.

After the salutation of my true love and service (in the truth) to thee presented, with my tender respects to thy Children &c—I have written severall large letters unto thee, since we came into these parts of the world—for it was my determination, when I came first to Barbados, to write to thee by every oportunity which thing I failed not, at our first comeing, while thy husband continued in the Island, and then after his passeing from thence into Jamaica I saw no neede of writeing soe frequently to thee, he being gone—and wee haveing no account from that place vizt. Jamaica of him, or his Company till I was ready to passe from Barbados to this place—and that account

was very small by one that wrote from thence, dated about the begining of the eleaventh Month, which onely gave us in short thus, that deare G: ff: had beene there about three weekes, and intended to passe from thence to Virginia, about the twelfth Month &c—and how John Cartwright had beene sick, and Elizabeth Hutton dead, and this was all as relateing to truth from Jamaica, all the while that I was in Barbados after thy husband passed from it, and for me to write to thee of my owne Concernes after his departure, that would be of small Importance, and againe about the twelfth Month there was (I thinke) an Embargo upon the Ships at Barbados—till that ffleete that thy sonne Rouse and Thomas Briggs came in, and the residue of Ships that staide behinde, in the Harbour at Barbados—there was also an Embargo upon them, and continues untill now as farre as I know—soe that I have had no oportunity to write scarcely since the tenth Month the last yeare—but knowing that I had written more largely to thee, then any one of our Company and that at our first comeing too, into Barbados, that might quiet me, thy husband knowes it very well and that in as full true demonstrative words as in my understanding I cold Compose of the Relation of truths concerne there and how and what &c as fully as could be desired—I also wrote a Relation of passages unto John Nelson[1] or William Dundas or both, which they were desired to send unto thee, I read my owne to thy husband which was large—and theirs also, but I understand thou hast had none from me—and soe I thought fitt to lett thee know somuch, that it hath not beene my fault, but theirs at London or other wise the Masters fault with whom wee sent them.

Now I come to give thee an Account concerning thy husbands welfare and truths prosperity at present, which words are too short to demonstrate—he came into this Island very well, about the latter end of the last Month, haveing beene in Jamaica severall weekes, and had blessed good service in that place, as I understand—and hath sett up sixe or seaven Meetings there, which as I understand there was scarce one entyre when James Lancaster and John Cartwright went, and thy husband was twice with the Governour[2] &c. I referre his and his Companyes

Travells and service there, as also in Maryland, and in the wildernesse, among the Indians, with their Emperour and Kings to James Lancaster or others, who can give thee a particular Account of it, But as I said before he came, into this Island about the latter end of the last Month, about three dayes before I came a shoare to this place from Barbados—in thirty dayes passage—where I found him and Robert Withers, and John Burnyat—and George Pattison —they onely came through the wildernesse or Indians Countryes with him—and he left Solomon behinde in Jamaica, which is not yet come up to us—and he left William Edmondson in Virginia, which also is not come hither as yett, and he left James Lancaster and John Cartwright in Maryland, and they came thither about a day before the generall Meeting begunne—which begun the thirteenth of this Instant and continued foure dayes, it begunne upon the fifth day of the weeke and ended the first day,—it was a glorious time as ever I saw since I owned the truth—some of us for the most part went, and settled the Meeting every day which was very large—and then thy husband came into the Meeting, for all expectations and eyes were upon him and for him—the body of the whole Island as it were came in to heare, of all sorts high and low—they have no preist in the Island—soe there is no Restriction—as to worship this way or the other way and thy husband lying at the Governours house—Anne Claytons husband And the Deputy Governour heareing thy husband the first day before the Generall Meetings—that he frequented the Meeting mostly all the Meetings, dureing the Continueance of foure dayes together—soe that both Governours and severall Justices of peace, daily frequenting the Meetings encouraged the people, to flock in from all parts of the Island—and deare Margrett wee have beene refreshed abundantly beyond expression, for the peoples sake, in whose hearts generally truth had soe good a reception of all degrees, and of all Sexes that came—and of all Religions in the Island, which were severall, I beleive they went away rejoyceing, for thy husband stood up every Meeting severall houres together, and as I said before all eyes were upon him, and expectations and affections both towards him, soe that hee and wee had our desires every

way, glory be to the Lord for it, and indeed I never see a people (considering the state in which they stood) heare with more attention, diligence, and ardent affection, then generally they did, dureing the foure dayes together, But as I said before words are too narrow and short to demonstrate, truths prosperity in Generall in these parts, of America, and especially the worthy, weighty and blessed service thy husband hath here in this Island since his Comeing. then after foure dayes, which was the Continueance of the generall Meeting—the second day of the weeke—the next day after the last four dayes—the Mens Meeting was—which was large and pretious and weighty, and the day following, at the same house (namely William Coddingtons) hee had the womans Meeting which was large also, and a blessed Meeting it was, and soe was the Mens—where he spake much, and Communicated much to them by way of Information, and Instruction in the truths affaires, which I need not to relate to thee, the weight and excellency thereof, because thou art in it &c.—and soe yesterday, and this day they tooke their leaves of thy husband, and friends in this Island, with a Joyfull heart in order to goe to their severall habitations, in the severall Collonyes where they live—and John Burnyat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison is gone with them into the Maine, to visitt the particular Meetings throughout New England, and James Lancaster and I thinke to goe after them in the service.

And we are all well every way blessed be the Lord, and thy husband is very well in his health—and a miraculous thing it is indeed, that it should be soe, Considering the severall hundreds of miles travells through the Indians Countryes—and the many Inconveniences they mett with there—which would be too long to relate for me, its like Robert Withers, who came along with him, will give thee an account of it, as to write to thee which way he intends now, after he goes from this, I shall not presume to doe, unlesse he order me, after I have read this to him, which if he doe, I may let thee know in a Poscript—soe dearely beloved M. ff. at present I conclude, onely desireing my true love to deare Leonard, and Mary ffell[1], and all other friends belonging to thy Meeting, at Swarthmoore Hall, as

though I named them farewell, farewell dearely honoured in the Lord by me, and all that knowes thee, and rests

Thy truely loveing friend and brother in the Measure of light and life and power made manifest
John Stubbs.

The Postscript thus, he hath given out a publick paper himselfe, since the above written, as a Journall of his passages at Jamaica, and from thence to Virginia, and their service there,—and his passage through the Indian Countrey into New England &c. In which Narrative of his thou maist have a particular Account of things, he hath sent it to Thomas Rouse in Barbados, to be read in the Men and womens Meetings there—and then by him to be sent into old England to thy sonne Rouse—for him to reade it, in the Men and womens Meetings in London—and to send Copyes of it to thee into the North, and to other places in the Nation among friends, I am much putt to it, with writeing onely Robert Withers helpes a litle—and litle beside him.

John Stubbs.]

[1][From Roade Island y^e^ 19^th^ of the 4^th^ m^th^ 1672.

Deare ffreinds

Live in the peaceable Truth & keep in y^e^ heavenly order of the gospell and in the goverment of y^e^ heavenly man the increase of which there is noe end and walk in the pure & undefiled Religion that keeps you from the spotts of the World and in the worship of God in the spirit & Truth which the Devill is out of, soe that in the Truth you may bee preserved in peace with God and one with another and in the spirit of Truth you may bee preserved in unity and in fellowship of it in which is the bond of peace.

Now concerneing our passages which many may desire to heare which were too long to relate all first] after that wee had {had} a good servis for truth in Barbados wee went to Jamaica[2] [where wee travailed many hundreds of miles and sett up a matter of 7 meetings and allsoe there is

mens meetings & {a} womens meeting and there is a justice of the peace and his wife and severall others of account convinced and not a mouth was opened against us but people were mighty civill and respective[a] towards us and many large meetings wee had in the power of God and when wee were to goe away they said it was pitty that such men should goe away and leave the place] it is abrave Countrey —wee stayed there 7 weeks [and aday][1] and then wee took shiping on the 8th of ye first mo towards Mary Land and left Solomon Eccles behinde at Jamaicae to stay among freinds who were there generally well and there is a great convincement and the power of the Lord is over all and his blessed Seed [and there is a convincement in the east west north & South of the Land of Jamaicae by the power of the Lord and Jane Stokes[2] is come in finely and hath given a paper of Condemnation and her Husband.

Now after wee set sayle wee passed windward two days and the third day wee not being able to passe against the Windes wee sailed leward toward the gulfe of fflorida where the same day wee were over against Alligator pond and Manatee valley (being the 1st day of the week and the 10th[b] of the 1st mo) wee sailed a week backwards and forwards before wee got out of sight of Jamaica and on the 15th of the 1st mo wee passed out of the sight of Jamaica upon the 16th day wee passed by the Isle of little Caimanus & Caiman brook[c] and by grand Caimanus the Islands of Turkles Alligators & sharks & Crokadills on the 21st of ye 1st mo wee passed by the Isle of pines and by the Isle of Anthoneys[d] near the Land of Cuba and upon the same day wee were in the great danger of our Ship the mainstay of our ships great yard fell downe the 23 of ye 1st mo wee passed under the Tropick the 27th day wee saw the Table Land upon Cuba after a long calme and tossing to & fro with contrary windes and on the 29th day wee saw the Island of Tartudoes and this day wee came to shole water where wee could see the Bottome & sands the waters being soe shallow and being strangers they feared seeing the sands and then wee

[a] Three other copies of this have *respectfull*
[b] Above copies have *11th*
[c] Above copies have *brake*
[d] Two of the above copies have *Anthonines* the other has *Anthonias*

were about 8 Leagues of the Gulfe of fflorida and upon the 2d of the 2d mo wee saw the Land of fflorida and entring into the Gulfe leaveing the land of fflorida upon the left hand haveing had great winds and many stormes that tossed us backwards and forwards but the great God of the Sea and of the Land who rideth upon the wings of the winde gave us dominion and the 3d of the 2d mo wee were in the gulfe of fflorida and the winds & the seas were Calme praises bee to the Lord for ever and in the storme our boltsprit broke and blew the Gib saile into the Sea to the great hazard of the ship but all was well praises bee unto the Lord and on the 4th day of ye 2d mo wee saw noe Land haveing passed some days about fflorida Shoare where the maneaters live and after severall days wee sailed forwards and backwards and the winde being against us and an high storme and I was moved to pray to the Lord and the Lords power was over all and he caused the winde to cease as well as could bee desired praysed bee his name for ever ye 5th of ye 2d mo wee were come to 30 degrees wanting 4 miles[a] and on the 6th of ye 2d mo were in the 31st degree and on the 9th of the 2d mo wee had high windes and blustring wether & raine & great stormes in the night that it struck the Company in a sudden amazement and fright in the midest of it I prayed to the Lord and it immediately ceased though there was much raine all over and all of us much wet both company & passengers with the raine & waves and 2 or 3 days wee had contrary windes and I desired and prayed to the Lord that day and within a while it altered prayses bee to the Lord for ever and on ye 10th wee had a great storme and they tyed up the Rudder bands and let her goe which way shee would and before night had a Calme praysed bee the Lord who hath dominion over the Sea and on the 11th day wee had contrary winds and soe went backwards & forwards tossed up & downe but blessed bee the Lord all things are sanctified to us both the Sea and the Land & the winde and the wether and the severall sorts of weather and the Climates as they are called knowing the foundation of Man and the foundation of God for many tryalls upon the Sea

[a] Above copies have *Minuts*

wee have had but blessed bee the Lord who carries through above them all and on the 16th day of ye 2d mo wee had a great storme and great raines and wee tied up the helme and let the Ship goe which way shee would and all was given up unto the Lord who orders the sea and the Land prayses bee to him who gives his power over all and on the 17th day wee had great ffogs & mists but when it cleared up wee saw the Land of Vergenia and the Sea and the weather were moderate {praises be to the Lord} who with his mighty power and our faith in it wee were preserved over all in his power rejoyceing in the Lord: 18th day wee came to the Cape Henry on Virgenia and this day a Seaman dyed and his Corps turned into the Sea and blessed bee the God of Heaven & Earth and of the great Seas who hath preserved us unto this day and on the 19th day of ye 2d mo] wee cast Anchor in the bay of Petuxant River blessed bee the Lord and on the 20th day wee came to an anchor againe and there was a great Storme and a boat was cast upon us for shelter, in which there were Men & Women of account [outwardly one a lawyer and a Clarke and one that had been Sherif] but the boat was lost and 500li worth of goods as they said and the people were faine to Continue with us severall days on shipboard and could not get of to Land [and severall things concerneing passages wee might speak of which would bee too Large to mention] but wee had a fine meeting with them on the Sea [and the boats being gone after their boat and the winde being against them soe that wee could not tell how to get a shoare] and Geo: Pattison took a boat and ventured his life for to get ashore which none could beleive except freinds but that hee would bee cast away [and then hee went to look after the Boates and hee was laid up to with the winde which was against him and soe our provision was gone and the master of the Ship being anew England Man was bad I went to lie mee downe one morning I being not very well I had a vision that freinds were comeing to fetch us of from the Ship to Land & just as I was in it a freind came & awaked mee & said] friends were come & then all were glad as well the Company as they that were cast upon us for they had noe provision & ours was gone alsoe and soe wee came to Land the 2d of ye 3d mo1 and there was a meeting which held 4 days [about

43[a] miles of] & there came to it 5 or 6 Justices of peace and a speaker of Parliament & one of the councell and severall other considerable men of the world and then wee passed up and downe by Land and passed about 40 miles by water and wee had a great storme and the boat was upon the ground and was like to be beat to peeces and I being all in a sweat goeing from a meeting and wet with the water alsoe without mee and at last wee got to the place where another generall meeting was by the break of day wee got to the place and all was well blessed be the Lord and very many of the worlds people did receive the Truth with reverence and most of all the backsliders came in and abrave mens meeting and womens meeting wee had and established severall Womens meetings and Mens meetings and then wee came about 40 or 50 miles by water to another generall meeting where all people & freinds received the Truth with gladnesse where was a very great Heavenly Meeting [near great Choptanke River] and there was two Justices of peace and severall men of quallity and it was upon mee from the Lord to send for the Indian Emperour and his Kings[1] to come to mee the first days meeting and the Emperour Came but the Kings could not reach soe far and the Emperour was at the meeting and was very Courteous & loveing and I bad freinds take him to the house where I was to Lodge that night and the 2 Kings allsoe came with some of their Cockarooses and I had two fine speeches with them and they heard the word of the Lord and did confesse to it and they stayed all night and what I said to the Kings & Emperour I desired them to speak to their people that God is setting up his Tabernacle of witnesses in their wildernesse Countreys and his standard and seting up his glorious ensigne of Righteousnesse and they queried where the meeting would bee and they would come and they were loveing and they said they had a great dispute with their Counsell before they came to mee about their comeing and then wee set forward to passe by Land towards new England [haveing two Indians to bee our guides] through the woods & wildernesse and bogs & Rivers. Wee passed

[a] The figures in one of the above-mentioned copies have been altered and cannot now be read with certainty; another copy has a blank space between *about* and *miles* and a third has *43* as above.

by the head of Miles River and soe stered through the woods and then wee passed by the head of Wyes[a] River and then wee passed through the head of Chester River and then wee made a fire and took up our lodgeing in the woods about the head of Chester River and then wee passed all a long through the woods [to a plantation called the worlds end] being very much tyred and one swimmed over our horses over Sasafras River and went over our selves in Canooes and from thence wee came to Bohemia River and swimmed over our horses and went over our selves in Canooes soe wee had 30 miles to goe in the afternoon to any Towne and they[b] whose horses were week stayed in the woods and made themselfes a fire but I and some others whose horses were stronger got to the Towne that night being a Dutch Towne [(being the 9$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 3$^{d}$ m$^{o}$)] the Towne is called Newcastle being wet to the skin and from thence wee passed over a great water[c] and boated our horses and were some of us in great danger of our lives and were very much troubled to get new guides which were very chargeable[1] and soe passed through the woods sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire and sometimes in the Indian Cabbins through the bogs Rivers & Creeks [and wilde woods we passed where it was said it was never knowne before for any man to ride] I came at last & lay at one Indian Kings house and hee & his queen received mee lovingly and his attendants allsoe and laid me a mat to lie upon a very pretty man and then wee came to another Indian Towne where the King came to mee and hee could speak some English and he received mee very loveingly and I spake to him much and his people and they were loveing and soe then wee came [with a second guide about 200 miles from New Castle] to a place called Middle Towne in New Jersey[2] where wee could not stay to have a meeting but went to a freinds house called Richard Hartshorne[3] who is Hugh Hartshornes brother a freind who is an upholsterer [in Hounds Ditch] in London who received us gladly where wee were refreshed for wee were {weary and then he carried us over a great

[a] One copy has *Why* another has been corrected to *Why* and a third reads *Doyro*

[b] Ellwood editions read *George Pattison and Robert Widders*

[c] Ellwood editions: *River Delaware*

water in his owne boat where we were} almost all day agoeing untill night and to Long Island we came to Grave Sands[a] and the next morneing wee set forward (though weary) to Oyster Bay where there was a generall meeting which lasted about foure or 5 days where there was a mens meeting & womens a very fine Meeting and there wee met with some of the bad [hatt] spirits which was Judged downe & condemned and the glorious Truth of God was set over all and the generall Meeting began on the 17th day of the 3d mo and held till the 23d before wee parted which was a great service to freinds and to the people of the World and from thence wee went to another Meeting where there was great service and from thence wee went through the woods to Flushing [to one John Bounes[1] who was Banished by the Dutch into England where there were many hundreds of the Worlds people and they did say if I would come to their Towne I should have their meeting house] and from thence wee came to Oyster Bay againe where we stayed for a winde to goe to Rhode Island [and these meetings were in the Duke of Yorks dominions and on the 28th of the 3d moneth wee took boat againe in which] wee came about 200 miles by water and on the 30th day wee came to Rhode Island[2] where wee were gladly received by freinds though wee were weary with travailing by Sea where we came to Nico: Eastons[3] house hee being governour of the Colony where wee had a large Meeting upon the first day of the week where the Debuty Governour came and severall Justices and were mightily taken and soe the 5th day after I went to the mens meeting in the Island and after to the Womens Meeting about the Church affaires and soe the next week after came up the great meeting of all new England, which lasted six days where most of the Justices were together with the Governour and debuty governour and all mightily affected with Truth beyond what can bee written or expressed in words.

And wee had a generall Mens Meeting and a generall Womens meeting through which mens meetings and womens meetings were Established in all other parts and freinds went away being mightily filled with the presence & power of the Lord and John Burnyeat and John Cartwright

[a] Copies and latest Ellwood edition : *Gravesend*

are gone with them and John Stubs & James Lancaster is to goe after them into their severall Coloneys and Robert Widdors stays with mee to goe into other parts Elizabeth Hootton is deceased at Jamaicae [and Solomon Eccles stays there and William Edmandson stayed behinde in Vergenia towards Roan Oak] and Elizabeth was well upon the sixth day of the week and deceased the next day being 7th day about the 11th houre in peace like a Lamb [James Lancaster was by her and can give an account what words she spoke and of her Testimony concerneing Truth a farther account I shall give concerneing her outward things to her Relations but let her Sonne Oliver[1] gather up all her papers and her sufferings and send them to London that her life and death may bee printed and Wenlock Christoson[2] hath given forth a paper of Condemnation concerneing things that you know of & soe things are generally well beyond all words or writeing either.

[3]Oh ye glorious power of God is over all & his truth & his life flows & his righteousnes is set over all unrighteousnes & things are very quiet & peaceable in all these Collonies. And there is to be A generall womens meeting set up {twise} A yeare at Boston to look to ye poor & Church Afaires & to see yt all walk according to ye glorious Gospel of god: we should pass this place erre long to some place which would be to large to speak off & to visit some Indian Kings and so in hast my love to you all as if I named you all & yt you live in ye peaceable truth & in ye blessed seed Christ Jesus in whom is peace & life & when you have read this in ye mens & womens meetings I desire yt A Copy of it may be sent to London to John Rouse And he to read them in ye mens & womens meetings in London & then to send Coppies of ym into ye North & to ye East & to ye West parts of England who have A desire to hear of us & truth well fare.

G: ff:]

[Postscript.]

And we gott well from Barbados to Jamaica & our ship yt brought us from London was very weaky[a] at ye keele of

[a] The other copies have *Leakey*, also Ellwood editions.

y^e^ ship there was A long hole one might put their hand in & when they stoped it there was little fishes in y^e^ ship which was A wonder & an Amazement to y^e^ people y^t^ saw it & hearde of it y^t^ y^e^ Lord had preserved us in our comeing by sea from England I have already written some thing of it, & how y^t^ wee were pursued by A Turkish pirate & when y^e^ master & others came downe to me I told y^m^ how y^t^ y^e^ Lords power & his life was placed betwixt him & us & yet

[1]he gathered up nigh us within 2 miles or halfe a league and then all the Companie & passengers were in a great feare and as I was getting up I was made to lie still and soe the moone goeing downe and y^e^ winde rose wee lost him for when the people came downe to mee they asked my Councell I tould them I was noe seaman but asked them what was in their mindes for when they saw the pirate they Changed their Course and they said there was but two ways either to outrun him or to steer the same course till night and then to alter our Course when it grew darke soe I told them the most was to mee that they should keep the same Course and if he were a theif he would turne up to us for I felt most of the power of God for them to turne up and soe they turned up and after midnight wee discovered him about 2 miles or halfe a league of us as wee supposed but wee being of the darke side of the moon it being upon goeing downe wee missed him and soe there came a fine gaile and wee saw him noe more which was a mighty hand of God that delivered us to him alone bee all glory honour & praise for evermore.

[G. F. with 6 other freinds more being in Jamaica intending to Vergenia sought for a vessell for our passages and had choice of two a friggot & a ketch the owner of the friggot was unresonable for our passages as wee did judge the master of the ketch was willing to carry us 10^s^ a peece cheaper then the other asked soe wee shipped our selves aboard the Ketch and came out together intending both for Vergenia and intending to bee consorts and sayled together severall days but with calmes and contrary windes was seperated and wee came on our intended voyage and by the helpe of God performed it in 6 weeks time the friggot our consart was put back againe toward Jamaica and then came on her

intended voyage with much difficulty had lost their way and fell among the Spaniards and by them was taken and Robbed and the master and mate taken prisoner and was retaken againe by the English and sent home to her owners at Vergenia wherein wee see the providence of God in all these things to preserve us out of our enemies hands and hee who was Covetuous fell among the Covetuous some freinds would have had us come to the Ship that was taken but the Lord in his wisedome would have it to bee otherwise.

G. F.]

[1]And that Turkish Sallyman of ware, when he Came home Into Sally[2], Reported to an English Marchant, & to y^e^ Sally men; That he had a ketch in persute 3 dayes, y^e^ Biggest in y^e^ world, & when he Came near her, he was not able to take her, with all that he Could doe; And so that spirit, that he spoke off was y^e^ Lord God: & his word, that stopt him, That I told y^e^ master & mate off before.

[G. F.]

[3][*e m to m f of gf be yound the seay 1672*

D^r^ ffrend

I Received thine with y^e^ Inclosed which I shall Take care to send per first we were glad to heare from the by y^e^ first Ro: Hoskin[4] Intends to sayle in if they sayle soone if not It will be dangerous & he will not be willing to goe Tempestous weather useing to be at such times but Its more likely y^t^ he goes shippes sayleing are at greate uncertaintyes sometimes there being talke of warre & sometimes of peace & often Embargoes after a greate Charge for protections how ever I shall mind y^e^ first opportunity.

Thy dear husband (whom we shall Reioyce to see here) went by land to New England from Virginia Jn^o^ Burniatt went with him (who Intended for England) theire service is greate T: Brigges is at my house he is but weakely he Intends for moveing towards Chesher next weeke G: W: is very diligent in hastening y^e^ Long talked of Release[5] he is often with them there is much more to do in it then many thincke for they Requireing it in theire way It being still to passe Through severall offices & to be Ingrossed

G: W: & E: H: neglectes not its expedition ffrends are generally well & Truth prospers with my deare Love as also my wives who is weakely Rests

Thy Lov: ffrend

Lond: 20° of 5° m° 1672. Ed: Man.]

[1][Newport in Rhode Island the fourteenth of the sixth Month. 1672.

Deare M. ff.

And my very much esteemed in the Lord, after the salutation of my respects, love and service to thee, and thy Children presented, I write unto thee as followeth—first to let thee know, that I received thine unto me, beareing date from Swarthmoore the twenty Ninth of the first Month 1672. It came to my hands in Boston in New England, and it was exceeding acceptable unto me, every way, and the rather because I understood by it, that thou hadst received my former letters unto thee, I hope ere this thou hast had full Information of the safe Conveyance of thy former letters to thy husband, and to Robert Withers and James Lancaster &c and therefore I need not mention more about them, because in my last I gave thee a full account thereof &c I am pretty much straitned from writeing largely unto thee, in regard of the present Sea obstructions, and that indeed dulls me at present from writeing what otherwise I might—and therefore be pleased to accept of my brevity as followeth—

Neare three weekes since thy husband passed from this Island, to Shelter Island, in the Company of severall friends—and there continued certaine dayes—and after two or three Meetings there, he passed away to Long Island, where now I thinke he is, I am not certaine how many leagues, its distant from this place, about two or three dayes sayle with a faire winde, and his intent is to visitt friends in those parts, about New Jarsey, and the New Countrey, and at Oyster Bay, and at New Yorke I thinke &c and then intended to take his Journey to Virginia, through the wildernesse againe, he hath had his health very well, and as thou mentions in thine to me, surely (thou saist) the Lords presence, and prosperity, is

and will be with you &c, which we have found all true in our Measures, and places fullfilled, and made good to Gods glory, and the Refreshment of many since we saw thy face, and friends in our Native Countrey, which hath made our service delightfull to us, where ever we have come—great is the opennesse, in the hearts of many at present, all over to receive truth, which makes the whore cry alas, alas, for the losse that she is like to sustaine in her Children—beare with my brevity still, there goes along with thy husband, to accompany him, in his long and tedious Journey to Virginia—R. W., James Lancaster, George Pattison—and one John Jay[1] a pretty rich planter in Barbados, who will be very serviceable to him, in order to attend upon him, in any servile thing he needs, here is William Edmondson, lately come to this place, from his service at Roan oake Virginia, Maryland, Long Island, Oyster Bay, New Yorke, and soe on to Shelter Island, where he mett with thy husband &c.—

Since thy husbands departure, from this place, we have had a dispute, with one a great Linguist, and a Scholler, an orthodox man soe called[2], who lives at a place called Providence, about thirty miles from this place, he sent a Challenge to this place, to thy husband or to any of his Countrey men, to Argue with him in fourteene Positions, which he would maintaine against all Commers, we could not avoyd it, but to give him a Meeting, the first seaven he was to performe at this place—and the other seaven at Providence, soe the last sixt day, being the Ninth of this Instant, we gave him a Meeting, and the Countryes adjacent, came in from all parts, soe that there was, a very great Congregation of high and low, and before he begunne, we laid it upon him to prove, all his Charges against us by the Scriptures—and soe he begunne about the Ninth houre in the Morning, and continued till about sixe in the afternoone—and could not prove the first Charge —for we could not let him proceede to a second till he had proved the first, or if he could not, then to acknowledge his wronge to us, but nothing he could produce, neither from scripture, nor Argument, nor Example that could give satisfaction, No not to his owne friends, which consisted mostly of Baptists, and some other seperated people (for

the Baptists here are full of Rage against us) soe the night in a manner, put a period to the first dayes dispute, and the next day being the seaventh day of the weeke, about the Ninth houre in the Morning we begunne againe, and then we desired him, to be as full, and as short, as he could in things—and if the scriptures of truth, would not beare us out in our principles, doctrines and practice, then let us fall with shame—And soe desired him to proceed to the second—seeing that in a whole dayes time before, he had made nothing of the first, to prove any thing, but had altogether dissatisfyed the Auditory.

Soe then he told us, he would be as breife as he could, and he had the day before, spoken of such and such greivous errours and Blasphemyes, and by such and such, and in such and such bookes of the Quakers, and most especially in a booke of George ffoxes in folio[1], and this he mentioned often the day before—and soe the second dayes discourse, in the begining of the discourse, as was said before, we desired him to be as full, and breife as he could, and whereas the day before, in the audience of the people, he had spoken much of Errours in bookes, and especially in a booke of folio of George ffoxes, we bid him read those errours to the people, that all the Congregation might heare them, and Judge of them—and soe hee began, and read without Interruption, and gave his owne inferrences, and continued reading, and giveing his Inferrences all that day almost, for he had noted (as he conceived) abundance of Errours in that booke, in neare fourty pages—and soe as I said before—he read distinctly to the Auditory—the preists and the professours principles, and G. ffs Answers, in those heads that he had noted for Errours—And truely those which he had marked, when they came to be read, proved quite Contrary to his expectations, for the people generally saw, and was fully satisfyed that those places, which he alleadged out of that booke, as great Errours, and soe to make for him against us, but as I said before it proved quite Contrary —for indeed when that which hee called Errours, were read generally peoples eyes and eares were opened, and their hearts, and minds satisfyed, which made us greatly rejoyce within our selves, when we saw how the Lord, vindicated his owne Cause, and how the Crafty was caught,

in his owne snare, and the Innocent delivered, and soe most of that second dayes dispute was ended, in turning over from page to page in that forementioned booke, which proved of better service, for the truth, then my tongue or penn can demonstrate, and then when the night ended the dayes worke, he desired to have another day, and soe we told him, we would give him three houres time, upon the second day of the following weeke, and when he came, he made a preamble, and proceeded on in the booke againe, in some other pages, and soe continued some houres—and the booke vindicated itselfe, still against him and for us, and then the man began to be much confounded, and amazed in himselfe, when he understood his friends were dissatisfyed, and every thing made against him, soe that not any one of the seaven first propositions he could make good—soe William Edmondson stood up, and spoke a pretty while to the people very well, and then John Burnyeat—and the truth came over all, blessed be the Lord for it, and now the next seaventh day, which is the seaventeenth of this Instant, William Edmondson and I are to goe to Providence, to give him a Meeting, about the last seven propositions, and the day following, if the Lord will to have a Meeting, in the Towne, for there is a great opennesse, in those parts of late—and at a place called Warwick, about ten miles from that place, William and I are to have a Meeting upon the sixt day this weeke—John Burnyat is passeing to a place called Sandwich into the Maine, and then to returne hither againe the next weeke (God willing) and within a few dayes hee, and I thinkes to passe away into the Maine, and travell in the service together, severall hundred miles by land, and wee are not likely to see thy husband, till wee see him in Virginia—Deare M: ff: now I beginne to draw to an end, at this time, that letter which was inclosed in mine, to thy sonne Rouse, I have heare sent it to thee againe, Deare William Edmondson with whom I send this, desires to minde his love to thee, and thy Children, and soe doth John Burnyat—John Cartwright is here with us & is well when I have an oportunity (God willing) I thinke to write to thee, thou may direct thine, to Edward Man for Conveyance to us in Puttuxan River in Maryland, to James Preston[1] there, soe now deare

M. farewell — farewell, with my deare love to thee and thine, and friends in that Meeting, as though I named them.

John Stubbs.]

[1][*w edmansn his jornall 1672*

Dubelin y^e^ 7 of y^e^ 9 mon 1672.

Deare M: f:

Hoome I truly loue esteam, & Honer in y^e^ blesed vnchangabell truth, in which our presaruation & euerlasting well being Concests, & in which my tender loue & life soluts y^e^, and deare :M: this may giue y^e^ anaccont in short of our trauells in ameraca, wee weare about 7 weks in sailling from england to barbados, & after 3 days abiding ther, Ja: Lankster, Jo: Cartwright, & Geo: Patison, went with y^e^ ship to Jamica, y^e^ rest of our Cumpeny stayd in barbados wher wee had great sarues for y^e^ lord, & many Conuenced of his blesed truth, & when wee hade bene about 7 weeks ther Tho: Briggs, & : I : accumpened with Leues Mores, sailed to antego, & had seuerall good metings ther, & a great resort of peopell, & many Conuenced, from thence wee sailled for Meues accumpened, with Sam: Wenterup[2] {govner}[a], but {Charls Whelar[3]} y^e^ gouvnar of meaues would not sufer vs to come on shorre, but banished vs to barbados, & aftar about 3 weks longer ther, wee left Tho: Br: & J: S: in barbados, & thy deare Husband, & y^e^ rest of vs sailed for Jamica, & ther met againe with Ja: L: Jo: C: & G: P: wee abode ther 7 weks & odde days, & had much sarues in y^t^ debached wicked sodom, I & brought frinds into prity good order, & sattelled 5 metings, & seuerell was conuenced, & after 7 weeks & 3 days, wee left Solamon Ecells ther, & y^e^ rest of vs sailled for mary land, & in y^e^ gulfe of floriday, wee met with some triells throu winds, & storms, but by y^e^ help of y^e^ lord whose presence & power was plentiusly with vs in 6 weeks & 3 days, wee landed safe in mary land, wher wee met with Jo: bornyat, redy to sayl for ould england, but wee stayd him, & abode togather ther 2 generall metings, & then wee parted, thy husband, accumpened with Jo: B: R: W: & G: Patison, for newengland by land, though vary teadius through y^e^ wildernes, Ja. L: & Jo: C: went for new

[a] This insertion is in another handwriting.

england by seay, & my selfe accumpined with 3 frinds, sailled for Virgina, wher things was much mangeled & catered—& inded I had a blesed sarues amongst them, y^e^ lords prisence goeing along, which cut a way throu all, from thenc I traueled to ronoke, through y^e^ disart cuntiry, & through dificelties & triels, but y^e^ lord gaue abelity, & I met with a tender peopell ther & am in hops ther may bee a pepel gathered ther, & after 7 weks spent in those parts, I sayled to mary land, & from thence to new york, & had 2 good metings ther, & seuerell eminant peopell came, from thence I came through long Iland & viseted frinds & to Shelter Iland, & ther I mett, with thy deare husband again, & he was viry well, I haue not sene him more helthy & chery of some years, of which wee weare all viry glad, hee was goeing back to mary land, & Virgina, accumpinied with R: W: Ja: L: & G: P:; I parted with them ther & they were all viry well, I came from thence to rode Iland, ther met with Jo: S: Jo: B: & J: C: of our sarues ther whilst wee weare to gather, I supos y^e^ inclosed from J: S: giues y^e^ an acount: I parted with them at rod Iland, they weare goeing to Virgina.

After I parted from them, I viseted frinds in new england, & to boston wher I had 2 peacabell metings, & from thence I toke shiping, & landed well in Irland in 3 weeks & 2 days, & am very well, blesed bee y^e^ lord.

So deare :M: with my true loue to y^e^ & thine in y^e^ euirlasting truth I rest thy true frinde, & bro:

W^m^ Edmondson

Wee buired Els: Hutton in Jamica about a week after wee landed ther. Soll: Ecles came from Jamica, & landed at boston, & ther taken att a meting, & banished to barbados.]

[1]*[The Second part (or an Addition to the Journall) of G: ffs: Travailes in America in the yeare 1672.*

Haveinge in the former Given an Account of our travailes in some parts of y^e^ West Indies, as Barbados, Jamaica, Maryland Virginia, New England & divers other provinces Collonies & Dominions in America, & of many particular Meettings, & of the eminant Arme & power of y^e^ Lord that

caried & preserved us through & over y^e^ fury of wilde Beasts & men, woods, Stormes, Wildernesses, Boggs, Rivers, famine & frosts untill y^e^ 30^th^ of the 3^d^ mo^th^ 1672: at which time wee came to the Generall Meettinge on {Roade} Ileland, which continued 10: dayes & yett by the Continued comeinge in of people in sloopes from divers other Collonies & Jurisdictions it Continued longer.]

And for severall dayes after wee had very large Meettings, & I was there at A Marriage for Example sake, and it was such a one as was never in New England, & many of y^e^ world was there, & 3: Justices of y^e^ Peace, & {the} people & ffriends saide, they never saw such a sollemne Assembly, and soe weighty & such order, soe it was beyonde words, & the truth was sett over all, it was at A ffriends house that formerly had beene Governour[1], and it was an Example to all the rest of y^e^ Jurisdictions, some out of many places was there: And then I had a great travaile concerneinge the Ranters, for they had beene Rude at A Meettinge where I was not at, and I appoynted a Meettinge amongst them, & I knew y^t^ the lord would give mee power over them, & he did to his Praise & glory, Blessed bee his name for ever, and there was A Justice of the peace that day there convinced, who had beene a Justice 20: years, [& hee said hee did not thinke there had beene such a man in the world,] & hee never hard the like nor such things in his life, and many friends, & other Justices & officers were there, & many of them did Expresse the like, and beyond words for mee to utter, and all was quiett, & many other Meettings wee had, and [on 30^th^ day of y^e^ 4^th^ m^th^] A Meetinge at Providence, and was very large, & of many sorts & sects of people was there; and I had a great travill Concerneinge y^e^ Meetting in haveing & preserveinge it quiett, & for the bringinge the truth over them, & in them for they was above y^e^ Preists in high Notions, And soe sett y^e^ power of God & his seed above all, & they went away mightily satisfied, & said that they never heard the like, & did much desire another Meettinge, & some of them came with purpose to dispute but all was silent, & y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord was over all, Praised bee the Lord, & many came to mee for more Meettings, & people came farr & neare to it, & t'was of great service, & to the honour of God, & from Roade Ileand it was about 3: scoore miles by water back-

wards & forwards, and the Governour went with mee, & many others [& there was 2: Justices of y^e^ peace there, & other officers, & y^e^ glory{ous power} of the Lord shined over all, glory to y^e^ great Lord for ever]; A great Barne was full of people, & I was soe hott with sweat [as though I had beene sodden], but all was well, the Blessed seed was over all, [& there was A Preist did threaten, but his mouth was stopped, & there was a woman {that} was bad, & scoffed, and shee went away & was strucke sicke, & sent for one to looke to her, who told her of her scoffinge & {her} badnesse, & would not looke to her,] & this was at Providence, and Mens and weomens Meettings are stablished in all those Collonies or Jurisdictions, & in the order of the Gospell; [and A Generall weomens Meettinge is sett up at Boston] & the power of the Lord is over all, & his blessed seed blessed bee his name for ever; [And on y^e^ 13^th^ day of y^e^ 5° m^th^] I had a Meettinge at a Justices house, where friends never had A Meettinge before, & y^e^ Country Generrall{y} came in, & most that never heard friends before, & all was quiett & mightily taken, & there was 4: Justices of the peace there, & y^e^ Governour, and wee went about 40: miles backward & forward to it, & a great desire there is amongst y^e^ people. And the Meettinge was at Naragansitt, & people came from Conniticott, & farr & nigh it was of service beyond words, blessed bee the Lord for ever, Amen. And many other Meettings of mens & weomens I was at, & passages there, which wold bee to large to mention; But I had a Generall Mens Meettinge of all the Collonies & Jurisdictions, & after A Generall weomens meettinge of all the Colloneyes &c which once a yeare is to bee kept besides there owne mens & weomens Meettinges in their severall Collonies, which bee settled, Blessed bee the Lord to his Glory Amen. [And in Roade Iland wee had 10: glorious Meettings together, one day after another, onely one seaventh day betweene, and friends was filled with the Love of God, and the glory of the Lord shineth over all:—] And at Naragansitt almost all the Country came in to heare, The Meettinge was at a Justices Barne. And there was another Justice, and they was draweinge upp a paper to invite mee to come againe, for they was soe taken with y^e^ truth; but I was comeinge away towards Shelter Ileland. But I desired John Burneyeate & Jn° Cartwright to visitt

them, and at Another place they saide that if they had money Enough, that they would hire mee, they with an Antient Justice saide soe. And I said then it was time for mee to goe away, for then they would not come to their owne Teacher, for that (viz. hyreinge) had spoyled them, & many for not improveinge their owne talents, for wee brought every one to their {owne} teacher. And after wee had stayed [2: months] in [& about] Roade Ileand & there abouts & had had a great service, & y^e^ people was Loveinge [and all the Justices, Governour, deputy governor, & Captaine, came to the Meettings and was convinced, & are very Loveinge]: And the day wee left Roade Iland, wee tooke sloope & passed by poynt Juda, & by blocke Iland, & from thence to ffishers Iland as before and wee went at night upon the shore, & wee were not able to stay for the Muscatoes, soe wee went in the sloope againe, & putt off from the shore, & cast Anchor, & stayed all y^t^ night; and y^e^ next day we went into the Sound, & our sloope was not able to live in y^e^ water & wee turned in againe, for we cold not passe, & soe came to Anchor againe at fishers Iland 2: nights, & there was Exceedinge much raine, whereby wee were much wett beinge in an open boate; and wee passed over the 2: horse-races waters (soe called) & by Garners Iland & y^e^ Gulls Iland, & soe came to Shelter Iland which was 27: leagues from Roade Iland, where wee had a Meettinge upon the first day of the weeke, soe wee was 3: days in comeinge thither. And I had a Meettinge at Shelter Iland amonge the Indians, & the Kinge & his Councell, with about 100: more Indians with him, & they sate about 2: hours & I spoke to them by an Interpreter, that was an Indian, y^t^ could speake English very well, and they appeared very Loveinge, & they saide all was truth, & did make a confession after y^e^ Meettinge of it; [and soe I have sett up a meettinge amonge them once a fortnight and a friende Joseph Silvister[1] is to reade the Scriptures to them;] and they sate downe like friends, & on the first day after there was a great Meettinge, beinge at Shelter Iland & many of y^e^ world, & Preists people y^t^ never heard friends before, was there, & they was very much satisfied, & could not goe away untill they had seene mee, & spoke to mee after the Meettinge, and I went downe to them, & they was taken with y^e^ truth, & great desires there

is, & a great love & satisfaction were amonge the people, Blessed bee the Lord his name spreads, & will bee great amonge the Nations, & dreadfull amonge the heathen ; [1]And soe wee came from Shelter Iland [on y^e^ 4^th^ day of y^e^ 6^th^ mo^th^]; & on y^e^ 7^th^ day of y^e^ 6^o^ mo^th^ earely in y^e^ morneinge wee came to oyster bay in longe Iland, & wee had a very Ruff way on y^e^ water & as wee went [wee passed by plumm[a] Iland, &] there was a very great ffogg, and the tide did runn soe stronge for severall houres, I have not seene the like, though wee had a Gale wee could hardly gett forwards, and when wee was gotten through it, there came a great raine all the night, & our sloopes was open, & wee were very wett, & wee was driven A great way backe againe, neare fishers Iland, for it was very darke towards day, and a great storme arose, that wee were faine to goe over the Sound, & gott over with much adoe, & {when} wee had gotten from fishers Iland, wee passed by ffawlken Iland, & came to the maine, where wee cast Anchor till the storme was over, and then wee came over the Sounde [about 10: leagues (or 30: miles)] all beinge very much wett, & hard wee had to gett the Land, y^e^ winde beinge against us, but blessed bee the Lord God of heaven & Earth & of the sea & waters all was well : And wee came to oyster bay in y^e^ night, y^e^ 6^o^[b] day of y^e^ 6^th^ month, which is about 200: miles from Roade-Iland as they say, and wee had a very large Meetting at oyster Bay. Ja: Lancaster & Christo: Holder[2] the same day had a meettinge at Rie in y^e^ Continent in Wintrops Government, & went over the bay, from Oyster Bay in longe Iland, and from oyster Bay we passed about 30: miles to fflushen, And Christo: Houlder & others went to [c]Jamaica[c], & had a meettinge there [and the other ffriends wee left in New England, & some in Roade Iland, & some other places in y^e^ service of truth, which is very great at many places where there was never Meettings, is now stablished Meettings, y^e^ 17^th^ of y^e^ 6^o^ mo^th^] at fflushen wee had a very large Meettinge.—many hundreds of {the} people of the world, some came about 30: miles [& a Justice of y^e^ peace was there, & his family, & many other Consider-

[a] A space left by the writer for the insertion of a name was subsequently filled by the word *plumm*

[b] Ellwood editions : *Seventh Day*

[c]...[c] Ellwood editions : *a Town in Long-Island called Jamaica*

able persons] and a glorious & heavenly Meettinge it was, Praised be the Lord God, and the people much satisfied: and from thence wee passt [a]by Jamaica[a] to Grave sands about 20: miles, & there had a very pretious meettinge on the 20th day of ye 6o month [and wee left Jno Stubbs & Jno Burnyeate who did travell severall hundreds of miles by land, and did visitt the people in Governor Wintropps Government, who had good service, & soe came by sea to Maryland]: Then wee had 3: pretious Meettings at Grave sands, and many would have come from Yorke, but the weather hindered them, wee hired there A sloope, and when the winde served wee came to the sloope, & many friends came with us, where wee tooke water for the new Country Jarsie [downe the great Bay 21: miles] & wee were much toyled to gett in our horses and the 27th of ye 6th moth wee landed in the Morneinge by breake of the day, in ye new Country at Midle=Towne harbour, & as wee passed downe the bay wee passed by conny Iland, & by Naton Iland, & by Straton Iland, & wee came to Richard Hartshorn's and on ye 28th day wee passed about 30: miles in the new Country through the woods very bad boggs, one worse then all, where wee and our horses was faine to slither downe a steepe place, & lett them to lie & breath themselves, & they call this purgatory; And soe wee came to Shrewsberry, & on the first day of the weeke wee had a pretious Meettinge, [and on the 30th day of ye 6o moth wee had a very large Meettinge] & the blessed presence of the Lord was with us, [and in that place a friende is made A Justice] & friends & other people came farr to this Meettinge; and on ye 2d of the 7th month wee had a mens {& weomens} Meettinge, out of most parts of ye new Country Jarsie, which will bee of great service in keepeinge ye Gospell order & Government of Christ Jesus, the Increase of it hath noe End, & for them to see yt all doe live in ye pure Religion & to walke as becometh the Gospell, and there is a Monthly & a Generall Meettinge sett up and they are buildinge A Meettinge place in the midst of them [& I passed about 6: miles to parbacke to visitt a friende, & came backe againe to Shrewsbery], and there a friende[b] that was with mee went to try

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *from Flushing*

[b] This was, according to Ellwood editions, *John Jay, a Friend of Barbados*

a horse, & gott on his backe, & the horse rann & cast him on his heade, & broke his necke as they called it, & y^e^ people tooke him up deade, & carried him a good way, and laide him on a tree, and I came to him & felt on him, & saw y^t^ hee was deade, & as I was pittieinge his family & him, for hee was one y^t^ was to pass with mee through the woods to Mary Land that Land Journey; And I tooke him by y^e^ haire of his heade, and his heade turned [like a cloth] it was soe loose, & I threw away my sticke & gloves, & tooke his heade in both my hands, and sett my knees against the tree, & raised his heade & I did perceive it was not broken out y^t^ ways, & I putt my hand under his chinn, & behinde his head, & raised his head 2: or 3: times with all my strength, & brought it in, and I did perceive his necke begann to bee stiffe, & then hee begann to Rattle, & after to breath, & y^e^ people was amazed, & I bid them have a good heart, & carry him into the house, & then they sett him by the fire, & I bid them gett him some warme thinge, & gett him to bed, soe after hee had beene in the house awhile, hee begann to speake, & did not know where he had beene: & the next day wee passed, & hee with us pretty well, about 16: miles to a Meettinge at Midletowne, and many hundreds of miles afterwards, through the woods & Boggs, & wee swam our horses over a River, & went over on A tree our selves, & at y^e^ Meettinge was most of y^e^ Towne. [And friends was & is very well blessed bee the Lord] & a glorious meettinge wee had, & the truth was over all, blessed bee y^e^ great Lord God for ever, and after the Meettinge wee passed to Middletowne harbour about 5: miles [on y^e^ 9^th^ day of y^e^ 7^th^ mo^th^]; to take our longe Journey through the woods towards Mary Land, & soe hired Indians, for it was upon me to passe thorrow y^e^ woods on the other side dallaway bay, soe to heade the Creekes & rivers if it were possible, soe y^e^ 9^o^ of y^e^ 7^o^ mo^th^ wee sett forwards, & passed through many Indian Townes, & Rivers, & Boggs, and at night made us a fire, & lay by it, when wee had passed about 40: miles amonge y^e^ Indians, wee declared y^e^ day of the Lord to them, and y^e^ next day wee passed 50: miles, and found an old house, which y^e^ Indians had forsed the people to desert, and gott us some fire at y^e^ heade of Dallaway bay; and the next day wee swam our horses over a River about a mile at twise,

first to an Iland & then to y^e^ Maine land, the Iland is called uper dinidocke, & hired Indians to helpe us over in their Cannooes [the 12^th^ of y^e^ 7° month] wee passed about 30: miles, & came at night to A Sweeds house, & gott a litle straw & lay there all night, & there wee hired another Guide, & next day wee travelled about 40: miles through y^e^ woods & rivers, & made us a fire at night, & lay in y^e^ woods, & being often wett in our travells by day, wee dried us by our fyres at night, on y^e^ 14^th^ of y^e^ 7° month wee passed over a desperate River of Rocks & broade stones, very dangerous to us & our horses, and from thence wee came to Christian River, & swam over our horses, & it was bad & Myre some were like to have laine bogg'd there; wee came over in Cannoes & from thence wee came to New Castle [called Dalloway], or formerly New Amsterdam, 16: miles, & beinge very weary in the streetts & Inquireinge to buy some corne for our horses, The Governour came into the streett & invited mee to his house, & to Lodge there, & said y^t^ hee had a bed for mee & I was welcome, and I went to his house on y^e^ 7^th^ day of y^e^ weeke, and hee offerred his house for A Meetinge, & soe I had a meettinge at his house y^e^ first day, a pretious one Blessed bee the Lord & pretty large, & the heads of the Towne were there, & most of the Towne [& y^e^ Governour & his wife, and the Sheriffe, & y^e^ Scoute, which is a man of great Esteeme amonge them], & many Men & Weomen tender, & confessed to y^e^ truth, & Received it, Blessed be y^e^ Lord for ever Amen: Here had never beene a meettinge before nor within a great way of it till now, by any of our friends, & y^e^ 16° of y^e^ 7° mo^th^ wee travelled about 50: miles in y^e^ woods, & through the Boggs, & headed Bohemia River & Saxafrax river, & at night made us a fire, & lay all the night in the woods, & it Rained butt wee gott under trees, & after dryed us, on y^e^ 17^th^ day wee waded through Chester River, a great River, & this day wee passed through many bad boggs, & made us a fire & lay in the woods after wee had travelled about 30: miles, & the 18^th^ day wee passed through many tedious boggs, & travelled hard about 50: miles, & came well through the woods to Mary land to Robert Harwoods[1] house at Myles River very weary; & the next day [y^e^ 19^th^ of the 7° mo^th^] wee went about a mile to A Meettinge, & from thence to

John Edmondsons[1], & from thence 3: or 4: miles by water to the first dayes Meettinge, & y^e^ Judges wife was there which was never at our Meettinge before, & shee saide shee had rather heare [a]this man[a] once then the Preists A thousand times, which shee saide after y^e^ Meettinge, & is convinced, & many others was there well satisfied, & y^e^ power of the Lord was over all, Blessed bee his name for ever, [y^e^ 22^th^ of y^e^ 7° mo^th^] & then I passed about 22: miles, & had a meettinge upon the Kentish shoare & one of the Judges[b] was there [a friende went to invite him to y^e^ Meettinge, & he said that hee would goe to heare M^r^ ffox, as farr as any of them y^t^ invited him, for hee was a grounded man], and a good Meettinge wee had at Henry Wilkocks[2] house [on y^e^ 26° of y^e^ 7^th^ mo^th^]. And on y^e^ 27^th^ day wee passed by water 20: miles to a meettinge very large, some Hundreds of y^e^ world, & an Establishing[c] Meettinge it was, & there was 4: Justices of the Peace, and an Indian Emperour, & one of his great men, and another great man of another Nation of y^e^ Indians, and they stayed all the Meettinge, and I had a good speech with them the night before, and I spoke by an Interpreter, & they Received the truth, & was very Loveinge [and the Emperour saide hee did beleeve y^t^ I was a very honest man] (blessed be y^e^ Lord his truth doth spreade). And after the Meettinge was done, one a Judges wife of y^t^ side of y^e^ Countrie, hee is one of the Assembly, shee beinge at Meettinge desired to speake with mee, & desired mee to goe downe with her to her house, for her Husband was sicke, & not like to live, & it was 3: Miles, & it beinge after the Meettinge I was hott, but gott a horse & went with her; & hee was finely raised up, & after came to our Meettings, & then I came 3: Miles backe to the house & y^e^ man beinge much refreshed when I left him; & y^e^ high shiriffe of Dallaway and {some} others from thence, was at the Meettinge that day, and a blessed one it was beyonde words; and on y^e^ 30^th^ day wee passed 5: miles by water, & then

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *us*

[b] Altered from *Burgesses*

[c] This word has been altered, and it is not now possible to say whether it is *establishing* or *established* Another copy of this second portion of the American journey, which has been collated with the one from which the above is printed, reads *established*

about 14: miles by Land to Jn° Edmondsons at tradhaven creeke; and on y^e 3^d day of y^e 8° mo^th, wee came to the Generall Meettinge of all Maryland ffriends, & it held [from y^e 6^th day to y^e 3^d day of y^e next weeke, y^t was] 5: dayes, 3: days was the Generall Meettinge, & y^e other 2: dayes, the men & weomens Meettinge, & many of the world was there, & some papists [Clarks of their Courts], & there was 8: Justices of the peace, & one of the Judges & his wife, & another Judges wife, & many Considerable persons of Quallity; & they Judged y^t there was a thousand people & one of the Justices saide, that hee never saw soe many people together in the Country, though it was Rainy weather, and ffriends & people was Generally satisfied & Convinced, and the Blessed power of the Lord was over all, and a great Convincement there is, & a great Inquireinge after the truth amonge all sorts of people, and the truth is of a good Report [& friends are much Established, & y^e world convinced, & they said, they never heard y^e Scriptures soe clearely opened before, for saith they, hee hath them at his fingers Ends, & as a man should reade them in a booke & hold it open before him, & the people was satisfied beyond words and a glorious powerfull Meettinge there was, blessed bee the Lord for ever]. And when the Meettinge was done, wee had some of all y^e choyce of the men & weomen to meett together for I had some thinge to informe them concerneinge the glory of God, & y^e order of the Gospell & the Goverment of Christ Jesus: & concerneinge the great Meettinge I went every day by boate to y^e Meetting, about 4: or 5: miles, & there was never seene there, soe many boates together, it was almost like the Thames. [There was one whose office is above a Justice of the Peace, aman of great Esteeme, hee was much taken with the truth, at most of the meettings hee was, & many other would have beene there, but there was A Generall Court y^t did prevent, & take up there time, & some of them sent a man to mee, to know where they might come to heare mee, some of them were Judges & Justices.] And there was never such a Meettinge y^e people said in Maryland, they had of late made y^e Meettinge place as bigg againe as heretofore, & yett it would not hold them, & y^e 10^th of y^e 8° mo^th wee passed thence about 30: Miles by water, by Cranes Iland, & by Swann Iland, & by Kent Iland,

& wee had very much raine & foule weather, in an open boate, insoemuch y^t^ when wee came on shore the next morneinge to a house, one of the world saide, that hee did account wee had beene castaway [& did intend to goe looke for us in y^e^ Morneinge], but blessed bee the Lord wee was very well, The season was very wett, some of us gott into a litle house, & dryed us by y^e^ fire, & y^e^ 11^th^ day wee had very foule weather, & sometimes wee Rowed, & some times wee sailed, & did not gett above 12: miles, & at night wee gott to the Land, & made us a fire, & some lay by it, but some lay by a fire at ahouse alitle way of; & the 12^th^ day of y^e^ 8^th^ mo^th^ wee passed by swan Iland, when wee had passed over y^e^ bay, & this day wee went about 40: miles, & in y^e^ night wee came to an alehouse, & there lay on a bed & some in y^e^ boate, & y^e^ 13^th^ day wee passed about 6: or 7: miles to a friends house, who is a Justice of the peace, where wee had a meettinge y^t^ day it beinge y^e^ first day of y^e^ weeke, & this place was alitle above the heade of the great bay, & soe wee was almost 4: dayes on the water, though weary with Roweinge, yett all was very well blessed & praised bee y^e^ Lord: y^e^ 14^th^ day wee passed by water neare 7: miles to a friends house neare y^e^ heade of hattons Iland, & had a service amonge friends & others, & from thence wee passed by water 3: miles to Geo: Wilsons[1] where wee had a pretious Meettinge [it was a place where y^e^ Preist did wont to preach], & a great tendernesse there was amongst y^e^ people, & after y^e^ meettinge wee sailed {thence about} 10: miles to James ffrizbees[2] a Justice of y^e^ peace; y^e^ 16^o^ day of the 8^o^ mo^th^ wee had a very large Meettinge, which was a blessed heavenly powerfull & thunderinge one, & there was 3: Justices of peace at it, & y^e^ under Sherriffe, & 2: that was Captaines, & many other persons of quallity [& some papists], & all went away satisfied [& the high Sherriffe came to y^e^ house, & a great sence there was amonge the people], & some hundreds was at the Meettinge, & a great brokennesse & tendernesse there was, & after y^e^ meettinge was done wee stayed till about y^e^ 11^th^ houre in y^e^ night, till the tide turned & was for us, & then wee tooke boate & passed that night & next day about 50: miles to a friends house; [y^e^ 18^th^ day, wee passed by land & water about 5: miles beinge y^e^ nearest way, & some of our Com-

pany went about with our boate to meett us: y^e^ 19^th^ day wee passed 3: miles by water & 2 miles by land to a friends house,] & thence [3: miles by water] to a great Meettinge at Severne, and the meettinge place would not hold y^e^ people by many, it was a blessed & heavenly Meetting there was 3: Justices of y^e^ peace, & y^e^ speaker of the Assembly his wife, & many Considerable people, & the people of those parts came Generally to it, & was much satisfied, beinge the 20^th^ of y^e^ 8^th^ mo^th^; and [on y^e^ 22^d^ day wee had a meettinge with some people that walked disorderly, & after wee came about 8: miles by water downe the Bay in y^e^ night to a friends house, & on y^e^ 23^d^ passed by water about 8: miles, & 24^th^] wee passed by water many miles to y^e^ westerne shore, and on y^e^ 25^th^ day wee had a pretious & glorious Meettinge & large at W^m^ Coales[1], & y^e^ speaker of the Assembly was there & his wife, & another Justice of y^e^ peace & severall people of quallity, & on y^e^ 26^o^ day wee had a Meettinge 6: or 7: miles further at Abraham Birkheades[2] [in a tobaccohouse], & there was 2: of their Assembly men, y^e^ speaker was one which is convinced, & a blessed Meetting it was praised bee y^e^ Lord, & there was many {people} of account, & on y^e^ 28^o^ day wee had a Meettinge at Peter Sharps[3] on the clifts, & a very large pretious & heavenly Meettinge it was, & there was 3: or 4: Justices of the peace, & one {out} of Virginia which is convinced, & since hath a meettinge at his house, and one of the Governours Councells wives is convinced, & her Husband is very Loveinge, & many people of account & of y^e^ world was very well satisfied, & some papists was there [& Merchants], & this Meettinge was betweene 30: & 40: miles from the other, blessed be y^e^ Lord the truth is reached in the hearts of people beyond words, & it is of A good report in the hearts of people: A great papist there threatened before, y^t^ he would dispute with Gff: but when hee came hee was reached [and then said y^t^ Gff: was a notable man, & would shake the foundations of them y^t^ was not Established]; and then after the Meettinge wee came about 18: Miles to James Prestons on Potoxen, & there came to us an Indian Kinge & his Brother, & I spoke and they did understand the thinge, & on y^e^ 4^th^ day of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^ wee had a very large Meettinge at Potoxen at y^e^ meetinge place, & many of the world was there of all sorts, & a power-

full meettinge it was; & on y^e^ 5^th^ day of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^ [beinge y^e^ 3^th^ day {of y^e^ weeke}] wee sett sayle towards Virginia, the 6^o^ day wee Rowed & sailed about 80: miles, the weather beinge stormie, & winde & ffoggs and raine, and at night wee putt to the shore, & in y^e^ woods wee made us a fire with much adoe, all things beinge wett, and there stayed all night by it, and the next day in the Morneinge, wee went on y^e^ water, & sailed all y^e^ day, & at the night beinge very darke & much raine [wee came to A shipp y^t^ came from plimouth, and there I with some friends stayed all y^t^ night, and some lay in our shallopp, & when it was day wee gott into our shallopp, & sayled] till wee came to Nancemum a friends house y^e^ widdow Wrights[1] about 200: myles as they account from Maryland [which was y^e^ 7^th^ day of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^; & on y^e^ 10^th^ day] at Nancemum wee had a great Meettinge of friends and people; and there was Collonell Dews[2], & a Justice & a Captaine with other officers, and many of account, & they was much taken with y^e^ truth:[a] and y^e^ 12^th^ day wee passed over y^e^ water called Nancemum, & went about 4: miles by land where wee had a pretious Meettinge; and men & weomens meettings settled, & from thence wee passed 12: miles & boated over a Creeke to William Yaroes[b3] house called pagans Creeke, & on y^e^ 17^th^ day wee had avery large Meettinge [& 2: Justices of y^e^ peace & their wives, & a Leivtenant Collonalls wife was there]: wee was putt to meett without y^e^ doores, for there was soe many people, & a great opennesse in them to receive y^e^ truth [and after the meettinge was done, wee passed by water about amile, & 10: miles by Land to one Thomas Jordans house[4] & there came an old man a Justice to a friende, & saide y^t^ Geo: ffox was a very famous man], y^e^ noyse of y^e^ truth did sounde abroade in the hearts of people, the Lord have y^e^ glory for ever [and y^e^ 18^th^ day wee passed about 8: miles to the western branch, where wee mett with ffriends, and they was refreshed], & on y^e^ 19^th^ day wee passed about 30: miles through y^e^ woods towards corolina, & a flashey & a wett way, and at night wee came

[a] Ellwood editions insert *After this Meeting was over, we hast'ned towards Carolina; yet had several Meetings by the Way, wherein we had good Service for the Lord:*

[b] The initial letter has been altered from *D*

to a place called Somertowne, & there at a poore house wee lay by y^e^ fire y^t^ night y^e^ woman had a sence of God: and the next day wee passed all day, & saw neither house nor man through y^e^ woods, & swamps, & many cruell boggs & watery places, y^t^ wee was wett to the knees most of us, & at night wee tooke up our Lodginge in y^e^ woods, & made us a fire, & all of us beinge weakely horss'd, & some people beyond Somertowne had heard of mee, & had beene at y^e^ house where wee lay, & had a great desire to heare & see us but miss'd us: The truth sounds abroade every way [the 20^th^ of y^e^ 9^th^ mo^th^]. And the next day wee passed through the woods, & over many boggs & swamps, & at the night wee came to Bonners Creeke, & there wee lay [at his house], and the woman of y^e^ house lent us amatt, & wee lay on it by y^e^ fire side, and this was y^e^ first house in corolina the 21^th^ of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^ & there wee left our horses beinge very weary; & the 22^th^ day wee passed in a Cannoe downe y^e^ creeke to macocomocok River, & came to Hugh Smithickes[a1] house [about a mile & halfe] & people of y^e^ world came to see us, for their was noe friends in those parts, & many people of y^e^ world did receive us gladly, & they came to us at one Nathaniell Batts[2] formerly Governour of roanoake, who goeth by y^e^ name of Captaine Batts, who hath beene a Rude desperate man, hee came to us & saide, that a Captaine told him, that in Cumberland Gff: bid one of his friends goe to a weoman that had beene sicke a longe time, and all the Phisitians had left her, & could not heale her, & G: F: bid his friende to lay his hands on her, & pray by her; & that G. ff's friende did goe to y^e^ weoman, & did as hee bad him, & y^e^ woman was healed y^t^ time, and thus Captaine Batts told mee [& had spreade it up & downe in the Country amonge y^e^ people], & hee Asked mee of it & I said many things had beene done by y^e^ power of Christ, and [on the 24^th^ of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^] wee had a meettinge amonge y^e^ worlds people, & there was noe friends on that side of the Country, & the people was taken with y^e^ truth Blessed bee y^e^ Lord [y^e^ 25^o^ day]; & from thence wee passed downe y^e^ River Maraticke in a Cannoe, & went downe the bay Conieoak to a Captaines house who was Loveinge, & lent us his boate, for wee was much wett in y^e^

[a] Ellwood editions and later reference: *Smith's*

Cannoe, the water came upon us in waves, & from thence in y^e^ boate wee came to the Governors, & y^e^ water was soe shallow that our boate would not Swimm; I was faine to putt of my shoes & stockens & wade through the water a pretty way, & then came to the Governors house, who with his wife Received us Loveingly, & there was a docter y^t^ did dispute with us, which was of great service & occation of openinge much to the people Concerneinge y^e^ Light & the spiritt, & {hee} soe opposed it in every one, y^t^ I called an Indian because hee denied it to them, and I asked him if y^t^ hee did lie and doe y^t^ to another, which hee would not have them doe y^e^ same to him, and that when he did wronge, was not there somethinge in him, that did tell him of it, that hee should not doe soe, and did reproove him, and hee saide there was such athinge in him, that made him ashamed of them, soe wee made the Docter ashamed in y^e^ sight of the Governor & y^e^ people; and hee ran soe farr out, y^t^ hee would not owne y^e^ scriptures; and the next Morneinge wee passed away & sent our boate about, & y^e^ Governor went afoott 2: miles through y^e^ woods with us, & sett us in our way to the boate; & [y^e^ 26^th^ of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^] wee came to Joseph Scotts[1] one of the Burgesses[a] of the Country, & this was about 30: miles by water; [& now they say wee are A Thousand Miles from Boston Southward, they say that have travelled it; all which wee have travailed by land & downe bayes & over Rivers & Creekes & boggs & wildernesses: and at the first house wee came to in corlina wee mett with an Indian Kinge a pretty sober man; The truth spreadeth, & as wee passed downe, wee passed by Batts Iland & by Kickwold youpen, & pekeque mines River, where there is some friendly people,] & wee had a Meettinge [by pekeque mine River at Joseph Scotts house,][b] & many people was there, & was tender, & a sound pretious meettinge there was, Blessed be the Lord, & y^e^ people much desired after Meettings; [and on y^e^ 28^th^ of y^e^ 9^o^ mo^th^] wee passed by water 4: miles to Henry Phillipps[c][2] house, & at y^e^ meett-

[a] Ellwood editions: *Representatives*

[b] The words which follow, *who is one of their Burgesses*, have a line through them.

[c] Ellwood editions, simply, *another*

inge there was the Governors secretary, who is secretary of y^e^ province, which formerly had beene Convinced; & [on y^e^ 29^th^ of y^e^ 9° mo^th^] I went amonge y^e^ Indians, there was their younge Kinge & others of their cheife men, & they was very Loveinge, & Received what I said to them, & I shewed {them} that God made all things in six dayes, & made but [a]one man & a woman[a] and how that God did drowne y^e^ old world, because of their wickednesse, & soe alonge to Christ, & how y^t^ hee did dye for all & for their sinns, & did inlighten them, & if they did doe evill hee would burne them, & if they did well, they should not bee burned; [Then I went backe which was about 2: miles by water & Land to y^e^ house y^t^ I came from; & y^e^ 1^st^ of y^e^ 10^th^ mo^th^ wee went downe by water 5: miles, & I was faine to putt of my shoes & stockens, & soe did the rest & waded through the water, it was soe shallow y^t^ the boate cold not goe, & there this day wee had a blessed Meettinge, & a large one, & severall of the Indians was there & their wives, & some of their great men of y^e^ Kings Councell, & one y^t^ is to bee Kinge, and they was very tender & Loveinge to us, & soe was all people, & after y^e^ Meettinge I passed by Land & water about 5: or 6: miles to Joseph Scotts, where wee had a day of washinge & sweeping of those y^t^ had defiled themselves; on y^e^ 2^d^ day of y^e^ 10° mo^th^ wee passed by water about 5: miles, & I lay by y^e^ fire on a Matt all y^e^ night; and y^e^ next day wee had a glorious & pretious meettinge, & pretty large for y^t^ Country; And after the Meettinge wee passed away to the secretories house, 10: miles by water, & it was very wett, it beinge much raine, & in a Rotten boate very dangerous] & y^e^ water beinge shallow wee cold not gett the boate to the shore, & y^e^ secretories wife came in a Cannoe barefooted to gett us to land out of our boate, & soe wee stayed at their house all that night, & y^e^ next day in y^e^ Morneinge, our boate was sunke & full of water, and wee mended her, & y^t^ day wee passed about 24: miles the sea beinge troublesome & Rough & y^e^ windes high, but the great power of God was seen in carrieinge us in that boate [& soe wee left our boate where wee had borrowed her, & tooke our Cannoe & came to Captain Batts, and there lay most of us by the fire that night], & after wee came halfe

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *one Woman for one Man*

a mile to Hugh Smiths, & on y^e^ 8^th^ day wee had a pretious meettinge, praised bee y^e^ Lord God for ever & there was the Indian Preist[a] & sate amonge y^e^ people of the world, & y^e^ people was very tender [& desireous], & there came an Indian Captaine, & was very Loveinge, & did confesse to the truth which was spoken to him, & with many others wee had good service; [thence wee passed about halfe a mile by water to a sober mans house where I lay y^t^ night on a Couch] and the 9^o^ of y^e^ 10^th^ mo^th^ wee passed [about halfe a mile by water in a Cannoe] to Bonners, where our horses were,[b] & then wee passed through y^e^ woods & Boggs towards virginnia, & in that Country as Corolina they keepe many great doggs, & when wee were comeinge to the house, the woman said to her sonn, that hee might keepe up their doggs, but her sonn replyed, they doe not use to meddle with them, & when wee came to y^e^ house shee saide to us [before other people], that wee were like to the Children of Israell against whom the doggs {did} not move their tongues; & soe wee passed all the day through the woods & Boggs, & sometimes in them up to the knees, & at night made us a fire & dryed us, & y^e^ next day passed on through y^e^ woods & boggs sorely wett, & soe travelled all the day, and at night wee came to Somertowne haveing a sore Journey through the Boggs, & was dirty & wett but dryed us at night, wee lay by y^e^ fire in our clothes, as wee had done many nights before; and the next day wee had a pretious Meettinge for the people of that Country had heard of mee, & had a great desire to heare mee, and soe wee had a good Meettinge amonge them (where wee never had Meettinge before), praised bee y^e^ Lord for ever, and after the Meettinge was done, wee passed in the woods about 20: Miles, & in y^e^ night came to a sober mans house to inquire the way, and hee desired us to stay all night, which wee did, and the next day [wee passed away about 18: miles, and the 12^th^ day] wee came amonge friends, when wee had travelled about 100: miles from Corolina to virginia through the woods, and wee passed soe farr till the Country was warme & a springe, and from a warme Country

[a] Ellwood editions insert *whom they call a Pauwaw*

[b] Ellwood editions add *having spent a matter of Eighteen Days in the North of Carolina*

to a cold Country and very cold, but y^e^ power of the Lord is over all, & it doth reach the good in all Praised be the Lord for ever, & the 13^th^ day wee came 2: miles by land, & 6: miles by water to widdow Wrights, and on y^e^ 15° day wee had a very large meettinge, & pretious, & heavenly dreadfull & Reverant, praised bee y^e^ Lord all was chained, for the Preist had threatened that hee would bee there (to A Major who was my[a] kinsman), & y^e^ Major told him y^t^ I would convince him, & the power of the Lord was over all and his seed of life stopped him; and the Major Generall was at the Meetting and the high sheriffe of the County, & another Major & a Justice, and many people of quallity, and all was reached with the truth blessed bee the Lord, & [there was a woman soe reached, that she saide hee is a worthy man & worthy to be heard,] The 16° day wee passed [6: miles by water to the Widdow Nortons[1], and on the 17^th^ day wee passed 12: miles by water, & 2: [b]milles by lande] to ameeting at crick atroh & had a pressious & blesed meeting & there was many considerabell people & they was much Refreshed praysed bee the lord, & many people that never hade heard beefore [& many others woueld have been there & severall Justices & there[b] wives, but there happeninge much raine hindered them, yett the house was full, one Justices wife was there, A tender woman, & after meettinge wee returned backe againe; and the 18^th^ day wee passed about 20: miles by water, & Rowed part of the way against tide & winde and wee passed by Kiketon, and in the night came to Elizabeth River, where wee went on shore & called at ahouse, where wee lodged that night, some by the fire, & some on a bed in our clothes, & it was soe cold, that I could feele noe warmth by my Lodginge, and y^e^ 19^th^ day wee passed on abranch of Elizabeth River], & at night came to A friends house (whose name is John Porter[2]) [when wee had rowed about 10: miles; & on the 22^th^ day] wee had a Meettinge a very pretious & glorious one very Liveinge & fresh, most of them of the world, & it brought y^e^ truth above all bad

[a] Originally written *his* but altered to *my* by another hand. The other copy is also altered from *his* to *my* But Ellwood editions read *Kinsman to the Priest*

[b]...[b] These words are in another and a less educated handwriting.

walkers & talkers blessed bee y^e^ Lord, [& on y^e^ 23^d^ day wee passed to a friends house, beinge the farthest in virginia, & 2: friends went to the Justices house to visitt him, hee was very Loveinge & tender to friends, & then wee returned backe againe beinge 2: miles, & y^e^ 24^th^ wee passed by water about 12: miles up Elizabeth {River} to a friends house, & y^e^ 25^th^ day wee passed by water 6: miles to afriends house called Thomas Goade[1] where wee had service, & y^e^ 28^th^ day wee came about 4: miles where wee had a meettinge pretty large;] Now this {last} weeke wee was amonge freinds sweepeing away that, that should not bee, & workinge downe the bad spiritt, but blessed for ever be y^e^ name of the Lord, who over all gives victory. [In this County the high Sheriffe they saide had an order to take mee; but I mett him by chance, & hee tooke mee by the hand, & was very civill & courteous; & wee passed about 6: miles by land and water to take in freinds for Maryland;] and on y^e^ 30^th^ day wee passed towards Maryland, & had a very great storme, & beinge very much wett, wee gott to Land, & travelled 2: miles to ahouse at Willougbys poynt, where wee lodged all y^t^ night beinge very wett, the woman of y^e^ house was a very tender woman, a widdow that had not before Received friends, & shee Received us very kindly with teares, & y^e^ next day wee Returned the 2: miles to our boate, & sayled on, but the storme and winde beinge high, wee had much adoe to gett to the shore, & our boate beinge open the water flashed in & over us, & when wee had gotten to the shore, wee made us a fire to warme us, & there lay by it all that night in y^e^ woods, & y^e^ wolves Roared about us; and the 1^st^ day of the 11^th^ mo^th^ wee sailed but the winde beinge against us wee sailed backwards & forwards, & went to the shore at pointe comfort,[a] & gott into the wood and made us afire, and lay by it that night, and it was soe cold y^t^ it froze our water that wee had gott neare the fire side; [and on y^e^ 2^d^ of y^e^ 11^th^ mo^th^ wee passed by a sloope that came from Barbados, on which sloope I had Letters from Judge ffrettwell, and the sloope beinge laide up as wee was, for the winde was Contrary] wee went by Land backwards about 10: miles to looke for a house to gett us some new provissions, and wee

[a] Ellwood editions add *where yet we found but small Comfort:*

lay in the woods this night, beinge very cold & snow, & blue that it was hard for some to abide it; and on y^e^ 3^d^ day of the 11° mo^th^ the winde was pretty faire, & wee passed on our way saileing & Rowing that night wee lay in Milford haven at Richard Longs[1] neare Quincis Iland [the weather beinge very cold, I lay on abed in my clothes], and on the 4^th^ day of the 11° mo^th^ {wee passed by} roapahamocke river, where there is much people, & friends had A meettinge thereawayes at a Justice house, that had beene with mee at A Meettinge, & wee passed potomak River, & y^t^ aways, and there came some people of the world to Meettinge & was Convinced, and some of {our} company went amonge them, when wee parted thence, and wee passed over potomak and the water was {very} Ruff, & y^e^ sea high, & our sloope open, & the weather Extreame cold, I was moved to sitt at the Helme most part of the day & night, and about the first houre in the night wee came to James Prestons in Potoxen river, which is about 200: miles from Nancemum, & very weary wee were; and the next day beinge the first day of y^e^ weeke, & y^e^ 5° day of the 11^th^ mo^th^ wee went to the meettinge about halfe a mile, & on y^e^ 7^th^ day of y^e^ 11^th^ mo^th^ wee went to an Indian Kings Cabbin about a mile from our Lodginge, where wee mett with severall, and they was Loveinge, and on the 9^th^ day of {the} 11^th^ month wee went to A Generall Meettinge [about a mile backwards & forwards], and from thence wee passed 18: miles to John Gearies[2] & had a pretious Meettinge, and the 15^th^ day the weather was very cold, soe that the people could hardly Endure, such frost & snowy weather as hath not beene a great while, it was soe deepe; [all this weeke wee are kept in it, and travelled not, onely 2: miles, the one on foott, and the other on horsebacke; on the 19^th^ day wee had a pretious meettinge, praised bee the Lord God for ever, and the 22^th^ of the 11^th^ mo^th^] the {frost and} snow continued soe as that there was hardly any stirringe, yett wee gott through it 6: miles to Jn° Mayors[3], where wee mett with some from New England which before wee had left behinde there, & glad wee were to see each other after our longe travells, who informes that they parted with Will^m^ Edmondson at New England [& Jn° Veres[4] tooke shipp for Jamaica], & W: Edm: for Ireland, and Solomon Eckles [&

Nickolas Alexander[1]] for Jamaica & Barbados, & y^e^ rest of y^e^ Leward Ilands, and John Stubbs & [a]John Baker[a2] in New Jarsie, & the New Countries amonge friends; and on the 27^th^ day wee had a pretious & glorious meettinge in a Tobacco house, and though it was very cold weather, yett one day in the midst of y^e^ could, it was soe hott, that wee cold hardly abide for heate, & the next night and day for cold; and wee passed 18: miles to James Prestons whose house by reason of a carelesse maide servant was the night before burned downe to the Grounde, and there wee lay 3: nights on the ground by the fire, beinge very cold weather [at the same house wee had left our boxes & our clothes, and other Necessaries, and my great Chest, & James Lancaster's chest and all was burned].

[b][And the 30^th^ of the 11^th^ moneth wee passed 3 milles to the creek which being frozen up the nexte day wee retorned 3 miles backe] & y^e^ 2^d^ day of y^e^ 12^th^ mō wee had a glorious meeting at petoxen [at the meeting place halfe a mile from the house] & after it was done wee pased [about 18 milles] to John Gearies where wee waited for a bote & un the 6^th^ day of the 12^th^ mō: was the monethly meeting at y^e^ Clifts aliveing one praised bee the lord & un y^e^ 9^th^ of y^e^ 12^th^ month wee had agloryous meeting & the glory of the lord shined over all blessed bee his name for ever: & un the 12^th^ day of y^e^ 12 mo^th^: wee pased by water in the boate aboute 70 milles much of it on the night & wee Run her on grouen neare Manoco River in a Creeck wee being in a open boat & y^e^ weather very bitter & coueld with hard frost that som had like to have lost the use of their hands they was soe frozen & beenumbeed with cold & in y^e^ morneing when the tyde floated our bote wee got to land & made us afire to warme us & then came to ouer bote agene & passed about 10 milles to afrindes houis & on y^e^ 14^th^ day wee had a very pressious meeting one of the Justices & a Justices wife was there & when the meeting was done I pased 4 milles to a Justices house by lande in Anemessy that is neare y^e^ heade of Anemessy River &

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *another Friend*

[b] The handwriting, in which a few lines have already appeared, is here resumed.

un the 15th day the Judge of the county came to mee & was very loving & much satisfied with frinds order [& the did Disier ye same might bee spoken againe there] & on the 16th day wee had a large & pressious meeting at the Justices in his barne for the house would not houlld them & the people was much taken with truth & the Clarke of the Couenty & one that had beene a Justice & a Justice wife was there & an apposer but all was preserved quiete blesed bee the lord ye 17th day wee pased 8 milles to a captains house who is a Justices whose name is [William] Colleburne[1] where wee hade service & on the 19th wee pased aboute 9 milles among frinds & on the 20th day wee had a verypressious & ag{l}orious meeting at the same Justices house beefore mentioned & there was many people of account & the Judge of that Countrey & Captaine & hee yt was the late high shirive & the head secretary at whose house the p{r}east used to preach & the was all much taken with the truth & a large meetinge it was & ye lords power was much seene & there was 4 new England men massters of shipps and marchants: the truth spreeads blesed bee the lord, & on the 22d day wee pased through the woods & boggs aboute 16 milles & wee headed anemesse River & wee headed amoroca River & went over it in a Caimoe & a man got over ouer horsses & wee came to manoke to a frindly womans house & un the 24th day wee had a glorious meeting in a barne & the lords liveing presence was with us & among the people blesed bee his name for evermore & frinds had never ameting beefore in those partes, & on the 26th of ye 12th month wee passed aboute 9 milles over a grete River wicocomico to a frinds house called James Jones[2] hee is a Justice [wee headed Ani River] & very bad & watrie swampes & marshey way, & on ye 27th of ye 12th month wee had a very glorious meeting at James Jones the Justice & it was large praysed bee the lord god & on the 28th of ye 12th mo: wee pased over ye water in aboate & carried ouer horsses in it & Road through the woods & swamps & Crecks tedious way aboute 24 milles to a Justics house & had a very lardge & prescious meeting theere & John Cartwrite wente with another frind to [Acomake in] virginia where there was Disiers after the truth & on ye 3th of ye 1 month wee hade a pessious & a glorious

metinge & the liveing presences of the lord was amongst us praised bee the lord & there was many people of account & som came fare to it & it was at the Justices houes as beefore & the Judge & the Captaine came to it & there was three Justices wifes & many other of account & a very large meetinge it was & after the meetinge was done wee pased 4 milles to a frinds houes, & there was a woman at Enemessy which had beene many yeares in trobell & wouelld somtimes sitt moping neare 2 month togeather & hardly speake nor minde any thing, so I was moved to goe to heare & tell her that Sallvation was come to heare house & dide speake other wordes to here & for here & that hower Shee mended & passed up & downe with us to meetings & is well blessed bee the lord [& on the 5th of the first Month wee had a heavenly & liveing meeting & ther was two Justices of the peace & there wifes & many others—blesed bee the lord god over all whose truth is over all & doth Rule—] and now wee are Cleare wee waite for winde & wente from anemesse on 7th of the 1 mo: & pased by water aboute 50: milles & came to hunger river to afrindly womans houes—in ouer passage the wether was very Rough & the giveing the saylers over the bote struck of my hat & cap & wee had like to have turned the boate over but at the laste wee got them gaine with much adoe, & on the 10th day of the first moneth wee had a meeting where wee never had any beefore & two papist was at it the man was very tender & the woman confessed to the truth & many woueld hav been there but the Roughness of the water with Raine {&} snow hindred there passage [amongst which was two Justices & there wifes that had a Disire to have beene there but was so hindered] & now wee waite for the wind it being againest us & the weather foulle & none is with mee but Robt Withers all the Reste is aboade in there service, on the 14th day wee pased aboute : 4 :0 milles by water & Rowed moste parte of the way & in the night came to the head of litle choptanck to Doctor winsmares[1] a Justice of the peace who was lately convinced where wee mete with ffrindes & from thence wee pased 2 milles by lande & hee lente mee his horse & wente unfote to guide mee the way to one William Stephens[2], & on the 16th day wee pased by water aboute 4 milles to a meeting which was withoute the Dores

the houes being to litle & a Justice & the Judge of that County & there wifes was there & manie peope b{l}esed bee the lord who is makin his name knowne, & on the 18th day of the 1 month wee pased 4 milles by water to afrinds house Wm Stephens where frinds mete that hade bee{ne} abrode & wee wente a mille or two & vissited som frindes & the 23th day wee had a glorious meetinge blesed bee the lord for Ever & an Established & setled one & the Judge of that Couenty & his wife & 3 other Justices was at it & the high Shiriufe & his wife was there & the Indian Emperour & an Indian King & there speaker & all was very loving & sate all the meetinge & John Cartwrites & [a]John Gey[a] ar gone towardes Barbadous [& hee hath a good savore in acamaike & severall Justices & Collonalls & luitenant Coronals Reseved him & was very loving to him & hee had severall meetinges among them & truth spreades Blesed bee the lord god for Ever], on the 24th of the first mo: wee went by water 10th milles to the Indian towne wheare there Emperour dwells I had sente to him beefore that hee shoueld sende for there Kings & there Counsell togather & the Empirour Cam him selfe in the morning & hade mee to the towne & the Generally came together & there heade speaker & other officers & the oueld Emprest sate among there Counsell & the weare all very attentive & sober and loving & sate grave & sober beyond many & I had 2 Justice of the peace & som others with mee to Interperet to them & wee had a very good meetinge with them & it was of greate service blesed bee the lord for ever amen—[& on ye 25th day of the 1 mo: wee wente 5 milles by lande & a Justice of peace helpt to Rowe us over abrode Creecke called fusher creake in a Cannowe to a Dutch mans hous afrinde & un ye 26th day wee went backe againe 5 Milles through the woods being very wett under fote, & un the 27th day] wee hade a blesed meetinge & large at Williams Stephens, [at grete choptanck where was 4 Justices of peace & the Judge of ye Countrye & a Justice of Corem of another Corte & the hie Sherife of the couenty & a papist & his wife] & it was a generall monethly meeting & there was many people of accouent blesed bee the lord whose fresh power is plentious

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *another Friend*

among his people & when the metinge was done wee wente by water aboute 4 milles & one by lande to a frindes houes & one y^e^ 28^th^ day wee pased about by land to trade haven creecke aboute 14 milles & on the 30^th^ day had a glorioues meetinge and it was very pressious & wee pased thence by lande & water [aboute 6 miles & came to Milles River aboute 16 milles & then] over wye River [& pased over forwardes and backewardes in a boate & cannow backe, & on the 1^th^ of y^e^ 2 mo: at wye wee had a very pressious meetinge blesed bee the lord & the Judge of that Countrie & his wife was there & they was very tender & many other people thereawayes the truth is of a good saver upon the 3^d^ of y^e^ 2 mo: wee pased aboute one mille by water & one by lande to tradeheaven River] & came backe againe to Reconow creeck [where wee lefte ouer boate & had there a glorious meetinge at A frindes houes whire the glory of y^e^ lord did shine over all to the Edifying of the people & it was large praysed bee the lord & on the 4^th^ of y^e^ 2 mo: wee passed by water 14 milles & two by land to the Iland of Kent & on y^e^ 6^th^ day of y^e^ 2 mo:] wee hade a presious meeting {at Kent, blessed be y^e^ Lord God over all for ever at Tho: Taylors[1] [& many more would have beene at the meetting}[a] but the Raine hindered & on the 7^th^ day of y^e^ 2 mo: wee wente over a creecke in aboate & aboute a mille by lande to a friends house & y^e^ 8^th^ of y^e^ 2 mo] wee pased in a boate over the bay to the westerne shore aboute 14 milles to a frindes hous where wee mete with frindes & I sente for Thomas Thurston[2] to bring the truth over his Actions & had meetings with him.

[And un y^e^ 9^th^ of y^e^ 2 mo: I wente aboute 7 milles to the speakre of the Assemblys house who is the Judge of that Countrie who hade much desired mee before & hee & his wife was very loving & on the 10^th^ day of y^e^ 2^d^ mo: wee hade a very liveing meetinge blesed bee the lord forever it was in a Schoole house & there was severall people of accountt {a} Judges wiffe & one of y^e^ Councells wife & one of y^e^ Assembly was there & very loving the glory of the lord & his truth is over all & y^e^ 11^th^ day] wee passed [by water aboute 30 milles doune the bay] to a frindes house on the Clifts [& on 20^th^ day of the 2 mo:]

[a] These words were inserted by Sarah Fell.

wee had a meeting at petoxon [meeting place aboute a mille from ouer frinds houes where wee lodged over a Creek—] & this weeke wee had much writing & answering [& on the 27th day wee wente a mille to the meetinge & ye heavenly presentes was felte among them glory to the lord for Ever amen & on the 28th day of the 2th mo: I pased over the Creeck in a cannoe & thence to lenoards Creecke aboute 3 milles to see for a shippe.

And on 29th day wee wente downe a Creeck called hopers Creeck two milles in a boate and on the 30th day I had a good speach with an Indian that coueld speake English & theare King was by, & on the 1th of the 3 month I wente a mille to an Indians Cabben wheare the King & his Company was & s{t}aid awhille with them & on the 4th of the 3th mo: wee hade avery presious meeting & to it wee wente aboute a mille, & on the 5th day wee pased through the woods aboute 8 milles & on 6th of the 3th mo: wee pased 10 milles & at night hade a pressious meeting at the house that was Peeter Sharps and on the 8th of the 3 mo: there came one of the governowrs Councell to a house where I was & I hade Discource with him hee is a greate papists hee was Civell but Darke in Egipt—on the 11th of the 3 mo: wee had {A} glouriaes meetinge at the Clifts & on the 15th day there Came a Justice from Potomake in virginia a prety man & had beene under persecution & threatned by the preeste & others hee & his man came 40 milles on fote hee hath a greate love to the truth & on the 15th day wee pased through the woods aboute 22 milles & on the 16th day of the 3th mo: wee passed aboute 13 milles] & on the 17th day beegane the generall meeting of the province which helde 4 dayes the first day of which was the mens[a] & womans meetings where wee descourced aboute the afaires of the Church of god the 18th day was the generall meeting it was awonderfull & glorious meeting & the mighty presences of the lord over all was seene blesed & praysed bee his name for ever amen & ther was two of the governours councell & there wifes & 2 of the Asembly & there wifes & 2 Justices of the peace & many Considerable people of accounte & all very much reached & satisfied & parted in the life & power of the lord, & the lords power is

[a] Corrected by Sarah Fell to *mens* from some other word, now illegible.

over all blesed bee his name for Ever who over all giveth dominion & so after y^e^ meeting was done wee in the power of the lord parted & pased away & went by water [& land 50 milles & at the night the boate came for us to cary us] to y^e^ Shippe & so wee wente on Shippboard & manie frindes weente downe with us [in another boate, the shippe is Called the Sosiety of bristoll, it was {the 21^th^ day that wee came on shipp=board, & many friends stayed with us all y^e^ night and on}[a] the 22: day of y^e^ 3 mo: wee drew Ankhor & sayled aboute 6 or 7 milles neare piynt patience] & this day Came Richarde Covell[1] on ouer shippe, his shippe was taken frome hime by the Dutch [on the 25^th^ day wee drue Anchor againe & sete sayle downe the bay it being the firest day of the weeke wee hade a very pressious meeting on bord the shippe & towardes night Casting anchor in the bay the winde beeing against us & on the 26^th^ of the 3^d^ mo: wee drue Anchor & sayled over against petomack River & the wind beeing against us wee cast Anchor againe & on the 27^th^ day in the morning the winde came prety faire then wee drue Anchor & sete sayle & sayled over petomack river which is abute 20 milles & by the poynt Called nicacomoco[b] wee lay at anchor againe & the 28^th^ day wee drue anchor and sayled againe till night then cast anchor againe the weather being fowle & the winde aginest us wee lay neare greate nicococomico[b] & the 29^th^ day wee drew Anchor & sailed backewardes & forwards & cast Anchor againe neare peanke danke up rapahanack river & on the 30^th^ day wee drue Anchor & sayled by stinger Iland & by y^e^ 8^th^ houre y^e^ next morneing being] the 31^th^ of y^e^ 3 mo: wee lefte the cape of verginia & came into the maine ocian [about 200 milles from potoxen in mary lande & at y^e^ capes of virginia I first Espied ashipe & saied yonder is asayle which put a question in the seamens mindes what shee shoueld bee but I felte from the lord shee was not an Enemye & woueld doe us noe hurt & so at som distance pased by up the Bay & wee[c] in to the sea: & on the firest of the 4^th^ month wee had a very preshous meeting on the shipe with the seae men & on y^e^ 2 day of y^e^ 4 mo: wee hade high

[a] This insertion is in the handwriting of Sarah Fell.
[b] Word corrected by Sarah Fell.
[c] Other ancient copy: *went*

winds & ouer boult spirt was loose y$^{t}$ wee was to turne the shipp to lye upon the stayes for som time & in[a] y$^{e}$ night wee hade much thounder & raine & high winds—so y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ tooke in most of y$^{e}$ sayles & {on} y$^{e}$ 3$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 4$^{th}$ mo: y$^{e}$ winde was west & not so high blesed bee the lord & y$^{e}$ 4$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 4$^{th}$ mo: wee hade litle winde & y$^{e}$ 5$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 4$^{th}$ mo: wee had a very good winde but coueld take noe observation for the son did not shine cleare this 2 dayes & this day wee saw another shippe & it did put many thoughts into the seamen but I fellte the power of the lord over all & saide nothing, for I saw in a vission two shippes on the weste side that did pass by us & did {us} noe hurte—& the 6$^{th}$ day wee had a faire winde & the shippe pased away leewarde of us southeast & the 7$^{th}$ day of the 4$^{th}$ mo: wee hade a very faire winde & are[a] on ouer voyadge from the capes of verginia 750 milles & the 8$^{th}$ day of the 4 mo: wee had a blesed meeting on ouer shippe praysed bee y$^{e}$ lord & on the 9 day wee sayled aboute 75 milles & wee hade a Callme in y$^{e}$ night[b] & then after a storme & much raine, & on y$^{e}$ 10$^{th}$ day of the 4$^{th}$ mo$^{th}$ wee sailed about 97: miles, & on y$^{e}$ 11$^{th}$ day wee sailed about 100: miles & y$^{e}$ 12$^{th}$ day in the night wee had a calme, but in the day a good winde, & sayled about 80: miles, then were distant from the capes 1239: miles, & on the 13$^{th}$ day wee had a tempestuous winde that made the sea like Mountaines, the waves like Mountaines in the sea were soe bigg, as it were stood {upright} upon her sometimes, & the master & men wondered & said they never saw the like before, espetially y$^{t}$ being a great shipp & longe & of y$^{t}$ biggnesse ; but it blew faire for us Blessed bee the Lord, & wee sailed this day 155: miles, a great storme wee had, & it lasted all y$^{e}$ night that it made y$^{e}$ sea like Mountaines, & roare like Cannons in the shipp, & wee in our beds sett up, the seamen saide they never saw such seas in their lives ; But the Lord preserved us over all, who rideth on the wings of the winde, & who is Lord of the heaven, & y$^{e}$ sea, & y$^{e}$ Earth, blessed bee his name, his wonders are seene in the deepe, & this day wee sailed about

[a] Word corrected by Sarah Fell.

[b] At this point in the MS. seven lines are heavily erased and then the handwriting of Sarah Fell reappears.

150: miles beinge y^e^ 14^th^ of y^e^ 4^th^ mo^th^, & though [a]it was a stoarme yet it was for us so y^t^ wee saylyed Before it Blesed bee the lord & on the 15^th^ day wee saylyed 150 milles & this day wee had a prssious meeting & the presentes of the lord was amonge us Blesed bee his name for ever & noue wee have left America & that ocian sea & are on the ocian of ureiope & y^e^ 16^th^ day wee sailled 110 miells and are in the Degree 44 & on the 17^th^ day wee sailled 125 milles & had a good wind[a] Blessed bee the Lord, who steared our course; and on y^e^ 18^th^ day praised bee the Lord God, wee had a very pretious Meettinge, & open to the people, and y^e^ Lord was amonge us blessed bee the Lord God, & wee sailed 56: miles, and are in y^e^ Latitude of 46^d^ & 50′: & on y^e^ 19^th^ of the 4^th^ mo^th^ wee sailed 120: miles, and are in the Latitude of 47 degrees & 47′: & have a good winde blessed bee the Lord; and on the 20^th^ day wee sailed 143: miles & are in latitude 48: degrees & 40:′ & y^e^ weather is & hath beene could severall days & nights; y^e^ 21^o^ day wee sayled 150: miles, the weather beinge close, wee cold not take observation to know y^e^ latitude; and y^e^ 22^th^ of y^e^ 4^o^ mo^th^ wee sayled 93: miles, & beinge y^e^ first day of the weeke wee had a pretious Meetting blessed bee y^e^ Lord God for ever Amen: & on y^e^ 23^o^ day wee sayled 55: miles, & y^e^ 24^th^ day wee sailed 120: miles and the weather beinge cleare wee tooke an observation & found wee were in the latitude of 50: degrees & 5: minits, & wee have a good winde but soe tossed y^t^ wee cannott rest, but are safe & well blessed bee the Lord of heaven & Earth; & y^e^ 25^th^ of y^e^ 4^th^ mo^th^ wee sailed 154: miles the weather haveinge beene very foggy, blessed bee the Lord it is well, this day wee sound, & laide out about 100: fathom but found noe bottom; and on y^e^ 26^th^ day wee sailed about 140: miles, and are in y^e^ latitude of 51: degrees & 6: minitts, & this day wee had a pretious Meettinge blessed bee the Lord, beinge y^e^ 5^th^ day of y^e^ weeke, & at night wee sounded & found ground at 60: fathom; and on y^e^ 27^th^ day wee sayled 150: miles, & had a good winde south south west; & at night wee sounded & found grounde at 35: fathom, & it beinge a great storme & windie, wee tooke downe our sailes & mizen, & lett her drive Northwards feareinge y^e^ Land, & at midnight they did Discerne the Iland

[a]...[a] These words are in the handwriting of the other copyist.

of Londy, & then they was greatly glad for all was upon the watch] & y^e^ 28^th^ day of y^e^ 4^th^ mo^th^ wee cast anchor about y^e^ first houre in the afternoone at Kingerode the harbour of Bristoll, and there lay a man of warr, & y^e^ presse Masters came on board us, to presse our men, & tooke 4: and wee had a pretious Meettinge with y^e^ seamen, & y^e^ Presse Masters stayed y^e^ Meettinge, & liked it very well [& one of them saide, y^t^ hee was refreshed more by heareinge of us, then any other people; and after the Meettinge was done] I spoke to him that hee would leave 2: men that hee had pressed [one was lame & y^e^ other was y^e^ mate], and hee said upon my words, hee would, & soe wee came off the shipp in aboate to Land [& it was raine & dirty, & walked about a mile, and friends gott mee a horse, & brought mee] to the Towne called Sherhampton, & there stayed a while & gott horses, & rode y^t^ night to Bristoll [beinge y^e^ 28^th^ day of y^e^ 4^th^ month, Blessings & praises & thanks bee to the Lord for ever & ever Amen.

Soe wee were 28: dayes from y^e^ Capes of virginia to Bristoll, & wee were 10: dayes on y^e^ shipp in maryland & virginia on the water, before wee cleared y^e^ capes, soe in all wee were on the water 38: dayes.]

[a][Postscripts of passages to be remembred.

The Indians at Dalaway lay in waite to cut of some of our Companie as they passed that way but their designe was discovered one being hanged at Dalaway Two or Three days before wee came Thither. The Lord gave us power over all blessed be his name for ever.

At Newport News wee bought provision, where wee was almost frozen and starved in y^e^ woods for 3 or 4 nights & our provision short.

In New England there was an Indian King y^t^ said he saw y^t^ there was many of their people of y^e^ Indians turned to y^e^ New England professors which said they are worse since y^n^ they were before they left their owne religion and of all y^e^ Religions he saw y^e^ quakers was y^e^ best and if they should turne to y^e^ Newengland professors Religion y^t^ made y^e^ people worse y^n^ they were before & if hee should turne to y^e^ quakers which was y^e^ best y^n^ y^e^ professors would hang

[a] Another handwriting commences here.

him and put y^m^ to death and banish y^m^ as they did y^e^ quakers & Therfore he thought it {was the}[a] best to be as he was.

And an Indian said before y^e^ English came y^t^ a white people should come in a great thing of y^e^ sea and their people should be loveing to y^m^ and receive y^m^ but if they did hurt or wrong the w^t^ people they should be distroyed & this hath been seen and fullfilled y^t^ when they did wrong the English they never prospered & hath been distroy'd so y^t^ Indian was a prophet and prophesied truely.

At fflushen assoone as y^e^ meeting was done there stood up a preists sonne & hee laid downe 3 things y^t^ hee would dispute y^e^ first was y^e^ ordination of ministers y^e^ second womens speaking {&}[a] y^e^ 3^d^ y^t^ wee held a new way of worship & I spake to him and demanded what he had against what I had spoken & he could[b] say nothing y^n^ I said it was like y^t^ Christs way of worship which he set up above 1600 yeares agoe was a new way of worship to him and his preists it being in y^e^ spirit and in y^e^ truth & as for womens speaking such as y^e^ Apostles did owne I owned & such as they did deny I did deny but what was y^e^ preists of new Englands ordination for wee doe deny y^m^ to bee as y^e^ Apostles for they have not y^e^ same spirrit as y^e^ Apostles had as some of y^m^selves say but this preists sonne said y^t^ their preists had y^e^ same spirrit as y^e^ Apostles had y^n^ I said to him y^t^ they would have y^e^ same fruits & y^e^ Apostles spirrit did not lead y^m^ to cut of peoples eares and to hang & bannish y^m^ & imprison & to spoyle peoples goods as they y^e^ preists of new England had done, & the preists sonne said y^t^ their preists ministry was as Judas^s^ was and {as}[a] old Elies sonne had & y^n^ I tould him y^n^ must they have their end and Reward & y^e^ preists sonne said for y^e^ proofe of his preists y^t^ they must goe into all nations & preach & give y^e^ supper & y^n^ I said when did any of y^e^ preists of new England goe into all nations & give y^m^ y^e^ supper for doe they goe any further y^n^ they canne have a {great or a fatt} Bennifice or shall people have any pater noster without y^e^ penny & y^n^ y^e^ preist sonne said the preists was of y^e^ Tribe of Levy y^n^ I said y^t^ Christ came not

[a] This insertion was made by Sarah Fell.
[b] Other ancient copy: *would*

of y$^{t}$ tribe for Christ hath ended y$^{e}$ preisthood of ye tribe of Levy & changed it and y$^{e}$ Law by which it was made & christ came not of y$^{e}$ Tribe of Levy but after y$^{e}$ order of Melchesedeck & is {called}[a] y$^{e}$ Lyon of y$^{e}$ Tribe of Juda and soe thou hast cut of all thy preists from being gospell ministers to bee such as deny Christ come in y$^{e}$ flesh.

And at Barbadoes y$^{e}$ preist and {the}[a] Justice combined against mee and y$^{e}$ Truth and stirred up the people against it and they came to y$^{e}$ Generall meeting y$^{n}$ the baptists began first and they bauled & rayled till one of y$^{m}$ foamed at y$^{e}$ mouth one of their Teachers called Hatchman[1] & when he had done one paule Gwin & his company fell on & they bauled and raged till they had spent y$^{m}$selves & they asked mee whether I had y$^{e}$ same spirrit as y$^{e}$ Apostles had & I said I had and away they went & when they were gone stood up y$^{e}$ Lawyers and they made a great noyse and bawling & when their mouth$^{s}$ was stoped they went away y$^{n}$ stood up others & thus they releived one another y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ world tooke nootice of y$^{m}$ & made verses of y$^{m}$ and one of these disturbers his name is peirson[2] of Barbadoes a wicked man which had 2 wives as they said who railed against mee in y$^{e}$ meeting and after was so b...d[b] y$^{t}$ he railed against y$^{e}$ Governor & soe he cast him into prison in Ireons & soe had his reward and afterwards wee had a good Meeting & y$^{e}$ power of y$^{e}$ Lord and his blessed seed was set over all blessed be his holy name for ever. Amen.

The great lord {God}[a] of heaven and earth & Creator of all who is over all carried us by his high hand and mighty power & wisdome over all and through many dangers & perrills by sea and land & perrills by deceitfull proffessors without possesion who was as y$^{e}$ raveing waves of y$^{e}$ sea but made a callme and pirrells of wolves Bears Tygers & Lyons & perrills of Ratle snakes and other Venimous creatars of like poysonous nature & pirrells through great Swamps and boggs and wildernesse where noe way was but for such like Creatures where wee traveled and lodged in y$^{e}$ nights by y$^{e}$ fires & perrills over great bayes and Creeks and rivers in open small boats and small cannows and perrills in great

[a] This insertion was made by Sarah Fell.

[b] Word indistinct owing to the edge of the sheet being torn. Other ancient copy reads *bold*

storms and Tempests in y^e^ ocians which many Tymes was beyond words to utter and great perrills through y^e^ Indian Country^s^ in y^e^ woods or wildernesses by men eaters[1] some wherof lay in waite for some of our company y^t^ passed from us but they was discovered for y^e^ Lords power gave y^m^ dominion over all and great perrills by night through y^e^ could raine frosts and snow {in lieinge}[a] in y^e^ wood and wildernesse severall nights togeather untill some of our companie {had}[a] their hands and fingers benommed when as some of y^e^ world at such times have had some their noses & some their fingers & toes frozen off I was an eye witness of some of these things and pirrells of Robbers by Land & pyrats by sea these Troublesome Tymes wherof y^e^ sea abounds and y^e^ blessed Lord god in his blessed power who by his power stretched over all his Lyne of Life these workers of death and y^e^ Lord god made all easie by his spirrit and power & gave his people dominion over all and made all plaine & low as a meadow & made his great power and glory in his light and truth knowne over all in y^e^ hearts of y^e^ people blessed be his name forever amen. y^e^ Lord was our Convey y^e^ Lord God steared our course y^e^ Lord God who rides upon y^e^ wings of y^e^ wind order^d^ our winds for us who raised a storme and makes a calme & makes his chambers in y^e^ deepe and makes y^e^ Clouds his Charrots to send his raine abroad who when wee were in danger of y^e^ Enimie he raised mists and foggs to blind y^m^ & stormes to scatter y^m^ both evenings and mornings but at noone day he clear^d^ up y^e^ heavens y^t^ y^e^ sunne might be seen for a quarter of an hour litle more or lesse to take our observations and shut up y^e^ heavens againe insomuch y^t^ wee might have passed Through a ffleet of pyrats y^e^ Lord brought over such mists y^t^ wee could see soe Litle distance from us y^t^ the very seamen confessed y^t^ if y^e^ Lord God was ever in any Ship hee was in this Ship and y^t^ they were blessed for this mans sake for y^e^ Lord mad Darknesse our pavillion and so y^e^ presents of y^e^ Lord God was with us all along. When wee were in Virginia there was an Imbargoe & a Convey for y^e^ ffleet lay in Virginia so y^e^ master and y^e^ men held Councell together & their joynt consent was to set saile without y^e^ Convey for England wee heard of Dutch men of warr towards new yorke a master of a ship

[a] This insertion was made by Sarah Fell.

y^t^ came from England came a board of us bringing us news y^t^ hee was taken besides another Sloope & y^t^ y^e^ same men of warr had taken eleven ships more besides his & y^t^ severall Ships were taken about Scilly and y^e^ Coasts {of Ireland}[a] but not withstanding all this darke & black news wee set sayle and in y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord wee passed on. severall Londoners sent to mee to goe in their ships & alsoe severall Bristoll men but I was moved by y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord to goe in this though I said litle to any till y^e^ Tyme and when wee came neare Cape Henry about y^e^ 8^th^ hour in y^e^ morning wee espied a Ship on y^e^ Coast^s^ where y^e^ pyrotts used to be which occasiond some ffeare and Trouble to fall upon y^e^ Seamen. but y^e^ Lord God whose I am & wee are (in a vision) shewed mee 2 Ships to y^e^ westward y^t^ should make towards us but should doe us noe hurt. & so when wee came into y^e^ Road of Barbadoes & new England about 3 or 4 days after wee espied another Ship westward which occasioned some feare to y^e^ seamen but y^e^ Lord open^d^ it unto mee y^t^ was y^e^ other Ship hee shewed mee in y^e^ vision which was noe enimies & y^n^ I desir^d^ of y^e^ Lord God y^t^ if it was his will wee might see noe more ships untill wee came to England to keepe y^e^ feare out of y^e^ people and y^e^ Lord answered mee y^t^ wee saw none untill wee came into king road y^e^ Bristoll Harbour & soe I desir^d^ of y^e^ Lord God y^t^ hee would cleare our Coasts (who was able) from all Theives and pyrats whose power & Life was over all such workers of death & darknesse God who had power over all y^e^ heavens and y^e^ Earth y^e^ sea and y^e^ winds to steare our course & scatter all y^e^ pyrats {to} confound y^m^ {and}[a] drive y^m^ back who did it blessed be his name for ever. & y^e^ Lord God said into thy hand {&} power I have given thee y^e^ ship & paules words came into my mind & all y^t^ is in it y^t^ it should come safe & I tould y^e^ Companie y^t^ I beleeved in {God} & when wee came neare home y^e^ Lord God said unto mee after hee had given y^e^ Ship into my hand canst thou give up thy selfe ship and all y^t^ is in it now to bee taken by y^e^ pyrats so y^t^ all y^e^ Ships y^t^ are behind in Virginia and Maryland might come safe to England & I freely did it & in y^e^ Twinkling of an eye it was given againe and y^e^ blessed God brought us well and safe home & when there was any stormes or foggs y^t^ they could not take observation

[a] Insertion by Sarah Fell.

I was moved of y^e^ Lord to bid y^m^ bee content and have a good faith and keepe over all for it was all good & was in y^e^ will of God {and stood in his will and it was the will of God}[a] y^t^ things should be soe wee had many pretious {liveinge}[a] meetings on y^e^ first days and other days {of the weeke}[a] & y^e^ Lords Liveing presents was felt there as well as on y^e^ Land.

Many places y^e^ Lord carried us through Barbadoes Jamaica I was with y^e^ Governors and pretious meetings wee had in those places & Through y^e^ Goverment of Plimouth & Road Iland and y^e^ Kings province new yorke Goverment Boston new jersie Goverments & y^e^ Goverment of Dalaway and Mary land Virginia Carolina and some to Antegoe & many other places through which the blessed Truth did answare y^e^ witnesse of God. and was received in many to y^e^ Glory of y^e^ great God blessed be his name for ever so blessed be y^e^ Great God for ever who is over all y^e^ heavens y^e^ earth & winds & all evill spirrits who order^s^ all to his Glory who rides upon y^e^ wings of y^e^ wind & makes y^e^ Cloudes his Charrots & stretcheth forth y^e^ Lyne of Righteousnesse over y^e^ wicked and keeps y^m^ in their bound & sets bounds to all things & preserveth his people as y^e^ Aple of his eye. blessed be his name for ever.

And when wee was come into y^e^ harbour I called y^e^ Master & mate & merchant & declared to y^m^ what y^e^ Lord had shewne mee & y^t^ now y^e^ ship which y^e^ Lord had given mee & had preserv^d^ it and us by his power I deliver^d^ up to y^m^ againe.

[b]The Governor of Barbados[1] Received mee very kindely, & bid mee welcome in that Iland; & many persons of quallity are convinced & Loveinge, and Judge ffretwell is become a pretty friende, & his family, and Judge ffarmer was very Loveinge; and Meettings are sett up in every friends house amonge the blackes, some 200: some 300: in their houses, for friends to instruct their families as Abraham did; and from Barbados when wee left it many hundreds of friends accompanied us to the shipp, and wee sailed 1200:[c] miles to Jamaica where the Governor Received us very gladly.]

[a] Insertion by Sarah Fell.
[b] The remainder of the MS. was written by Sarah Fell.
[c] Other ancient copy reads *one hundred and twenty*

[1]*[hen fell to mff from barbadus 1674*

Barbados y^e^ 1^st^ month 8^th^ day 167$\frac{3}{4}$

Deare M F

My very dearly & welbeloved ffreind in y^e^ Lord whom I love & honor Thyne of y^e^ 1^st^ month 8^th^ day 167$\frac{2}{3}$ I received from Swarthmore which was welcome to me, And whose counsell therin to me was {very Seasonable &} as the counsell of a tender Mother to her Child: which I could not but receive and prise as cominge from a fountaine of love which the Lord hath opened in thy heart; whose Streames hath freely flowed forth to mee wards formerly as alsoe now at this tyme: and thy tender care I doe feele & know hath beene towards me for my welfare, & preservation: ever since I was first convinced of the Lords blessed Truth; wherein if I had continued & kept ffaithfull; I might in some measure have answered thy love & care towards me; which would have beene a rejoycinge and comfort to us both; and not a greefe & sorrow as it hath beene. However thy reward is with the Lord; who doth (I beleeve) and will recompence thy labour & love into thy owne bosome. Deare ffriend my very deare love at this tyme is to thee; in my measure of y^e^ Truth & everlasting Light of Christ Jesus: which is the blessed Covenant which the Lord hath made with all people whether Jew or Gentile bond or free {unto which all must come}: in which all is to walke; otherwise they cannot know the {Lord} nor have ffellowshipp with him: nor with his Saints: neither can y^e^ blood of thy everlastinge Covenant be knowne, or witnessed, which washeth & cleanseth from all Sin and all Unrighteousnes: but as this light is subjected to, and obeyed & walked in, even as the prophet of old testifyed saying; all the Nations of them y^t^ are saved, must walke in his light. and it is sowne for the righteous to walke in, and is the just mans path: where y^e^ wicked and y^e^ Unjust & the Unrighteous, cannot walke, nor ever did walke; & so are shutt out from god with whom dwells no Iniquity: and from whom the worker of iniquity is shutt out for ever. And blessed be y^e^ name of y^e^ Lord, who againe hath opened an eye in me; of his infinite mercy & goodnesse & hath let me see my fall, & losse in a great measure: and not only soe, but also the way out of it to

returne unto himselfe, and hath brought me into y^t^ way in measure, and into the Spirituall warfare against that which separated me from God; & hath brought me to waite upon him, in the way of his Judgments; & my hope is y^t^ he will give me patience alsoe to abide & waite there untill Judm^t^ be brought forth into victory; & the Captivity be returned; and that which brought into captivity be for ever ledd captive; by the power of y^t^ blessed seed (which was promissed of old to bruise the Serpents head) Christ Jesus whose right it is to raigne over all for evermore. O I cannont but remember y^e^ great & mervilous love of god to mine, & many poore Soules here in this Island in sending his blessed Apostles and servants to vissit us here, vizt. deare G F: and the rest with him. O it was a blessed vissitation of love to us, even to y^e^ raysinge of my soule out of death, which was even dead in sins and trespases; but now againe quickened by the power of the word of life, through y^e^ preachinge of the everlasting Gospell wherby the blinde cume to see, the deafe to heare; and the dead to be raysed; even as Lazarus out of y^e^ grave soe that my soule (above many) hath great cause for ever to prayse and magnify the name of the Lord on their behalfe: whose Labour of love y^e^ lord hath & will reward for ever.

And indeed as thou mentioned in thy last letter, the pure in me thereby hath againe received a Second resurection. And though it meet with great opposition, & many enemyes; yea greater & stronger then before; and tryalls & temptations many, yet as I am kept low in the feare of y^e^ Lord, I am dayly preserved and faithfull to y^e^ measure of his grace in me I finde it is sufficient for me: ffor he is come who is stronger then he y^t^ is in the world: so y^t^ as Sin hath abounded, his grace doth much more abound {glory to his name for ever}, and {I hope} at length will bringe Salvation and deliver my Soule out of y^e^ hands of all its enemyes, y^t^ it may for ever blesse and prayse y^e^ Lord in the land of the livinge.

Deare ffriend I am here as it were a prisoner in this Island, by reason of my debts & outwards engagments soe that I cannot come from hence till all be satisfyed but must waite till way is made for me: But my wife & Child comes

now in this ffleet for Bristoll if y^e^ Lord permitt, which if I had not beene indebted here, more then I can att present pay; I should very gladly have come with them. Indeed my true & deare ffriend Jn^o^ Stubbs, was in a way to have accomplished my outward ffreedome to have come off for England: but was hindred & stopt by John Cartwright (who was then here) who opposed it, and set ffriends against it at present: but I hope the Lord will worke it all for good in the end.

As for passages here I doe referre thee to J: S: who is the bearer hereof, who may give a more full account of all things here then is necessary for me to do in writinge: whose labour & Service here hath beene great on truthes account (though he had great infirmity & weaknes of body for severall monthes) But Truth spreads, and hath dominion, and meetings are very large & peasable. My deare love is remembered to {thee &} all thy deare Childred, and to all ffriends in those parts.

I should be very gladd once more to see my native Country; if the Lord soe please y^t^ it may be soe. In the meane tyme I desire thy prayers for me, that I may be preserved faithffull to persevere unto y^e^ end ffor I meet with many tryalls both inward & outward, & many Snares & temptations from y^e^ enemy, whereby he seekes by all meanes possible to entangle me againe. But I hope the Lord will preserve me out of them {by his power}, & in due tyme give me dominion over him: for which my Soule breathes & cryes dayly unto y^e^ Lord that it may be accomplished.

Soe deare ffriend I desire to heare ffrom thee as thou hast ffreedome & opportunity for I am gladd to here from thee {at any tyme}. Soe in my measure of the blessed truth my love salutes thee and takes my leave I remaine

Thy ffriend as I am kept in that
which is a ffriend to my soule
Hen: Fell

I have written now alsoe to
thy husband deare G F: by
this opportunity.]

[a][1673] And so on ye 28th day of ye 4th mo{th} {1673 as aforesaid} wee came {safe} to Bristoll: where wee stayde sometime to refresh our selves till ye ffayre[1].

And Margarett & Tho: Lower & Sarah ffell & Rachell ffell came uppe to Bristoll: to mee out of ye north & Jo: Rouse {& Will: Pen & his wiffe: & Ger: Roberts} came doune from London {to see us}: & many ffreindes from severall parts of ye nation came to see us att ye ffayre: & ye Lords Infinite power {& life} was over all & glorious powerfull meetinges wee had there & I was moved to declare howe God was ye first teacher {of man & woman} in paradice: & as longe as they kept under & to Gods teachinge they kept In ye image of God & {in} his liknesse in righteousnesse & holynesse: over all yt God had made in ye blessed state in ye paradice of God.

But when they hearkned to ye serpents false teachinge whoe was out of truth & disobeyed God & obeyed ye serpent in feedenge upon yt which God forbad {ym} then they lost ye image of God & righteousnesse & holynesse & came under ye power of Sathan & was turned out of paradice in ye Cursed state out of ye blessed.

Now then ye promise of God was yt ye seed of ye woman should bruise ye serpents heade & breake his power yt man & woman was under & destroy him & his workes.

And {soe I shewed ym yt} heere was 3 states[b] God was ye first teacher in paradice & whilst man kept under his teachinge hee was happy.

Ye serpent was ye second: & when man followed his teachinge hee came Into misery: & ye fall from ye image of God & unrighteousnesse & holynesse: & from this power yt they had over all yt God made even ye serpent.

But Christ Jesus[c] says learne of mee [of whome all ye types figures & shadows were in ye Law: & all ye prophetts prophesyed of him to which ye promise of God is unto]: hee bruises ye heade of this false teacher ye serpent whoe is ye heade of all false teachers.

And is ye heade of all false religions ways worshipps: & false Chuches.

[a] Narrative continued from page 176.
[b] Ellwood editions add *and three Teachers*
[c] Ellwood editions add *was the Third Teacher who*

And Christ Jesus y$^{t}$ bruises ye heade of him hee sayth learne of mee: I am ye way to God: I am ye truth & ye life & ye light soe as man & woman come uppe againe to God & are renewed uppe Into his image & righteousnesse & holynesse by Christ by which hee comes uppe Into ye paradice of God as man was in before hee fell: & Into a higher state: (to witt) to sett doune in Christ y$^{t}$ never fell.

Now Christ Jesus sayth learne of mee & this is my beloved son saith God heare yee him in whome I am well pleased.

Soe ye son of God is to bee hearde {in all thinges} whoe is ye saviour & ye redeemer: & has layde doune his life & bought his sheepe with his bloode: & wee can chalenge all ye worlde whoe hath any thinge against our way our Saviour our redeemer whoe is our prophett y$^{t}$ God hath raised uppe y$^{t}$ wee must heare in all thinges whoe hath any thinge against our shephearde Christ Jesus whoe leades us & feedes us & wee knowe his heavenly voice whoe hath any thinge against our Bishoppe in whose mouth was never Guile founde: whoe doth oversee us in his pasture of life y$^{t}$ wee doe not goe astray from God & out of his folde.

And whoe hath any thinge against our preist Christ Jesus made higher then ye heavens y$^{t}$ never sinned: & gives {us} freely & commands us to give freely.

And who hath any thinge to say against our leader & councelor Christ Jesus whoe is both holy & harmeless & seperate from sinners.

And God hath commanded us to heare him & hee saith learne of mee: & if wee should disobey God & Christs commande wee should bee like our father Adam & mother Eve whoe disobeyed God commande & hearkned to ye serpents.

As many woulde force & commande us to heare ye hirelinges whoe pleades for sin & ye body of death to ye grave: which is of ye Devills teachinge & not Christs.

But wee resolve to heare ye son as hee & ye father commands.

But some has objected: y$^{t}$ Christ did speak to ye Disciples & ye Jews in ye days of his flesh: but nowe hee is risen: hee does not speake now.

*Aunswr:* [ye Jewes coulde not heare his heavenly voice then neither can ye professinge Christians in ye same

nature now: but ye Disciples of Christ whoe were ye learners of him they hearde his voice then & now.

And after Christ was risen: Christ spoake to ye Apostle Paul & ye rest of ye disciples & to] John when hee writt his revelations & ye Apostle to ye Hebrews hee sayth: if wee neglect to heare him y$^{t}$ speakes from heaven: howe much sorer punnishment will come upon us then did upon y$^{m}$: y$^{t}$ did neglect & resist Moses whoe dyed under ye hande of two or three wittnesses.

And y$^{t}$ was a naturall death: but they y$^{t}$ neglect him y$^{t}$ speakes from heaven they neglect there salvation: therfore says ye Apostle while it is Caled to day: neglect not to heare his voice: soe those y$^{t}$ doe neglect to heare his voice whilst its caled to day: hardens there heartes.

And ye Apostle sayd God att sundry times & {after} diverse manners spoake unto our fathers by ye prophetts: but in these last days God hath spoaken unto us by his son: mark God hath spoaken unto us his apostles & Church by his Son.

Soe as John sayth hee y$^{t}$ hath an eare lett him heare what ye spiritt saith unto ye Churches.

Soe now mark these 3 states as I said before: ye God of truth was ye first speaker in paradice: ye serpent was ye seconde ye false teacher whoe came to bee ye God of ye worlde which lyes in wickednesse.

Christ y$^{t}$ bruises ye serpents heade is ye thirde teacher: whoe says learne of mee: & this is my beloved son heare yee him saith God: & God hath spoaken to us by his son: was ye testimony of ye saintes in ye Apostles days.

And this same God y$^{t}$ was ye speaker: to Adam & Eve in paradice as man & woman comes to bee received upp againe {Into his image}: God is ye speaker again by his son: whoe changhes not glory to his name for ever.

[And much more I coulde write what was spoaken in the meetinges there: & other places upon this subject: but It would bee to large to write thereof {heere}.]

And soe after I had finished my service for ye Lord in Bristoll I came Into Glocestersheere: where wee had many large & pretious meetinges: & ye Lords everlastinge power flowed over ye nation.

And after: I had finished my service there: I came Into

Wiltsheere where wee had many pretious meetinges though {through} some opposition [by one Nath: Colemạn[1]] against ye womens meetinges att Slaterforde[a]: [but as hee went out of ye house {in a rage & passion}] hee[b] sawe ye Angell of ye Lord stande ready with his drawne sworde to cutt him off: [& hee came in again like a deade man: & besought mee to pray for him: & said hee was a deade man: & desired mee to forgive him.

And I tolde him if hee felt forgivenesse from ye Lord whome hee had opposed in his power: & his peoples possession in it: I should freely forgive him.

Then hee came & proferd his service to mee: to assist in ye setlinge of womens meetinges but I bid him waite till hee felt remission by ye Lords power: for ye Lorde had noe neede of him in ye condition hee was in.]

But after hee gave foorth this followinge[c] paper of Condemnation: [{& G: ff: had {had} a vision concerneinge ye opposition of some against womens meetinges: [2]as followeth.}]

And a blessed meetinge wee had {there} ye womens meetinge was established in ye blessed power of God: & {for} all ye heires of it to take there possession of ye Gospell & its order.

[Butt this Coleman: & others: in there opposition askt mee whether it was not ye Commande of God y$^{t}$ a man must rule over his wiffe {& hee woulde rule over his wiffe}: & did not ye Apostle say I permitt not a woman to teache & where did wee reade of women elders {& women disciples}: & Itt was an abuse to ye elders to sett uppe a womans meetinge.

But I tolde him & y$^{m}$: y$^{t}$ hee & they was but an elder in ye fall: ruleinge over there wiffes {in ye fall}: but hee {nor they} must not rule over widdowes & younge women: & other mens wives.

And I shewed him y$^{t}$ Darcas was a disciple & ye Apostle

[a] Ellwood editions (except the Bicentenary which has *Slaughterford*): *Slattenford* It is uncertain whether *Slatenford* or *Slaterford* is the reading of the MS.

[b] Ellwood editions: *one of the Chief of these Opposers*

[c] This paper is not now part of the MS. Journal, but an epitome of it appears in the Ellwood editions.

commands y$^{t}$ ye elder women {shoulde} bee teachers of good thinges {to ye younger}: & though ye Apostle said: I permitt not a woman to teach nor usurpe authority over ye man as alsoe saith ye law ffor Eve was first in transgression & such teachinge as Eve taught her husband & usurped authority over ye man: is forbidden.

But ye Apostle {alsoe} says {y$^{t}$} daughters {&} handemaydes shoulde prophesy which they did both in ye time of ye law & gospell & man & woman was meete helpes before they fell in ye image of God & righteousnesse & holynesse: & soe they are {to bee} againe in ye restoration by Christ Jesus.

And thy ruleinge over thy wiffe & elder{shippe is in ye fall for} thou art in ye transgression & not an elder: in ye image of God: & righteousnesse & holynesse before transgression & ye fall was: nor in ye restoration where they are helpes meete: in ye righteousnesse & image of God: & in ye dominion over all y$^{t}$ God made.]

And soe after ye womens meetinges was setled in those Countrys & I had {had} many pretious meetinges amongst frendes: I past to Morleborough where some of ye magistrates came to ye meetinge & was civell: & moderate.

And from thence I passed to Barthol: Maylens[1] where I had a pretious meetinge: & from thence I past: beyonde Ore: where wee had a large pretious meetinge: & from thence wee past to ye borders of Hampsheere where wee had another large pretious meetinge.

And from thence wee past Into Oxford sheere: visiting frends & from thence to Readinge where wee had a very large & pretious meetinge.

And from thence wee past: Into Buckingham sheere where I had many pretious meetinges: & soe through ye Country visitinge frendes till I came to Kingston {where Margarett & Rachell ffell mett me}.

And after I had visited frendes there I came to London where ye baptists & socinians: & old Apostates were very rude & had given foorth many bookes against us: & a great travaile I had in ye Lords power: before I went to meetinges in London but ye Lords power came over all & all there lyinge wicked {scadalous} bookes was aunswered.

[And after I had visited ye meetinges in London: & all

was generally quiett & ye Lords everlastinge power & seede was sett over all.

I went to visitt Esq: Marsh whome ye kinge had knighted & had made master: of ye Armory in ye tower: whoe was very loveing & tender: whoe shortly after dyed: but hee had beene very serviceable to ye truth: & had his dependans upon ye Lord.]

And after a while I went Into ye Country: Into Essex & Midlesex: & visited frendes in there meetinges & ye schooles & after returned uppe to London againe.

And haveinge sett all thinges streight amongst frendes in London I went doune to Kingston: againe & from thence to Steephen Smyths[1]: where there was many hundreds of people to a meetinge.

And after I was cleere of ye service of ye Lord {in those parts}: I returned to Kingston: & soe to London againe.

And many frends was Imprisoned & had before ye magistrates uppe & doune in ye Cittys & nation: for opninge there shoppe windows: upon holy days & fast days & bearinge there testimony against all such observations of days knoweinge y^t^ ye true Christians did not observe ye Jews holy days in ye Apostles days: neither coulde wee observe ye heathens: & papists holy days which have beene sett uppe amongst Christians since ye Apostles days.

For wee were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus Into his day y^t^ hath sprunge from on high: & are come Into him whoe is Lord of ye Jewish saboth: & is ye substans of the {Jews} signes.

And after I had stayde awhile in London: I {past with} Margarett & Rachell ffell: Into ye Country to Hendon: & from thence to Will: Penns[a] {where Tho: Lower came to us ye next day}: & after wee had visited frendes there wee past to a frendes house nere Ailsbury: & from thence to {Aderbury} Bray Doileys[2] in Oxfordesheere: where on ye first day wee had a large & pretious meetinge: & there I sett uppe in y^t^ Country: two or three more meetinges: freindes beinge very plenty: In those Countryes {& ye truth very much enceaseinge}.

And att night as I was settinge at Supper [ye morninge before I went away] I felt I was taken & ye next morninge

[a] Ellwood editions add *at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire*

wee gott uppe before day: & ridd through ye Country Into Worcestersheere to Jo: Halfords[1] house att Armsecott in Tredington parish where wee had a very large {& pretious} meetinge In his barne [which was very large & pretious &] ye Lords power & presence was amongst us.

And after ye meetinge was donne: & frends many of y^m^ gonne: as I was settinge in ye parlor with some frends there came on Justice Parker[2]: & a preist {caled Rowland Hains[3] preist of Hunniton in Warwickesheere}: to ye house: who came to ye knowledge of ye meetinge through a woman frende y^t^ was nurse to his childe: whoe askt leave of her: M^rs^ to come to ye meetinge to see mee: & shee speakenge to her husbande: hee togeather with ye preist complotted to come & breake uppe ye meetinge {& to apprehende mee}: but through there longe settinge to dinner it beinge the day when his childe was christned they came not till ye meetinge was ended: & frendes mostly gonne [& goeinge: ye further & more full relation[4] whereof {may be seen hereafter}].[a]

[5][*parkeres mitmus against gff*

Worcestershire S^s^]

To the constables of Tredington in y^e^ said Countie {of Worcester} & to all Constables & Tythingmen of the severall Tounedshipps & villages within the said parish of Tredington, & to the keepers of the Goale for the Countie of Worcester.

Complainte beinge made to me beinge on of his Majesties Justices of the peace for the said Countie of Worcester that within the said parish of Tredington in the said Countie there has of late been severall meetings of Diverse persons to the number of foure hundred persons & upwards att a time, upon a pretence of Exercise of religion, otherwise then what is Established by the Lawes of England, & many of the said persons some of which were teachers, & came from the North, & others from remote parts of the Kingdome which tends to the prejudice of the reformed {& Established} Religion, & may prove prejuditiall to the publique {peace}, & it appearinge to me that there was this present day such a meetinge as

[a] Narrative continued on page 275.

aforesaid to y^e^ number of two hundred or thereabouts att Armscott in the said parish of Tredington, & that George ffox off London, & Thomas Lower of the parish of Creede in the County of Cornewell were present att the said Meetinge, and the said George ffox was teacher or speaker att the {said} meetinge, & no sattisfactory account of their settlement or place of habitaçon appearinge to me, & forasmuch as the said George ffox & Thomas Lower refused to give sureties to appear att the next sessions of the peace to be houlden for the said Countie to answer the breach of the Common Lawes of England, and what other matters should be objected against them; These are therefore in his Majesties name to will & require yo^u^ or either of yo^u^ forthwith to convey the bodyes of the said George ffox & Thomas Lower to the Countie Goale of Worcester aforesaid, & there safely to be kept untill they shall be from thence delivered by due course of Law; for which this shall be your suffitient warrant in that behalfe: dated the 17^th^ of December in the 25^th^ yeare of his Majesties Raigne over England &c [1673].

Henry Parker.

[1][*Ordors of the court*

Dies Jovis p̃ p̃^t^ crñ Puř ƀte Marie Virginis Anno XXVI. Cã sc̃di Rs̃

Wigorñ
Dñs Rex
v̄
Georgiũ ffox

Defenđ ducť hic in Cuř sup̃ ƀre de hẽ coř ad subijcienđ &c sub custođ vic̃ Com̃ pređ Ordinať est qđ retorñ ad brẽ illud affileť & defenđ comitteť Marř huĭ Cuř salve custodienđ quousq̃ &c ex moc̃one m̃ri

G Strode
p̃ Cuř]

Thursday next after the Morrow of the purificaçon of the blessed Virgin Mary in the 26 yeare of King Charles the 2^d^.

Worcester ss.
The Kinge
ag^t^
Geo: ffox

The defendant being brought here into Court upon a Writt of Habeas Corpus ad Subijcienđ &c under the Custody of the Sheriff of the County aforesaid It is

Ordered that the Retorne unto the habeas Corpus be fyled And the defendant is Committed unto the Marshall of this Court to be safely kept untill &c

By the Moçon of M^r^ G Strode

By the Court.

[Wigorñ coñ
Dñs Rex
conť
Georgiũ ffox]

[1][*A Coppy of y^e^ letter sent to y^e^ Lord Windsor*[2] *Ld. L: tenant of Worcestersheere from G: F: & T: L:*]

This {are to} Informe {you} y^e^ Lord leifetenant: & y^e^ deputy L^nents^: & y^e^ Justices: off y^e^ County of Worcestersheere: howe unchristian & inhumanely: wee have beene dealt withall: by Henery Parker a Justice {soe caled} in our journey or travell towards y^e^ North.

Wee comeinge to our ffreinde John Hawfords house [{att armescott}] upon y^e^ 17^th^ day off y^e^ 10^th^ mo^th^ 1673: & some ffreindes bringeinge us one y^e^ way: & others {came to visitte} to see us: there: towards night there came y^e^ aforesaid Justice: & a preist caled Rowlande Hains preist of Hunni{ge}ton in Warwickesheere: & demaunded our names & places of aboade; & wee beinge not in any meetinge but discourseinge togeather when they came in [tooke our names: &] made a Mittimus to sende us to Worcester goale [takeinge y^e^ names of others: but onely sent us two to y^e^ goale]: Now whereas hee says in his mittimus y^t^ complainte had beene made unto him: off severall by past meetinges off many hundreds {att a time}: concerneinge which wee knowe nothinge: & whereas hee says farther y^t^ noe satisfactory account of our settlement or place of habitation appeared unto him: both which hee contradicts in his owne Mittimus: {therein} Mentioninge y^e^ places of our aboade & habitation: y^e^ account off which wee satisfactorily & fully gave him; & alsoe y^e^ said Thomas Lower saide y^t^ hee was goeinge downe with his Motherinlaw y^e^ wiffe of George ffox: & his sister to fetch home his wiffe & childe from y^e^ North into his owne Country: & y^e^ said G: ff: saide hee was settinge forwarde his wiffe {whoe had beene at London to visitt one off her daughters that

had lately layne in} on her journey towards y^e^ North; {hee} haveinge received worde from his Mother an auncient Woman {in Leistersheere}; whoe desired {earnestly} to see him before shee dÿed; which hee intended to have {donne & alsoe to} accompanÿ his wiffe {in her journey} as farre as Causell[1] in Warwickesheere: & then to have turned over into Leistersheere to have seene his Mother & relations there: & soe to have returned to London againe: butt by his interruptinge off us in our journey: & takinge y^e^ husbande from his wiffe: & y^e^ son from his Mother {& Sister}: & from visitinge his wiffe & childe soe remote off: wee were forced to gett straungers or whome wee Coulde to helpe them on there journey: to our great damage & there hinderans: soe as wee were forced to say was this to doe as they woulde be donne by: & askt y^e^ preist whether this was his Gospell: & {there} entertainement off straungers: & y^e^ Justice saide hee had saide {it &} hee woulde doe it & whereas hee says they refused to give suretys hee onely askt George ffox for suretys & hee replyed hee was an innocent Man {& knewe noe law hee had broken}: but {hee} did not aske the said Thomas Lower for any: as if It had beene crime & cause enough for his committment y^t^ hee came out of Cornewall & if wee were att a meetinge as hee says in his mittimus: hee might have proceeded otherwise: then by sendinge off us to goale: to aunswer y^e^ breach off y^e^ Common laws: & yett mentions noe breach off any as may be seene in y^e^ mittimus:

Soe wee thought fitt to lay before you y^e^ substans of his proceedinges against us hopeinge there will more moderation & Justice appeare in you towards us: y^t^ soe wee may prosecute our intended journey [as aforesaid].

George ffox
Thomas Lower.

[2][*For George Whiteheade att y^e^ Wheate sheafe in houndsditch these. London.*

Worcester goale this 17^th^ of y^e^ 11^th^ 1673

Deare G: W: E: H: T: Moore

To whome is my love in y^e^ seede of God y^t^ is over all from everlastinge to everlastinge In whome all hath life & blesseinges & peace with y^e^ everlastinge God.

Nowe Concerneinge y^e^ present matters about us] wee was caled y^e^ last day off y^e^ sessions[a]: & y^e^ days before diverse [emminent] freindes beinge heere did speake to y^e^ Justices: & y^e^ Justices spoake very faire to them: & saide: wee shoulde be dischardged: & it was y^e^ generall discourse: & some ffreindes had spoken with y^e^ Lord Windsor whoe alsoe promised faire: & alsoe wee understoode y^t^ a letter came from one Coll: Sands[1] from London to some of y^e^ Justices: procured by D^tr^ Lower[2] [but what was y^e^ Contents of y^e^ letter wee knowe not fully: onely wee hearde It was for both our dischardge]; butt after wee was caled; they begaan with Tho: Lower first to examine him off y^e^ cause of his travell concerneinge which hee gave them an account [as you have hearde before]; butt Parker first made a longe speech in y^e^ Courte; much to y^e^ same effect mentioned in his Mittimus: onely with this addition y^t^ hee thought it a milder course to sende us two to goale then to putt his neighbors to y^e^ losse of 200^li^, which they must have sufferd if hee had putt y^e^ law in execution against conventicles: all which was a meere peice of deceite; for hee had noe evidens to convict us {& them} by: hee comeinge after y^e^ Meetinge was ended: & hee spoake of y^e^ Common laws but instanced none; & then when T: L: had given them a full account: & as hee was speakeinge I spoake sometimes: & they saide; they were upon his examination now; when It came to my turne I shoulde have free leave to speake: & they woulde not hinder {mee} nor ensnare us; but I shoulde have time to speake: soe then they askt mee an account off my travellinge: & I tolde them, as I have formerly mentioned; but more at large: onely whereas hee sayde there was some there from Bristoll; & from y^e^ North & from London, & Cornewall[b]: my Aunswer was: y^t^ these all were but one Company or family: & y^t^ It was a providens y^t^ y^e^ ffreinde of Bristoll {a merchant} was there; to assist Margarett & her daughter in there journey: towards y^e^ North: soe the chaire man said: your relation or account is very innocent: then they sate downe; & whisperd togeather: & y^e^ chaire Man stoode uppe one Simpson[3c]: y^t^ you M^r^ ffox are a famous Man: & all

[a] Ellwood editions add *the Twenty First of the Eleventh Month, 1673*, but the letter is dated the 17th.

[b] Ellwood editions add *at the House, when I was taken*

[c] Ellwood editions add *an Old Presbyterian*

this may be true what you have saide: but y^t^ wee may be better satisfÿed; will you take y^e^ oath of Allegians & supremacy: then I tolde them It was a snare & then they caused y^e^ oath to be reade: & when they had donne I tolde them I never tooke oath in my life[a]; & y^t^ I was cast in y^e^ dungeon at Darby: & kept 6 months there: because I woulde {not} take uppe armes against Kinge Charles att Worcester fight: & was carryed upp to London: to Oliver Cromwell: as a plotter to bringe in Kinge Charles {because I went to meetinges}: & you knowe in your owne Consciences that wee Cannott take an oath; nor sweare in any Case: because Christ forbidds it but this I can speake Concerneinge y^e^ oaths: y^t^ I doe owne & acknowledge y^e^ kinge of Englande to be lawfull heire; & successor to y^e^ realme of Englande: & y^t^ I had nothinge but love & goodwill {in my hearte} to him & all men: & desired his; & there prosperity: y^e^ Lord knowes it: whoe am an Innocent Man: & as to y^e^ oath of supremacy: I deny y^e^ pope & his power & religion; & abhorr it: with my hearte & then they Crÿed take him away goaler:[b] y^t^ fellowe[c] loves to heare him preach then I stretcht out my arme & sayde y^e^ Lorde forgive yee: whoe casts mee in prison for obeyinge y^e^ doctrine of Christ: & when I was speakeinge what I Coulde say Insteade off y^e^ oath; they crÿed give him y^e^ booke: & I saide y^e^ booke says sweare not att all; & though they promised wee shoulde have liberty to speake: & woulde not snare us; but when It came to be trÿed they made noe consciens of lyinge.

Now some of y^e^ Justices had spoken to ffreindes desireinge them to acquainte us y^t^ wee shoulde speake litle & not provoke them: & they woulde warrant wee shoulde be dischardged: soe all people saide wee were as lambes before them; which people tooke notice off: & they are y^e^ more inexcusable: & has manifested there unjust & wicked proceedinges against us [& some have saide It was like Bonners[1] proceedinges: alsoe I askt them what had I beene Imprisoned for this month; y^t^ nowe they had nothinge else

[a] Ellwood editions add *but I had always been true to the Government*

[b] Ellwood editions add *and I still speaking on, they were Urgent upon the Jailer, crying, Take him away; we shall have a Meeting here; Why do you not take him away?*

[c] Ellwood editions insert *meaning the Jailer*

to charge {mee} with: but tendringe y^e^ oath; to ensnare mee by: knoweinge I Coulde not sweare: soe they did not dischardge Mee from my first Imprisonement: butt have as the keeper Informes us returned mee for not findeinge suretÿes to appeare att y^e^ next assises]: soe then Tho: Lower begann to speake againe unto them butt they sayde they woulde not heare a worde {more} from him: saÿinge you may begonn about your busnesse: wee have nothinge to say to you more you are dischardged [then T: L: tolde them by there recommittinge off his ffather; they did necessitate his staÿinge alsoe: for hee was obliged to attende & waite upon his ffather as hee was in duty bounde: they saide they commended his love respect & duty to his ffather; & if {hee} woulde give security for his {fathers} returne to y^e^ assises hee shoulde be att liberty till then: hee replÿed hee was a straunger to y^e^ Country: they saide you have good ffreindes: then hee saide hee was not willinge to engage them upon y^t^ affaire: then they saide I might take my Choice: & if I liket there offer come to them againe; & they woulde doe as they had saide: which was but a farther snare: soe now heere is somethinge for Tho: Moore to move y^e^ kinge upon; seeinge they have not proceeded against us accordinge to law: & did not nor Coulde not produce any law which wee had broken: but onely tenderd y^e^ oath as a snare: & lett y^e^ kinge knowe what I saide unto them insteade of y^e^ oath which they woulde not heare; *& if y^t^ {my liberty} Cannott bee procured {by two or three words} from him: you may enforme your selves other wise as touchinge my removall; which if y^e^ first take not effect: you may obtaine y^e^ other as privately & suddenly as may be: before Parker gett uppe to prevent it: which some thinke hee may indeavour:* soe this is y^e^ substans off our trÿall heere:

Nowe as touchinge y^t^ paper thou desires to knowe off mee which was presented to y^e^ parlament It was y^t^ John Whiteheade & I drew uppe, soe remember mee to all ffreindes as A: P: & y^e^ rest: as though I named them: the truth is over all & these thinges has made a stirre {& worke} in peoples mindes concerneinge it: & It looses nothinge: blessed be y^e^ Lorde for ever & Tho: Lower though hee is at liberty: wont leave mee: but stays with mee in prison till

hee see what may be donne above concerneinge mee: soe lett freindes see y^e^ substans of this: att there Mens Meetinge soe you may see what can be donne, & sende us worde by y^e^ next: soe noe more butt my love.

G: ff:

Tho: Lowers deare love is remenbred to you & hee woulde have E: H: sende him y^e^ K: speeches & Keepers: & what y^e^ proceeds are in parl^mt^.]

[1][*Consaring the oathes to the judges by gff 1673 12 moe*]

What I can say instead of y^e^ Oath of Allegiance & Supremacy.

This I doe in the Truth and Presence of God declare that King Charles is lawfull King of this Realm and all other his Dominions and was brought in and sett up King over this Realme by the power of God and I have nothing but Love and good will to him and all his subjects and desires his prosperity and Eternall good. And I doe utterly abhorr and deny the Popes power and Supremacy and all his superstitions and Idollatrous Inventions, and affirme that he hath no power to absolve sinn. And I deny his Murthering of Princes or other people by his Plotts or Contriveances, and likewise all Plotters and Contrivers against the King and his subjects, knowing them to be the workes of darknes, and of an evill spirit and against the Peace of the Kingdome, and not from the spirit of God the fruit[es] of which is Love.

And I dare not take an Oath because it is forbidden by Christ and the Apostle but if I breake my yea or nay then lett me suffer the same penaltie as them y^t^ break their Oathes.

[From me who desires the Peace & Eternall Wellfare of the King and his subjects.]

George Fox.

[This was tenderd to y^e^ Judges before I was praemunired. And I was Cast into Darby dungeon & there kept six month togeather; because I refused to take upp armes att Worcester fight {against Kinge Charles}: & alsoe I was

carried upp as a plotter {to bringe in kinge Charles} before Oliver Cromwell; by y^e^ presbyterians & Independants: & there kept prisoner a longe while: & now this oath was tendred to me in envy by one Simpson a turnecoate presbyterian.

G ff]

[1][*e m to m f of g f at woster*

London 23° 11 m°. (73.

Deare ffrend M: ff:

In the truth y^t^ is everlasting do I dearly salute the &c:

I Received thy Letter which was very acceptable to us we being in Care how the wouldst gett home & thy daughter being disappointed of your Company we were very glad to heare y^t^ you gott so well home y^e^ mercyes of y^e^ Lord are very Large towards us There hath beene much Raine hereaway & greate ffloods abroad which hath hindred some posts for some days but G: W: Received a Letter from thy deare Husband which signifyes y^t^ at y^e^ sessions Thomas Lower was Released & thy Husbad had the oath tendered & so Remaines noe further in bonds then he was T: Rudiar & E: Hookes did yesterday waite to gett a habias Corpus which they did procure & do Intend either to send it downe per post this night or to send a messenger with it hopeing y^t^ It will be so ordered y^t^ the sheriffe will obey it & y^t^ thy husband wilbe brought up by it either in order to his Release if it can be so ordered or to y^e^ K: bench a person of more Lyberty of which we shall expecte to heare more in a few dayes & frends do hope to have it done which will trouble P. ffrends are generally well here W^m^ Mucklow[2] hath put forth a bad paper & gave y^m^ abroad at Gratious S^t^ meeting which G. W. hath answered Truth is over y^m^ all & shines with my Deare Love as also my wives & Eliz: Moores[3] to thy {selfe} & Rachell & daughters we being all very glad to heare from the & of your getting home so well.

Thy Truely Lo: ffrend
E. Man.]

[1][*G. F. to y^e^ King when they were about to send him to Worcester 1673.*

Which is a matter that hath been laid before the King and his counsell before allready, How that George ffox was going down with his wife, towards the North, and to see his ancient mother before shee dyed, and so to return to London again, And Thomas Lower was going with his mother in law to fetch up his wife and childe out of the North; And going three miles out of the road to one Halfords house, a lawyer an ancient acquaintance of theirs, Justice Parker comes in with a priest & sends them to prison to Worcester: But did not take him in any meeting; and there they were keept till the Sessions, And Thomas Lower was there set at liberty, & the Oath of Allegiance was put to George ffox; And hee told the Justices what hee could say in steed of the Oaths, That hee did acknowledge King Charles lawfull king of England & of these realmes, And that by the power of God hee was brought & set up king here, and had nothing in his heart but love & good will to him & all his subjects. And as for the Popes supremacy hee denyed it & all his Indulgences of murdering or otherwise; And this hee spoke in the presence of God, & them all: And {if} hee broke his yea yea, & nay nay, let him suffer as they that did breake their oath; who durst not swear, because Christ & his Apostle forbids it. And after George ffox being removed to the Kings Bench, is now here at London, And they intend to send him down again to Worster, for refusing to swear. And so hee being the Kings Prisoner desires of the king to free him, or order that hee may bee keept here, who was keept six months in a dungeon, because hee would not bee an officer against the King at Worster fight. And brought up by Coll: Hacker out of his own countrey as a plotter to bring in King Charles, because hee went to meetings; And keept in prison a long time, so wee desire the King will be pleased to take this innocent man into consideration ffor they do intend to send him down within four dayes, because in tenderness hee cannot take an oath.]

[a][And I had a vision when I was lyeinge in my bed at Kingston I saw y^t^ I was taken prisoner & I saw alsoe y^t^ I ridd doune Into a deepe steepe water: three times & uppe againe.]

[1][And after Tho: Lower was dischardged from his Imprisonement by ye bench {att Worcester sessions in 1673}: whoe never {was} examined what hee had beene committed for & had layne in prison 6 or 7 weekes {before} but without any examination {or enquiry} Into ye Cause of his {& my} committment bidd him goe about his busnesse {& they had noe more to say to him}.]

After: ye said Tho: Lower went to ye Justices to there Chamber to know off y^m^ what Cause they {had} to dischardge him & detaine his father: & whether this was not partiality: & woulde bee a blemish to y^m^: then Simpson threatned & sayd hee if you are not Content: wee will tender you ye oath alsoe & sende you to your father: Unto which Tho: Lower Replyed hee might if hee thought fitt: but whether hee sent him to his father or noe: hee Intended to goe & waite upon him in prison: for y^t^ was his busnesse {in y^t^ Country}.

Then said Justice Parker: but M^r^ Lower: doe yee thinke y^t^ I had not cause to sende you to prison: when your ffather {& you} had such: a great meetinge: In soe much y^t^ ye parson of {ye} parish Complained to mee: y^t^ hee hath: lost: ye greatest parte of his parishoners & when hee comes amongst them hee hath scarce any Auditors left.

Unto which Tho: Lower replÿed: y^t^ hee had alsoe hearde [by some of ye parishoners]: y^t^ ye preist of ye parish: doth soe seldome come to visitt his flocke: but once or twice in ye yeere to gather uppe tyths: y^t^ it was but Charity in my ffather: to visitt such: a forlorne & scattered flocke: & therfore hee had noe Cause to sende my father to prison for visitinge y^m^ or teachinge or Instructinge y^m^ {to Christ there true teacher} whoe had soe litle Comfort {or benefitt} from there pretended pastor: whoe came onely to seeke for his gaine: from his quarter amongst y^m^ where-

[a] Narrative continued from page 265.

upon ye Justice[s] laught: for it seemes D^tr^ Crowder[a] 1 was in ye roome settinge amongst y^m^ whome Tho: Lower knewe not butt hee never opned his mouth: & after some other words to ye Justices ye said Tho: Lower: came away to ye prison: to his ffather.

And ye. said D^tr^ Crowder was pitifully ashamed ye Justices did soe play {upon him} afterwods as wee hearde: but hee was soe exceedingely provoakt thereby: as hee threatned hee woulde sue Tho: Lower with an action of defamation in ye bishopps Courte: but ye said Tho: Lower sent him worde hee woulde aunswer his suute lett him beginn when hee woulde & bringe his whole parish in evidens against him[b].

Soe after a short time this D^tr^ Crowder came to ye prison under pretence to dispute with my ffather: & to talk with Tho: Lower about this busnesse[c].

And when hee came in: hee askt mee what I was Imprisoned ffor: soe I said unto him knowest thou not wert not thou upon ye bench: when Simpson & Parker tendred ye oath to mee & hadst not thee a hande in it.

Then said hee: Itts lawfull to sweare: & Christ did not forbidd swearinge before a magistrate but swearinge by ye sun & ye like: which I bid him prove by ye scripture: but hee coulde not butt brought y^t^ sayinge of Pauls: where hee said: all thinges was lawfull to him: &c: & if said hee all thinges was lawfull to him then swearinge &c.

Then said I unto him by this argument thou maist alsoe affirme y^t^ drunkennesse & Adultery: & all manner of sin & wickednesse is lawfull alsoe: as well as swearinge.

To which D^tr^ Crowder: said: doe you holde y^t^ Adultery is unlawfull: & then I replyed unto him yes: I doe: why then said Crowder: this contradicts ye sayinge of S^t^ Paul.

Upon which I caled to ye prisoners[d] to heare what doctrine D^tr^ Crowder had layde doune for orthodox: y^t^ drunkennesse swearinge Adultery & such like were lawfull:

[a] Ellwood editions insert in a parenthesis *who was the Priest they spake of*

[b] Ellwood editions add *and this cool'd the Doctor.*

[c] Ellwood editions add *and he brought another with him, he himself being then a Prebend at Worcester.*

[d] Ellwood editions add *and the Jailer*

soe then Crowder said: hee woulde putt it under his hande: but took a pen & writt another thinge then hee had spoaken & then hee spoak to Tho: Lower & askt him whether hee woulde aunswer it whoe said hee might sende him an aunswer to it: & soe after hee had threatned Tho: Lower: for speakeinge soe abusively of him before ye Justices: & said hee woulde bringe action against him in ye Bishopps Courte: which Tho: Lower bid him beginn when hee pleased hee woulde aunswer him: & bringe his parishoners in evidens against him: soe hee went away: in a great frett in his minde & grumbleinge all ye way as hee went.

And after a few days ye said Tho: Lower sent him [a]this followinge aunswer of mine {& his} whereunto hee putt his name: as followeth[a].[b]

[1][Joseph Crowder

Thy verball discourse spoken unto us {& uttered before severall wittnesses} & thy contradictory manuscript left with us ye 15th day off the 11th month 1673 {by thee & others caled January} under thy hande I have perused: & considered; {& accordinge to thy desire in the aforesaid manuscripte yt I or some other of those caled Quakers woulde aunswer thee: I thought fitt to fulfill thy desire in yt particular & to aunswer thee as followeth;} & in ye first place I finde thy previous discourse & writeinge not to agree: ffor after thou hadst askt G: ff: why hee woulde not take ye oath of Allegians: & hee aunswered thee {in consciens sake} because Christ {& ye Apostle} had forbidden swearinge thou saide yt Christ forbad swearinge {onely} by ye Sun: which thou wert bid prove by scripture: but did not: {& then} thou went from yt: & saide ye Apostle Paul sayd all thinges was lawfull: thereby inferring yt swearinge was lawfull: then G: ff: said by this argument thou maist introduce yt Adultery drunkenesse; & all sorts of debauchery was lawfull; as well as swearinge: then thou askt of G: ff: whether hee thought yt Adultery was unlaw-

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *an Answer to the Paper he had writ, and left with him: which Answer a Friend of Worcester carried to him, and he read it, and said, He would Reply to it; but never did, though he often sent him word, He would do it.*

[b] Narrative continued on page 283.

full; & hee replÿed hee did: then thou saide this contradicts then y^e^ sayinge of S^t^ Paull where hee says all thinges are lawfull: then G: ff: saide take notice all prisoners {& people}: by this preachinge liberty is given to theift murder & Adultery {& insteade of preachinge doune such thinges to ease y^e^ Justices hee preaches it uppe to bringe unto them more trouble}: which is contrary to law; & gospell: & this is this mans Gospell to you; whoe abuses y^e^ Apostles words to tolerate wickednesse: all this with many other thinges was taken in writeinge from thy owne Mouth; & before thy face, & many wittnesses: which thou didst not {then} gainesay: after y^t^ thou tooke paper & writt quite another thinge {& sett thy hande to it} contradictory to thy former assertion: which is as followeth:

As S^t^ Paul sayinge (all thinges are lawfull) does not contradict nor is contradicted by y^e^ sayinge
Adultery, Murder, Drunkennesse } is unlawfull
Soe S^t^ James sayinge sweare not {at} all
Is not contradicted by him y^t^ says
You must take an oath:
But the sayinge All thinges are lawfull
Is not contradictive to those y^t^ say
Adultery, Murder, Drunkennesse } is unlawfull.
Therefore y^t^ preist y^t^ says you must take y^e^ oath of Allegiance does not Contradict S^t^ James sayinge.

This is thy learned logicke; which a puny Schoole boy woulde be ashamed off: for first thou beggs y^e^ question; assertinge what wee ownde: & which thou {in words} didst deny. For As S^t^ Paul sayinge all thinges are lawfull; does not contradict; nor is contradicted by y^e^ sayinge Adultery Murder Drunkennesse is unlawfull {this was our assertion}.

But when G: ff: saide y^t^ Adultery was unlawfull thou didst affirme y^t^ did contradict S^t^ Pauls wordes where hee

saide all thinges were lawfull wherfore thinke not thus to evade; by sayinge one thinge & writeinge another pharisaicall like: but confesse thy error; & lett thy mouth be stopt for ever utteringe such rantinge {debaucht} principles any more.

Now as to thy Minor soe caled

Soe S$^{t}$ James sayinge sweare not at all is not contradicted by him y$^{t}$ says you must take an oath.

Howe contradictory this assertion is to S$^{t}$ James wordes lett all people Judge: y$^{t}$ reades James ch: v: ver. 12$^{th}$: Butt above all thinges my bretheren sweare not; neither by heaven nor by earth; nor by any other oath: {marke} but lett your yea; be yea, & your nea nay: least you fall into condemnation.

Now whether must wee beleive thee y$^{t}$ teaches to sweare & {soe wouldst} bringe into condemnation; or y$^{e}$ Apostle y$^{t}$ teaches not to sweare least they fall into condemnation: & whether if wee shoulde hearken to thee & sweare: & soe fall into condemnation; whether canst thee helpe such an one out of Condemnation y$^{t}$ are not out of it thy selfe: & whether any tender hearte by transgressinge can come out of Condemnation; but through great Judgement: doest not thou teach heere to transgresse Christs & y$^{e}$ Apostles doctrine & Commande; & soe wouldst layde people into condemnation: from y$^{e}$ yea, & nay: which wee keepe to in obediens to Christs {& y$^{e}$ Apostles} Commande; which if wee breake; lett y$^{e}$ same penalty be inflicted; as upon y$^{e}$ perjurd persons.

Wherfore y$^{t}$ preist y$^{t}$ says you must take an oath; & sweare; contradicts Christs & y$^{e}$ Apostles teachinge, Commande & doctrine & are in y$^{e}$ evill, & condemnation, & are y$^{e}$ fooles & blinde guides: y$^{t}$ Christ speakes off: in Math: 23$^{th}$: {& thou y$^{t}$ wouldst pleade for y$^{e}$ lawfullnesse of swearinge in some cases reade} Math: the 5$^{th}$: wherein Christ sayth v: 33: Againe yee have hearde: y$^{t}$ it was saide to them of olde time thou shalt not forsweare thy selfe, but shallt performe thine oathes to y$^{e}$ Lorde: v: 34 But I say unto you, sweare not att all: neither by heaven for It is y$^{e}$ throne of God: v: 35$^{th}$ nor yett by y$^{e}$ earth: for It is his footstoole: Neither by Jerusalem: for it is y$^{e}$ Citty off y$^{e}$ great kinge: v: 36$^{th}$ neither shallt thou sweare

by thine heade: because thou canst not make one haire white or blacke, v: 37: but lett: your communication be yea: yea; nay: nay: for whatsoever is more then these cometh of evill: soe y^t^ was y^e^ true {or solemne} oath which was sworne by y^e^ Lorde which Christ forbidds {as well as false & vaine}: & setts uppe: yea {yea}: & nea {nay} insteade of it: & what is more then these cometh of evill: soe wee are of those y^t^ feares God & dare not disobey Christs commande & doctrine: {nor hearken unto nor obey thee} nor any other preist {whoe teaches to sweare contrary to Christ & y^e^ Apostle}: whoe are more ready to leade into y^e^ evill & condemnation; then out of it: but wee doe {rather chuse to} obey our Lorde & Saviour {Christ Jesus} & y^e^ Apostles doctrine: who commands us not to sweare & for soe doeinge wee {doe & may} suffer by you: whoe pleade for it.

And whereas thou: says in thy {officious} postscripte: whose words are as followeth

I doe in y^e^ name & presence of God professe y^t^ I abhorr from my hearte all popery & popish doctrines and doe charge the people caled Quakers for haveinge there principle of denÿinge y^e^ oath of Allegiance from such papists as have denyed it themselves:

to which I aunswer

y^t^ thy blindenesse & folly still more & more appeares: ffor if thy professed abhorringe of all popery & popish doctrines; be noe truer nor reall; then thy false chargeinge of y^e^ people Caled Quakers for haveinge there principle off denyinge the oath of Allegiance from such: papists as have denyed it themselves {is}; then thy denÿall of y^e^ pope & his doctrine is as false as thy charge against {y^e^} Quakers: for our {principle of} denyinge to take y^e^ oath of Allegians {for consciens sake} or any oath whatsoever {in any case}; is from Christ & y^e^ Apostles commande & doctrine: which was before y^e^ pope & his preists {& principles} was: {swearinge & oaths}; whoe can sweare; & take oaths: & all people knowes y^t^ those thou calls papists will & doe take y^e^ oath of Allegiance: though not y^e^ oath of Supremacy: & therfore thy charge is mendacious & ridiculous in affermeinge y^t^ our principle in denyinge to take y^e^ oath of Allegiance is from y^e^ papist; whoe does not deny swearinge att all as

Christ & y^e^ Apostles commandes, which says sweare not att all but they can & doe sweare, & doe take y^e^ oath of Allegiance; though not of Supremacy: & therfore thy charge is false, & malitious: & extravagant {concerneinge them alsoe}; & is not this a false charge against y^e^ papists alsoe whoe doe not deny to take y^e^ oath of Allegiance; though they doe y^t^ of Supremacy: soe lett y^e^ impartiall Judge: howe much thou art busÿed besydes y^e^ busnesse; for our denyinge to sweare: is from Christ & y^e^ Apostles commande onely: whoe are y^e^ authors & foundation of our principle of not swearinge: & not {from} y^e^ papists: but from him whoe was before y^e^ papists was {as before}.

And whereas thou professes in y^e^ name & presence of God that thou abhorrs all popery & popish doctrines: the pope doth professe God, y^e^ ffather & Creator & Christ y^e^ redeemer & Saviour; & y^e^ prophetts & Apostles in wordes: & dost thou deny this {there} doctrine; as by thy sayinge soe largely thou denys all his doctrines; Is Implÿed; & if soe; then {thou} denÿes God & Christ which hee professes accordinge to thy blinde Zeale; whoe utters wordes without knowledge; as is manifest by thy sayinge when G: ff: saide: Adultery was unlawfull: y^t^ his sayinge soe contradicted Pauls words: & is not this to deny God & Christ: & his prophetts & Apostles whoe denyed Adultery: in thy sayinge to G: ff: whoe saide Adultery was unlawfull y^t^ It contradicted Pauls words whoe saide all thinges was lawfull.

Now what y^e^ Apostle speakes off all thinges beinge lawfull to him: in y^e^ 6^th^ of y^e^ Corinth: where in hee Judges them for goeinge to law before y^e^ unbeleivers; & tells them y^t^ noe adulterer Idolater nor Wantons nor theeves nor Covetous; nor drunkard nor railer nor extortioner &c shoulde not inheritt y^e^ kingedome of God: soe these thinges was not lawfull to y^e^ Apostle nor noe man; but all thinges was lawfull to y^e^ Apostle {y^t^ was within y^e^ law}: & what is lawfull is just, holy, & goode: but Adultery & fornication is not: & soe not lawfull: but all thinges y^t^ are lawfull is within y^e^ law; but Adultery is Judged by y^e^ Lawe; & thou y^t^ says {G: ff^s^: sayinge Adultery was} unlawfull contradicts y^e^ Apostles words: reade over y^e^ 6^th^ of y^e^ Corinth: att thy leisure & see whether G: ff^s^ sayinge Adultery is unlawfull contradicts y^e^ Apostles words.

And when It was askt thee whether any of ye ministers of Christ did sue or cast any into prison for tyth or persecute any for maintenans: thou replÿed: yes for lesse then tyth Peter putt a man to death: to this I aunswer this was ye swift judgement & vengeance of God yt came upon him & his wiffe for lyinge against ye holy ghoast: for It was in there owne power they might have kept {ye price of yt there possessions}; for ye Apostles coveted noe mans Sylver: golde or apparell but labord with there hands day & night to keepe ye gospell without charge, but the Apostle saide unto them: whiles It remained appertained it not unto thee; & after It was solde was it not in thy owne power as in Acts ye 5th & therfore ye Apostle did not putt them to death for a maintenans for his gifts for hee layde noe hands off them {nor Imprisoned them as thou hast donne}: but ye swift Judgement & vengeance of God came upon them & cutt them off for there lyinge against ye holy ghoast: & beware least ye Judgements of God come upon thee & Cutt thee off for thy lyinge alsoe for ye Apostle Peter reproved Symon Magus: & sayde hee was in ye gall of bitternesse & bonde of iniquity whoe thought yt ye gift of God was to be bought {& solde} for money therfore lett all younge Symon Maguses (Acts ye 8th) take heede: of yt gall of bitternesse & bonde of Iniquity & repent: whose hearts are not right in ye sight of God for such has neither part nor felloweshippe with ye Apostles worke: whoe thinke yt ye gifte of God is to be bought & solde for money: & casts into prison for outwarde maintenans: least they be founde to be such whoe serve not ye Lorde Jesus but there one bellyes: whoe saide freely you have received freely give Math: 10th.

Now whereas It was saide be moderate: & thou replÿed I desire not there moderation: & then I tolde thee yt ye ministers of Christ did exhort to moderation; & soe ought thee if thou wert a minister of Christ, thou replÿed yt St Paule sayde hee askt pardon of noe Man: which thou wert bid prove by Scripture but didst not: but Its like in this thou forgetts Christ ye heavenly & spirituall Man whoe forgives sin & blotts out iniquity: for thou was not like to be moderate: whoe threatned to sue me in ye Bishopps Courte for relatinge what thy neighors & parishoners

reported off thee {whoe saide thou receives 600li or 700li per annum for tyth but seldome came to preach amongst them}: & where did ye Apostle use such unchristian expressions but saide ye contrary ye man of God shoulde be meeke; & gentle: & examples & patternes in life & conversation to there flockes; & forbad goeinge to law; which has it not beene thy practise: & forbad {persecution &} covetousnesse; & yt they shoulde not be strikers & contentious: soe ye Apostles bid there flocke followe them as they followed Christ: & are wee to follow you any otherwise: & did not ye Apostle exhort: to turne away from such as had ye forme of Godlynesse & not ye power.

And G: ffs question was to thee att thy partinge whether thou denÿed ye pope of Romes Sacrament & Altar: & his consecrated breade & wine which hee calls God & Christ: & his hoast withall ye rest off his fopperÿes & inventions & 2ly whether thou didst deny yt ye pope had any power to forgive sin; but thou wouldst not sett thy hande to this: which G: ff: & I {& ye people caled quakers} deny with our hands & heartes; whoe has received redemption & forgivenesse by Christ; & if ye pope does professe God & Christ: & holde ye prophetts & Apostles words in unrighteousnesse: God & Christ: & ye Apostles words wee owne though wee cannot owne him whoe holdes them in unrighteousnesse; & {in} a persecutinge spiritt: which were neve(r) given {foorth} from a persecuted spiritt: heere is somethinge in aunswer to thy discourse & written paper: {unto} which much more might be written: but this may suffice at present: & nowe let us see whether thou wilt be as good as thy worde: & come & ly in prison for us: which It may be thou hast had a hande in & if soe repent & seeke a release: as is a christians duty.

Thomas Lower.]

[a]And I was removed to London after I had beene a prisoner at Worcester & had before ye Sessions {where I was tendred ye oath of Allegians & Supremacy by Justice Sympson whose son was arraigned in ye same Courte for murder not longe after}: & then I was removed to London

[a] Narrative continued from page 277.

by a habeas Corpus: & there committed to ye kings bench a prisoner & after: I was had againe before ye Judges: & after a longe debate: had away by ye keeper of ye kinges bench: & then brought againe: & they then ordered mee to bee returned doune to Worcester againe there to bee tryed [{as by my letters to M: ff: farther Appeareth as followeth[1]}.

1674] And there I was had before Judge Turner: att ye Assises: whoe had formerly putt ye oath to mee [& præmunired Margarett]: butt hee turned mee off to ye Sessions & woulde not medle with mee: but said ye sessions must try it before whome I was first brought [whoe lived not long after this].

And att ye sessions I was had before ye Justices one Judge Street[2] beinge chaire man whoe againe putt ye oath to mee: & {caused mee to bee} Indicted though severall of ye moderate Justices would not have had ye Courte to have soe proceeded against mee: butt writt uppe to ye kinge & Councell: a Certificate y$^{t}$ I was not such a man as I had beene represented to bee.

But ye Indictment beinge reade I traversed it: & soe had liberty through ye moderation of some of ye Justices: to goe att liberty till ye next sessions: & then I past uppe to London againe to ye yeerely meetinge: & these {moderate} Justices desired Parker to write a letter to ye kinge: for my liberty: or for a noli prosequi as they caled it because I was not such a daungerous person as I had beene represented for: which though this Parker promised {soe} to doe: yett after hee came to London never did doe it: soe I was to goe doune againe to Worcester to ye sessions: which I did.

And att ye sessions Judge Street aforesaid: after {a} great debate upon ye manifest errors which were founde in my Indictment: which hee himselfe confest to: yett hee bid ye goaler: take mee away & after behinde my backe past sentence upon mee.

And betwixt ye time of this Streets causinge mee to bee Indicted & ye Sessions where hee past sentence upon mee: this Streets onely daughter: was brought doune deade from London [to Broadway]: where hee had boasted what hee would doe against mee & soe from thence to Worcester [which strucke a great dampe upon people.

1674] And then {after hee had past sentence upon mee} I was committed to prison againe where I was kept till ye 12th moth:[& att ye later ende of ye terme caled Hilary terme] I was had uppe to London: by a speciall writt from ye kinge: & brought before ye Judges att ye kinges bench.

And a Concelor pleaded & said: yt they coulde not Imprison any man: upon a præmunire: & Judge Hales[1] ye Cheife Justice said Mr Corbatt[2] you shoulde have come sooner: att ye beginninge of ye terme with this objection: & Corbat said: wee could not gett a Copy of ye returne & off ye Indictment then said ye Judge you shoulde have tolde us: & wee woulde have forct ym to have made a returne sooner: & Judge Wilde[3] said Mr Corbat you goe upon generall termes & if it bee soe as you say wee have Committed many errors: in ye olde Bayley & other Courtes: & wee must have time to looke in our bookes & consider ye Statutes & Concelor Corbatt affirmed againe they coulde not Imprison any man upon a præmunire: but ye Judge said there is summons: yes said Corbat: butt summons is not Imprisonement: for summons is in order to a tryall.

And soe it was deferred till ye next day: & ye next day: they considered ye errors: in ye Inditment: & medled noe more Concerneinge my Imprisonement: & they founde erors enough to quash: ye sentence of præmunire against mee: soe yt I was sett att liberty [ye: last day of ye terme beinge ye 12th day of ye 12th month 167$\frac{4}{5}$]: by ye Lord Cheife Justice Hales: & though there was severall: great men Lordes & others: yt was tendred ye oathes of Allegians & Supremacy {yt day}: & some moved to ye Judges: yt ye oath might bee againe tendred unto mee: & yt I was a daungerous man to bee at liberty: yett ye Judge: said hee had: hearde some such reports of mee: but hee had hearde alsoe many more good reports of mee: & soe hee declared mee in ye open hall to bee a free man: & yt I might goe whether I woulde [{& soe from ye 17th day of ye 10th moth...[a] was I kept a prisoner & tost to & from...[a] to London: & from London to Worcester againe: three times: & soe kept a prisoner till ye 12th day of ye...[a] moth 1674: beinge one yeere & neere 2 months}].

[a] Edge of MS torn.

And A Judge came to this Concelor Corbat aforesaid {after this tryall & said unto him} you have attained to a great deale of honor ffor pleadinge G: ffox: cause soe in ye courte & many lawyers: came to him & said: hee had brought to light in ye nation: y^t^ {which} never was knowne before: concerneinge there not beinge able to Imprison any man: upon a præmunire [which spreade over ye nation & was of great service as may bee sene in ye following[a] papers more at large].[b]

[1][Wigorñ Ss

Ego Thomas ffoley Juñ Aſ̃ Viĉ Coñ̃ pređ Serenissimo Dnõ Regi apud Westm̃ humillime Certifico qđ ante adventũ bſ̃is eiusdem dnĩ Regis mihi direct̃ & huic scedule annex̃ scilt̃ decimo septimo die Decembris Anno regni dcĩ dnĩ Regis vicesimo quinto Georgius ffox in eođm brĩ noſ̃at Commissus fuit Gaole dcĩ dnĩ Regis apud Castrũ Wigorñ in Coñ̃ prđ sub Custodia mea & ibm detenť existit virtute cuiusđm Warranti Henr̃ Parker Aſ̃ uñ Justiĉ dcĩ dnĩ Regis ad pacem in Coñ̃ prđ conservanđ nec non ad diversa feloñ tñsgr̃ & ał malefcã in eođm Coñ̃ p̃petraŕ Audienđ & Terminanđ Assign̄ p̃ Causa in eođm Warranť contenť Cuius quiđm Warrantĩ Tenor sequiť in hec verba ss.

Worcestershire ss. To y^e^ Constable of Tredington in y^e^ said County of Worcester & to all Constables & Tythingmen of y^e^ severall Towneshipps & Vills within y^e^ said Parish of Tredington & to y^e^ Keeper of the Gaole for the County of Worcester: Complaint being made to me being one of his Ma^ties^ Justices of y^e^ peace for y^e^ said County of Worcester that within the said parish of Tredington there has of late bin severall meetings of diverse persons to y^e^ number of fower hundred persons & upwards at a time, upon pretence of Exercise of Religion otherwise then what is established by y^e^ Lawes of England and many of y^e^ said persons some of which were Teachers & came from y^e^ North & others from remote parts of y^e^ Kingdome which tends to y^e^ preiudice of y^e^ reformed & established Religion & may prove preiudiciall to y^e^ publique peace, & it appearing to

[a] First written *followinge* then altered to *fore goeing* and lastly altered back, by another hand, to *following*

[b] Narrative continued on page 310.

me that there was this present day such a meeting as aforesaid to y^e^ number of Two hundred or thereabouts at Armescott in y^e^ said parish of Tredington & that George ffox of London & Thomas Lower of y^e^ parish of Creed in y^e^ County of Cornewall were present at y^e^ said meetinge & y^e^ said George ffox was Teacher or Speaker at y^e^ said meetinge & noe satisfactorye accompt of their settlement or place of habitaçon appearing to mee, & forasmuch as y^e^ said George ffox & Thomas Lower refused to give suretyes to appeare at y^e^ next Sessions of y^e^ Peace to be holden for the said County to answere y^e^ breach of y^e^ Common Lawes of England and what other matters should be objected against them. Theise are therefore in his Majesties name to will and require you or eitheir of you forthwith to convey y^e^ Bodyes of y^e^ said George ffox and Thomas Lower to y^e^ County Gaole of Worcester aforesaid and there safely to be kept untill they shall be from thence delivered by due course of Law which this shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalfe dated y^e^ seaventeenth day of December in y^e^ five & twentieth yeare of y^e^ reigne of his Majestye over England &c. 1673.

Posteaq̃ scilt̃ ad geñalem Quarterialem Sessionem pacis dcĩ dnĩ Regis tenť p̃ Com̃ Wigorñ prd̃ apud Wigorñ in eod̃m Com̃ die Martis in septimonia pẋ post ffestũ Epiphanie scilt̃ decimo tercio die Januarij Anno regni dcĩ dnĩ Regis nunc vicesimo quinto coram Leonardo Simpson Aŕ Johe Winford[1] Mit̃ Henrici Parker Aŕ & alijs socijs suis Justic̃ dcĩ dnĩ Regis ad pacem in Com̃ Wigorñ prd̃ conservand̃ nec non ad diversa feloñ tñsgr̃ & ał malefcã in eod̃m Com̃ p̃petraŕ Audiend̃ & Terminand̃ Assign̄ p̃ eo qd̃ prd̃cus Georgius ffox Juramenť Obedientie contenť in quodam Actu in Parliamento dnĩ Jacobi nup̃ Regis Anglie tenť apud Westm̃ in Com̃ Midd̃ quinto die Novembris Anno regni sui Anglie tercio editt̃ & p̃viso eid̃m Georgio p̃ Justic̃ prd̃cos in aptũ Cur̃ prd̃ adtunc & ibm̃ existeñ debite oblaŕ Angce tendred & requisit̃ p̃ ipm̃ capiend̃ sup̃ Sacrosanct̃ dei Evangelia Juramenť illud adtunc & ibm̃ cap̃e recusavit̃ contra formam Statuti prd̃ci prd̃ Georgius p̃ Ordinem Cur̃ prd̃ce ibm̃ p̃ defcũ Manucaptor̃ remissus fuit Gaole prd̃ ibm̃ remanere quousq̃ p̃ debit̃ Legis formam inde delibaret̃.

Et he sunt cause capcoñ & detencoñ prd̃ Georgij ffox

Attamen Corpus eius coram Dnõ Rege ad diem & locũ in brĩ huic scedule annex̃ noſat paraſ hee p̃rt p̃ brẽ illud mihi p̃cipit.

Tho: Foley[1] Juñ Aſ̃]

[2][*Errors in y^e^ Indictment*

*1^st^.* Its said in y^e^ Indictment to Geo. Fox of Treddington in y^e^ Countie aforesaid gent, And In y^e^ Mittimus Its said, G: ffox of London.

Soe by This there is two Geo. Foxes, The Mittimus sent Geo. ffox of London, & y^e^ Indictment comes against G: ffox of Tredington, And G: ffox of London was taken at Armescott at John Halberts house in his Journey to his Mother, who desired to see him before shee dyed, & when shee heard that Hee was stopt it strake her to y^e^ heart & killed Her[3], as Hee received a letter from a^n^ Doctor of y^t^ Country.

*2^ly^.* And y^e^ word (subiect) is left out in y^e^ Indictment, for y^e^ Oath was for y^e^ better Tryall of y^e^ Kinges Subjects, soe G: ff. being left out of y^e^ Indictment as a subject, was made Uncapable of takeing it, For is itt to bee tendred to the Kings Subiects, or y^e^ subjectes of forreigne Princes? for doth not y^e^ Act of Parliament saye, For y^e^ better Tryall of y^e^ Kinges subjects? how they stand affected in pointe of their Loyalltie?

*3^dly^.* It is said in y^e^ Indictment G: ff: refused willfully & obstinately to take y^e^ Oath, which is not true, for itt was in obedience to y^e^ Commaund of Christ & y^e^ Apostle who Commaunds not to sweare but keep to yea, yea; Nay, nay, which if hee breake hee is willing to suffer as they y^t^ breake y^e^ Oath.

*4^ly^.* And it is said in y^e^ Indictment The Oath was proffred to G: ff: on y^e^ 28^th^ day of Aprill, And Hee was not in y^e^ Court y^t^ day, But Itt was y^e^ 29^th^ daye y^e^ Oath was proffered him of y^e^ same Month.]

[4][*1^st^.* The Indictment is (generalem Sessionem pacis) which ought to have been (Generalem Quarterialem Sessionem) The Generall Quarter Sessions, Soe It appeares not y^t^ y^e^ Sessions wherein G: ff: was Indicted was a Quarter Sessions.

*2d*. Its said The Sessions (Tenť apud Wigorñ pro Coñ PrDicť) Held at Worcester for ye Countie aforesaid which is Erroure, for it should have beene (Tenť apud Wigorñ pro Doñ Rege et Corpore Coñ predicť:) vizt Held at Worcester for ye Lord ye King & Bodie of ye Countie aforesaid, The Sessions ought to be held for ye king & People, & Not for ye People without ye King as in This Indictment, which is a great Errour.

*3ly*. Its said in ye Indictment (In aperta Curia ibm obtulerunt) That ye Oath was tendred in open Courte but say not that G ff was There present, an other Errour.

*4ly*. Its said (ut prefertur oblať) as aforesaid tendred which should have beene (ut prefertur eidem G: F: oblať) yt is as aforesaid tendred unto ye said G: ff: An Errour.]

[1][*e h to mff 1674 of paseges of gff at woster*

Deare M ff

My deare love in the blessed unchangeable Truth is unto thee. even beyound what words can express, & I desire allwayes to be kept Low & humble yt I may enjoy peace & comfort in the holy spirit, & may allwayes be found ready to doe what the Lord requires of me in faith fullnes & true sincerity towards him unto the end of my daies—though I have not had much occation to write to thee of late yett my Love is real. & thou art often in my remembrance the last 5 day Morning thy husband sett forward towards Worcester; since he went I have been concerned to do something in his bussines; I was with Gerrard at Hampton Court last 6 day: but the Atturny Genll comeing late there the bussines was not heard then, I have made use of my Interest to make the keeper our freind & the Clerk of ye Councell hath promised to read it next Councell day & so last 7th day wee gott a letter sent downe from Parker to the Justices to stay their proceeding against him at the Sessions (which begins to Morrow) until wee see what the King will doe in it, I have some hope the bussines may take effect. I leave it to the Lord in whose hands the hearts of all men is Anne Travers[2] Love is to thee she is very weakly and ill. the next 6 day I intend to be at Hampton Court againe and then thou may heare

further from me. my deare Love is to Tho Lower & his wife & to Sarah Susan[1] & Rachell[2].

This is the most at present from thy
Lo. freind E. H.

London. 15th 5 Mo: 1674

Freinds are generally well & things are quiet & well.]

[3]*An Account of G Fs Tryall at ye Sessions at Worcester before Judge Street*

The 14th of the 5th month 1674

Att the quarter sessions for ye County of Worcester, G: ff: was called to ye Bar, & an Indictment. read against him for his not takeing ye oath of Allegiance att ye last sessions before, & there being a Jury Impannelled upon him before whom ye Indictment was read, & there being some Jumble among ye Jury some being scrupulous in theire mindes concerning it, & ye Judge caused ye oath to bee read, & tendred to G: ff: againe, & G: ff: said hee came thither to Traverse his Indictment & to Answer to his Indictment & said to them, was not this a 2d snare to tender ye oath to him [because they knew in theire owne Consciences hee could not take any oath: it being contrary to Christs Command, who saith sweare not att all]: & G: ff: said hee should Answer to his Indictment & said hee had a question to Ask him. viz: whether ye oath was to bee tendered to ye Kings subjects, or to ye subjects of foraigne princes? To which Judge Street said, to ye subjects of this Realme. Then G: ff: said you have left mee out as a subject in ye Indictment, & therefore you have made mee uncapable of ye oath, you haveing left mee out as a subject [& therefore ye Court should take noe notice of it, & ye Jury cannot bring mee in guilty according to this Indictment]. & ye Judge cryed read ye oath to him. & G: ff: said, I require Justice according to ye Indictment. And G: ff: Asked ye Judge whether the tryall was not betweene ye King, & ye body of ye County, & G: ff: and Judge Street said yes. then G: ff: said they had left ye King out of ye Indictment & soe how could hee bee made ye Kings prisoner, & ye King left out of ye Indictment? to which ye Judge said hee was in before; but yt was not ye matter of tryall betweene ye King, & G: ff: & soe ye Jury could not bring in G: ff: guilty of ye

Indictment. G: ff: said & y^e^ King left out. then y^e^ Judge did not deny but there was errours in y^e^ Indictment but said, I might take my remedy in theire proper place. & G: ff: said you know wee are a people y^t^ suffer all things, & beare all things, & therefore you thus use us because wee cannot revenge our selves, but wee leave our cause to y^e^ Lord. & G: ff: said they had put G: ff: in, in the Indictment of Tredington, & in y^e^ mittimus G: ff: of London; & how could y^e^ Jury bring in G: ff: of Tredington guilty of y^e^ Indictment seeing in y^e^ mittimus it was G: ff: of London? and y^e^ Judge said y^e^ oath had been tendred to mee severall times, & they would have some satisfaction from mee concerning y^e^ oath, soe then G: ff: told them what hee had said, & what hee could say against popery. & for y^e^ King instead of y^e^ oath [viz: That if hee did breake his yea, & nay, according to Christs Command, then let mee suffer as they y^t^ breake y^e^ oath]. & this G: ff: offered under his hand, but it would not bee accepted [& told them y^t^ this was more then them y^t^ swore, & breake theire oathes]. and y^e^ Judge cryed to y^e^ Jury you may goe out, but some of them were not satisfied. & y^e^ Judg said you heare a man which did sweare y^t^ y^e^ oath was tendred to him ye last sessions, & hee told them what they should doe. Then G: ff: said hee should leave y^e^ Jury to theire owne Consciences. [& said seeing you put y^e^ oath to mee afresh, whether is my Indictment quasht yea, or nay? And whether y^e^ Jury must goe upon my Indictment for they cannot bring mee in guilty according to my Indictment therefore you put it to mee as a snare, I am to Answer to my Indictment] & soe y^e^ Jury brought G: ff: in guilty. & G: ff: Asked y^e^ Jury how they could bring him in guilty of y^t^ Indictment [in which hee was left out as a Subject? & how could they bring him in guilty for y^e^ King, & y^e^ King left out of y^e^ Indictment? & how could they bring in G: ff: of London guilty of G: ff: offence of Treddington? for these bee 2 G: ff: & hee knew noe G: ff: of Tredington? & G: ff: said hee was cast into y^e^ dungeon in Darby because hee would not bee an officer against y^e^ King, & was brought up to London to Oliver Crumwell, by Collonell Hacker, as a plotter to bring in King Charles because hee went to meetings & was taken att a meeting & kept there a great while a prisoner, & there hee

had been a great part of his time since, and y^e^ Judge told G: ff: how favourable they had been to him. and G: ff: said how could hee say soe? was ever any man worse used then hee had been, being stopt in his Journy who was travelling with his wife & going to see his mother? soe hee told y^e^ Judge y^t^ it was said in y^e^ Indictment y^e^ oath was offerred to him such a day, & hee was not in y^e^ Court y^t^ day. To which y^e^ Judge said all y^e^ dayes were one as to y^e^ sessions. soe G: ff: told him hee knew y^t^, but his tryall was not y^t^ day. and y^e^ Judge said to G: ff: y^t^ hee rambled away to London. but G: ff: said hee scorned y^t^, hee abhorred y^t^. hee should not say soe, hee did not run away to y^e^ Kings bench, hee was removed by a Heabeus Corpus. & then G: ff: asked him a question in y^e^ presence of y^e^ Lord God in whose presence wee are all, viz: whether this oath was not tendred him in envy? to which y^e^ Judge said would I had never come there to trouble them, & y^e^ Country. so G: ff: said y^t^ hee was travelling on his Journy, they had brought it on them selves, for hee troubled them not.] and then y^e^ Judge told G: ff: what a sad sentance hee had to tell him. [soe G: ff: said to y^e^ Judge hee had somthing to say before hee gave sentence. viz: whether, or noe, hee could passe y^e^ sentance as a subject, & y^e^ word subject left out of y^e^ Indictment? And how hee could passe sentance for y^e^ King according to y^e^ Indictment & y^e^ King left out of y^e^ Indictment? & how hee could bee made y^e^ Kings prisoner & soe went on with many words, & said how y^e^ oath was made only against papists, & G: ff: bid them read y^e^ preamble to y^e^ Act which said y^e^ oath was for y^e^ discovering of popish Recusants, but they would not {read it}.] & then hee told mee what a sad sentance, y^e^ sentance of a primmunire was, which was y^t^ I must forfeit my Liberty, & all my goods, & Chattles, & indure Imprisonment terme of life, & soe they looked wishfully on mee, & y^e^ Truth, & Life, was over all. soe I Asked him whether hee spoke y^t^ by way of Admonition? or whether it was his sentance? soe hee said it was not y^e^ sentance. soe hee bid y^e^ Goaler take mee away, & keep mee a safe prisoner. soe G: ff: desird y^e^ Lord to forgive them. & spoke severall words to y^e^ Jury who were gathered aboute him. & one of y^e^ worst of them would have tooke him by the hand, but G: ff: would not give him his hand, but said to him how now Judas, hast thou now betrayed mee? & dost thou

now come with a kisse? soe I bid him, & them, Repent. & soe was brought away to y^e^ prison, where I am.

Notwithstanding, Judge Street said in y^e^ morning before my tryall to [a]D: B: & E: B:[a1] y^t^ if hee had been upon y^e^ Bench the first sessions, hee would not have tendred y^e^ oath to G: ff: but if hee had been Convicted of being att a Convinticle, hee would have proceeded against him according to y^t^ Law. & y^t^ hee was sory y^t^ ever hee came before him. & yet hee malliciously tendred y^e^ oath to G: ff: in y^e^ Court againe, when hee was Travesing his Indictment, & generally all y^e^ Justices, & people, were sivill, & quiet. & none of y^e^ Justices speake a word as I heard, but y^e^ Judge, & Twitty[2], & y^e^ Lawyer, John Ashly[3], who was friendly y^e^ last time, & speake for G: ff: now. & speake & pleaded y^e^ errours of y^e^ Indictment. but y^e^ Judg of y^e^ Court would not regard, but would over Rule all.

And Although I Asked Judge Street in y^e^ open Court when that hee told mee, what y^e^ danger of y^e^ sentance would bee to forfit my Liberty & forfit my estate goods & Chattles & Imprisonment dureing life, I asked him whether hee speake this as his sentance & Judgment or in a way of Admonition, & his Answer was it was an Admonision & not y^e^ sentance for I said I had much to say to him before hee passed sentance & reasons y^t^ hee could not passe sentance according to y^t^ Indictment & soe hee bad y^e^ Goaler take mee away & when I was gon y^e^ Clarke of y^e^ Court Twitty Asked Street whether y^t^ was his sentance & hee & the Justices Considered togather & Street told y^e^ Clarke of y^e^ peace y^t^ was his sentance & should stand [& here a Lye was found in his mouth] & this was done behind my Back to save him selfe from y^e^ shame in y^e^ face of y^e^ Country for I looked to bee called againe [& some said y^t^ Judge Street said I had removed my selfe to y^e^ Kings Bench for Justice but now they had done mee Justice. And I doe heare y^t^ y^e^ people are much disatisfied with theire proceedings. Soe you may read this in y^e^ men & womens meetings y^t^ they may bee satisfied concerning things with mee who desires y^e^ same.

Worcester prison the 16^th^
5^th^ month 1674. G: ff: Keep a Coppy of this.]

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *some Friends*

[1][Deare M ff

My deare Love is to thee & to all thy Children since...[a] wrote to thee G ff had a Tryall not with standing Parkers letter, & by this relation thou may understand how they have proceeded against him—the last 6 day I was at Hampton Court & the paper was read the first in y^e^ Councell, but the king said he would not meddle with it & so I came away. I am at present at Stephen Smiths his Love is to thee & Rachell. & Sarah Travers[2] remembers her deare love to thee & Rachell. So this is the most at present from thy Lo freind

Ellis Hookes

Warplesdon 23^th^ 5 Month
1674]

[3][These are to desire y^e^ Judges to reade & consider y^e^ Cause of George ffox whoe is now a prisoner in Worcester goale for refuseinge to Sweare ffor consciens sake;

Sheweth y^t^ whereas George ffox was travellinge; with his wiffe, son & daughter law; from London Intendinge to visitt his Mother; an auntient woman of above 70 yeers olde; whoe greatly desired to see him before shee dyed; beinge weake & aged as aforesaid: whoe when shee hearde; hee was stopt; & sent to prison; It strucke to her hearte & killed her: as hee received a letter from a Docter of y^t^ Country to y^t^ effect; & calinge to visitt his ffreinde John Halforde; & other his ffreindes att Tredington hee was taken by Justice Parker; & sent to Worcester goale with his son in law Thomas Lower upon pretence of beinge att a meetinge; which Insteade of Convictinge us off; att y^e^ next quarter sessions; Justice Simpson; & Justice Parker tendred mee y^e^ oath of Allegiance & supremacy: of purpose to Insnare mee: ffor they knew I coulde not sweare for conscience sake & did not contemptuously or wilfully refuse to take it, but in obediens to Christ & y^e^ Apostles commande whoe forbidd swearinge att all: after which I was removed to y^e^ kinges bench in order to my tryall there; & from thence; through some mens Instigation & solicitation; I was ordered to be returned to this place againe; where att y^e^ Assises foregoinge {this} I was brought before Judge Turner

[a] Edge of paper torn off.

whoe turned me over to y^e^ sessions; where beinge brought: & Indicted for refuseinge to sweare; I traversed y^e^ Indictment; & att y^e^ sessions followeinge I appeared, & pleaded to my Indictment: In which there was soe many manifest errors; y^e^ least of which was sufficient to quash y^e^ Indictment: if Justice or mercy had beene shewne unto mee: The errors were as followeth:

*1^st^* It is saide in y^e^ Indictment y^t^ y^e^ oath was tendred to George ffox of Tredington in y^e^ County aforesaid: gent: And in y^e^ mittimus George ffox of London is sent to prison: soe by this there was two George ffoxs proceeded against: y^e^ mittimus sent George ffox of London: & y^e^ Indictment comes against George ffox of Tredington:

*2^ly^* The worde subject is left out of y^e^ Indictment: for y^e^ oath was for y^e^ better tryall of y^e^ kings subjects soe George ffox beinge not mentioned as a subject: was made uncapeable of takeing it: for is y^e^ oath to be tendred to y^e^ kings subjects? or y^e^ subjects of foraigne princes? if to y^e^ kings subjects onely: then whether they ought not to be mentioned as such:

*3^ly^* And it is saide in y^e^ Indictment y^e^ oath was proferrd to George ffox one y^e^ 28^th^ day of Aprill; whereas y^e^ saide George ffox was not in Courte y^t^ day:

*4^ly^* The Indictment is (generalem Sessionem pacis) which ought to have beene (generalem quarterialem sessionem pacis): y^e^ generall quarter sessions: soe it appeares not y^t^ y^e^ sessions wherein George ffox was Indicted was a quarter sessions:

*5^ly^* Its saide y^e^ sessions: (tenĩ apud Wigorñ pro Coñ p̃dicĩ) helde att Worcester for y^e^ County aforesaid which shoulde have beene: (tenĩ apud Wigorñ pro Doñ Rege et Corpore Coñ predicĩ) (viz) helde att Worcester for y^e^ Lorde y^e^ kinge & body of y^e^ County aforesaid: The Sessions beinge to be helde for y^e^ kinge & people; & not for y^e^ people without y^e^ kinge; as is in this Indictment:

*6^ly^* Its saide in y^e^ Indictment in aperta Curia iƀm obtulerunt: y^t^ y^e^ oath was tendred in open Courte but say not y^t^ George ffox was there:

7ly Its saide (ut prefertur oblat̃) as aforesaid tendred; which shoulde have beene (ut prefertur eidem G: ff: oblat̃). yt is as aforesaid tendered unto ye said George ffox:

Neverthelesse they proceeded upon ye Indictment: & yett tendered mee ye oath againe; before ye Indictment was quasht: which Judge Street saide was not quasht: & yett tendered mee ye oath anew after I had pleaded to it; upon which ye Jury brought mee in guilty: & Judge Street thereupon rehearsed ye daunger of a præmunire: which ye said George ffox askt whether It were his admonition or his sentence; & hee aunswered It was by way of admonition & not his sentence: ffor I saide I had much to say to him before hee passt sentence: ffirst howe coulde hee passe sentence upon mee whoe was not Indicted as a subject: or make mee ye kinges prisoner: when ye Courte was not helde in ye name of ye kinge: soe hee bid ye goaler take mee away: After which when in prison: I understoode yt hee shoulde say to ye clarke of ye peace: yt those words shoulde stande for his sentence.

Soe I desire you to consider whether these proceedinges against mee: be accordinge to law or Justice: whoe am an Innocent Man: & desire Nothinge but ye good off ye Kinge & all his subjects.

George ffox:]

This was delivered by M: ff: & Tho: Lower to Judge Wilde: whoe after hee had reade ym shooke his heade: & saide wee might try ye validity or Invalidity of ym if wee woulde.

[1][How cane I come to bee sett att Liberty by the King: or bee said to bee his prisoner when the Kings name is not in the Indictment upon which the triall betweene the King and I must bee.]

[2][*T more to gff*

7th 6/m 74

Dear G: ffox

I have Heard of thy sickness, & am in Trouble therfore, but the Lords will, lett it be alwayes don, & in that wee

reioyce above all & my soule is refresh't beyond my trouble in him, I owe thee much love, & in that blessed love of God which the Lord hath planted in me do I dearly salute thee & all that truly feares the Lord with thee.

G: Whithead & Ellis Hookes was with me yeasterday who did aquant me with thy sickness, & beinge in London about two weekes since I ther heard thy adversaries had passed the sentence of premunire on thee, so that now thou art within the kinges power only to discharge thee, I was thinkinge what to do about it when last in London but I ther heard Will$^{m}$ Mead had undertaken to endeavor thy discharge which for present tooke me of. but now since I heare by G: Whitehead he dispaires of doeinge thee service: so that yeasterday I have ordered Ellis Hookes on next first day to meet me at Kingstone & to ride with me to Windsor wher wee have appoynted G: Whithead to meet us & wher I heare the Kinge is. Truly deare Geo: though I am made to goe; out of my deare & tender Love which I owe thee (the Lord haveinge made thee an Instrument of good to me) yett I see nothinge before me how I may do thee service, my way seemes to me to be hedgd up, but in the faith haveinge Confidence in the Lord who may oppen a dore for me in this do I goe & know I shall feele my reward whatever may be the Issue & resolve in my hart, if the Kinge shall deney me (who intend to aquant him with thy sickness) to shew him, thy sufferinges must lie at his dore. Thou mayst heare farther of our proceedings. I feele thy sufferings, who am

Thy friend Tho Moore.

Deare Hart: my deare & tender Love to thy
wife & Leno: ffell.]

[1][*thomas more to gff*

Kingstone 14$^{th}$ 6/$_{m}$ 74.

Deare G: ffox

About 4 or 5 dayes I wrote to thee from my howse, when then goeinge to Kingston & from thence to Windsor wher the kinge was (& now is) to serve thee, but very unhappily some friends had gott thether before me (out of

true love to thee) & when I came thether I found they had obtained by Arlingtons[1] meanse an order from the Kinge to sett thee at Libertie for some Covenient tyme whilst thou shouldst gaine health but on such Tearmes as I know no true Christian Cann answer them in when I had read the Kinges reference which was to the keeper I tould friends they were quite out in assentinge to the delusion by Arlington who takes sometymes an occation to hurt us rather then to help us as he hath don at this tyme.

I returned from Windsor & Came back againe to thy sonn Rowse his howse & was much troubled at what was don & the next morninge Could not be sattisfied but I went to the Kinge (who was by that tyme Come from Windsor to Hampton Court about a weddinge which was to be ther) this I did on purpose to destroy what was don by friends before & to put the business of thy Release on a new & more firme bottom ;

The Kinge received me with a great deale of kindness tould me he was glad to see me & when I had oppened thy condiçon to him he answerd me with much love & seemd to have a little sence of thy sufferings, he would advise with the Lord Keeper[2] about it & the next morninge wisht me to attend him. I lay that night at thy sonn Rowse his howse & he & I & his brother Tho: Rowse {went} very early wher wee found the Kinge in bedd.

And after haveinge made the Duke of York for us Prince Rupert[3] Lawderdale[4], the Lord Keeper & others who seemed in some sence to affect our Cause, haveinge spoken againe that morninge with the Kinge before, them...[a]

Soone after the Counsell satt {at Hampton Court} & our business was put a foote in the Counsell none beinge against it that I know but all for it, but in the Interime Came in Arlington (who had Mystated the business to thee Kinge 3 or 4 dayes before scurvily) the Kinge haveinge forgott what he had don but went simply on to do it againe. Then Arlington did aquant the Kinge & Counsell that the Kinge had don somethinge for the prisoner before, which caused them all to alter their resoluçons & concluded that forasmuch as it was don already ther was no need to proceed farther & so gave it over & the Kinge Comeinge

[a] Corner of paper torn off.

from Counsell tould me as much & though after beinge much prest by me to alter what he had don would not be perswaded so to do, but what is don is in the hands of some friend as G: Roberts Ellis Hookes thy sonn Rowse G: Layte &c to make what use they cann of It to the keeper (to whom thy business is referrd) who I thinke Intents to try what may be don but I hope it will Come to nothinge (for I cann have no hand in it) That I may begin the matter anew, for deare George my hart is with thee & partakes of thy wrongfull sufferings but am reioyced thou hast Comfort therin from the Lord God who is my life, & hath bin my reioyceinge in my restraint disverse tymes who by his mighty power hath now sett me over all those thinges blessed be his holy name forevermore.

Thus I thought it my part to give thee an accoumpt of my servace for thee who owe thee very much & shall & am made willinge to spend & be spent for thee whom my soule in God Loves & am with deare love

In truth Tho Moore.]

[1][*gll to gff*

15 of y^e^ 6^th^ mo^th^ 74

Deare G ff

My deare love is to thee in the love of God and in the Covenant of light and life in which I dearely salute thee at this time and in the senc of the same I am as if with thee and thy sufrings in spirit I have in sum mesur felt I can truley say But Gods power is over all for ever deare G: ff it was in {our} my hart in the senc of the love of God to goe to the king Jane Wood Cock[2] & Martha Fisher had in there[a] to goe also and Will Beech[3] went with us and wee went to winser Castell and sune afterward there Came a man of the gard {that} knew me I had don him a kines hee went with us wee Being strangers {hee} Cared us to the Cheefe place of it wee understanding the princ was there I sent By his peag to speake with him and hee sent I should Cum to him I went and shewd him a paper that I had writen of what wee desired Concering thee hee tould me hee would atend the king a Bout it and so hee Bid us

[a] A word appears to have been omitted, perhaps *hearts*

for the king was gon a hunting and would retorne at night when hee Came Marth delivered the paper to him and said shee had a frend that staid to speake with him and hee Came Just By me and pointed at me and quickley got away {saing thar is another of hur frends}. the princ went to him then and the duke of munmoth[1] whoe promised me to speake also and doe what hee Could in it the Both spoke to the king and hee denied them and they Both Came and tould me so I was a litell Esed in what they did But in the morning wee all did rise Be time and went to him and martha went up to see for him But when hee saw hur hee tould hur hee would not speake with hur I waited at the staires {with Jane woodcock} whare they all ware to Cum hee went a nother way as sune as I hard that I went after him and Before hee had taken Coach I Came up to him and the power of God was a pon me and I spoke in the senc of to him whare maney of his nobells ware that hee would heere me a few words for I had a desire to speake with him this maney yeers hee tould mee hee would heere me I tould him the thing at this time was onely Concering afrend of mine whoe was a prisner at Woster and under a primunarey for not swering whoe was verey sick and weake I desired his in largment for his helth sacke hee tould me hee would Consider of it and hee would doe what hee Could in it the Duke of Munmoth standing one the one sid of the king and I one the other hee smiled one me to see what the king had promised me which the night Befor hee denied to them Both Arlington seeing Martha and Jane would know what our Busines was thare shee gave him the paper of what wee desred of the king hee Caled his peag and Bid him Carey it to his ofis to drawe it up aCording to lawe and hee would mind the king of it to get it don that evening But the king Came werey from hunting in the morning wee atended him againe Arlington Caled his Seceterey to Before us and Bid him draw up the Busines and hee would trie the king to sine it that night I asked him if hee would send it By post or give it to one of us hee tould mee whoe wee would I Brought John Rouse to him hee tould us hee should have it the next day morning so wee went whome one the 7 day evning when the King Came hee was not willing to sine that paper which was then thare But

granted the paper of Arlingtons whoe hee drew up in the maner of a petision and ordred him to write so apon it that if what wee had said ware so that hee should Be in larged during pleasur as wee desired and the Clerke or sum of them wrote in it alsoe that securety should Be given that thou should Be furth Cuming if Caled for the order John Rouse has and Eles Huckes for the geting it past the lord keeper whoe has Bine sum dais out of toune and what they have don in it I Canot Justly tell But in a feu day thou mayest hear for then I was willing to give the the aCount of the whole Busines haveing had true peace with the lord in my sowle ever sinc.

Deare G: ff: Jane woodcock and martha fisher deare love is to thee with maney frends more. My Father and Mothers love is to thee as also my wifs and to deare lenard fell and to all deare frends with thee from Thy frend

Gilb: Latye.

Lon the 15 of 6$^{m}$ 74]

[1][*Ellis Hookes to G: ff:*

Deare G ff

My deare Love is unto & to Margaret this is to lett thee know that I wrote last 6 day to Thomas Moore about thy bussines, & he is willing to doe what he can but he thinks y$^{e}$ king being lately moved in it & doeing something (though to no purpose) it is better to lett it rest a while. the king will be in Towne next week I heare he comes to stay till he goes to Newmarket which will be shortly, I thought if Margaret had freedome to come up & speak with him it might have have some good effect. he haveing a respect to her. she may come up in the Coach & Tho Moore will be willing to help, I wrote to thee at large last 5 day how the matter stands which I suppose thee hast received before Now, Anne Travers deare Love is to thee & thy wife. I have not much more to acquaint thee of at present but that I am thy Lov. freind

E H.

London. 27$^{th}$ 6 Mo: 1674]

[1]*Tho: Moores letter to G: ff:*

3d 7/m 74.

Dearely beloved
G: ffox

Thine yeasterday I received sent from London, & find thou hast received my two letters & that thou hast heard what proceedinges hath bin by some friends to obtaine thy enlargment which as thou hast said, did Indeed much greive me when I came to Windsor not knowinge any thinge of their beinge ther before, much less of any attempt to be made by any, & sure I am, I have not known any friends so betrayd in any business with the kinge sence I was Convinced & do Indeed Judg that their understandinge {was} taken away or Else sure they would never have admitted of an order that did enioyn the keeper to examine the truth of the matter & take suffitient securitie for thy libertie for some convenient tyme or untill thou shouldst be required; This must Imploy securitie to the shreife in whose Coustodie thou art & make thee liable to be remanded againe at his pleasure, & likewise the order did Imploy the securitie must be bond In the meane tyme for thy good behavior, which I tould G: Whitehead whom I Judg had no hand in the Pettiçon to the kinge (for such it was also) would be required by the keeper on sight of the kinges order, & which I suppose friends found on applycaçon to him to True.

Indeed deare George this hath hedgd up my way for in the trouble of my soule though I Could not after all, but goe to the kinge, haveinge {yett} noe sight of any prosperitie, but in the faith hopeinge on the Lord, & a Cloud beinge in my sight before me, yett when I came to him, was never receved by him with those expressions of kindness from him, he tellinge me he was glad to see me which I beleeve by is deportment to me, & his regard of my request he haveinge forgott what he had don by the applicaçon of those friends for thee a day or two before which I prayd to the Lord he might before I went to him (which the Lord answered) was really in his hart & after the next day he biddinge me then attend him concerninge thee at

Counsell never since I was convinced did I receive more kindness from the duke of York duke of Monmouth Prince Rupert duke Lauderdale with the Lord Keeper all whom I had possest with my business to be heard that morninge in Counsell which was held at Hampton Court in the kinges bedd Chamber (a Cabenett Counsell) & before they satt beinge mett, I wrote a few lynes to the kinge which I sent in to him to mind my business who moved it forthwith in Counsell, all beinge for it whom I had before possessed, & In a moment all was dasht in peeces Arlington tellinge the kinge (whom two or 3 dayes before had brought our Inocent friends into that snare, & had drawn a pettiçon for them telling them it should be his Pettiçon & yett made it the Pett: of the Quakers) tellinge the kinge he had don that business before wherupon the King & Counsell desisted & would not be perswaded to meddle in it any more nor would the kinge alter any thinge in the order (though much prest to it by me) that he had don. So that now deare freind I may Judg the kinge might thinke me subtile to request him in a business which he had don before I was forct to tell him (after Arlingtons discoverie) that his order did hurt us Instead of healpinge us & did testifie against it what I could as beinge no part of a Christian to give securitie our yea beinge our bond, nor Could wee be made lyable to the wicked requirings of an evill shrife or any Justice of Peace or Jaylor which I tould him that order would bind us unto beinge observed, but nothinge though much more was spoken by me to him & also to Arlington, would take place in them & so left it advising those poore betrayed Inocent friends not to proceed farther, tellinge them the danger which might follow to us as men & also Espetially as Christians & I am assured this maner of applycaçon, & matter also of the order will be thrown on me when I shall come amongst them whom my deare God hath heatherto preserved (haveinge alwayes been kept in his feare before them) from their temptaçons & subtill Insinuaçons. yett deare Hart I am not discouragd but the Lord (whose name be over all for ever blessed) hath & doth beare up my hart & I am made willinge yea exceedinge willinge to serve the Lord on thy behalfe whom he hath made my soule to Love blessed eternally be

his holy & righteous name who hath redeemed me from their poluçons. I have write to Ellis Hookes this night to Inquire if the king be Come to White Hall & to lett me forthwith know; I shall as the Lord shall make my way to London speake with Will: Pen as thou desirest, but I thinke the remidie will be worse then the desease if error be found for they haveinge thee in their Coastodie (if that plea be allowed), may find a way to tender the oath againe such malice & mischeife hath bin hatched by men of Corrupt minds, but wee shall further Consider of it as the Lord shall direct, & thou mayst heare more hereafter. This with my most deare love to thee thy deare wife whom I am glad is with thee, & possibly may obtaine somethinge of libertie I know the Lord will be with her whom he hath made wise.

I am deare Geo:
T: M:

My love to Tho: Lower & L: Fell.]

[1][*Ell: Hookes to M: ff:*

Deare Marg[t]

My deare Love in y[e] Everlasting truth is to thee and to deare George this enclosed is from T. Moore which mine is cheefly to cover, this day week the king came to Towne, & I heare he intends to goe to Newmarket some sayes in 14 dayes & some say it will be 3 weekes first; I have wrote Thomas Moore word y[t] if he will come up I may send downe a Coach for him by reason he is so weak; & cannot ride a horsback. I am glad to heare y[t] George is something better in his health; my deare Love is to thy sonne Tho: Lower & Susan. so haveing little more to write at present I remaine thy reall freind

E H.

Southwarke 8[th] 7[th] Mo 1674.]

[2][*a p to gff*

Dear G. ff.

My true and sincere love is to thee & I most earnestly and heartily desire thy healthe & restoration of thy liberty, & I hope in the Lord that when the measur of thy suffer-

ings is fullfilled, it shall be accomplished. I have seen the good hand of God in these things for though ungodly men may think hereby to stifle and put a stop to Truth, yet shall their ends be frustrated, and God and his precious Truth glorified & advanced; I know the Lord is with thee to strengthen and Comfort thee in this thy tryall: since I came from thee I have had good and precious oportunityes in my journey hither; and since I came hither: & things are generally pretty well, onely some noise about y^e^ Baptists, which is not yet at an end, but I suppose W^m^ Pen may give thee an account concerning them[1]. I spoke with Ellis Hooks about y^e^ sufferings, and he tells mee they will require a long time in writeing them over, he talks of a yeare or two[2]. I likewise spoke to Edw: Man to send down Ralph ffrettwells Book[3], I suppose he intends to see thee shortly, [a]and if he can find y^e^ Book to bring itt with him, As for the ffriends paper to y^e^ Baptists, I perceive y^t^ it was sent into the Country to him to send in manuscript to them, and if they Reply then to send itt up with what further may be added: if they should Reply, and soe to have itt printed[a]. ffriends in this City are generally well severall enquired for thee, whose love is to thee. I have not further to add at present onely my sincere love to M. ff. & her daughter Susan: and to Tho: Lower, with the rest of ffriends there; My wife rem: her dear love to thee, and to Marg: T. Lower and Susan &c.

I rest Thy Brother in
y^e^ fellowshippe of y^e^ gospell
Alex^r^ Parker.

London. 1^st^ of 8^th^ mo^th^ 1674.

Tho: Green rem: his dear love to
thee and to M. ff. Tho: Lower and
ffriends there.]

[4][*For dear G. ff: Prisoner for The Truth in Worster.*

London 20^th^ $\frac{8}{m}$ 1674.

Dear G. ff.

This day I had a sight of thy loveing and acceptable

[a]...[a] These words have been crossed through.

letter, in reading of which my heart was refreshed, not onely for thy ffatherly care, and good advice therein but alsoe to hear of thy encrease of strength, which I pray God to Continue; I take notice of thy travaile of soule the time of the dispute and Contest with the Baptists; and truly dear Georg itt was heavy upon my spirit, and it was much with mee to retire my selfe, and keepe that day in fasting and prayer to y^e^ Lord, and y^e^ Lord was attentive and did lend an ear to y^e^ groans and cryes of his servants and did strengthen his people, and weaken and confounded their adversaries, & I am very well satisfyed that at y^e^ meeting att Barbican Truth had a great advantage in the sight and sense of all moderate unbiassed people[1]; and thy Counsell and advice is very good and...[a] seasonable, for all to keep low, out of all boas...[a]. I hope all concernd will lay itt to heart; The 6^th^ day...[a] att Wheeler street, The Truth did Tryumph over itts...[a]versaries, onely Geo: Keith[2] reasoning scholastically th...[a] in matter deep and weighty, yett his scotch tone, and manner of delivery was not soe takeing to y^e^ multitude; however things were generally well, and ffriends had a very sweet & seasonable time amongst y^e^ People, and ended y^e^ meeting in Prayer after y^e^ Baptists and their rude Company was gone, ffriends are not yet cleer off them, and this evening some ffriends have desired to speak with four or 5 of them to consider of another meeting more private, it is in answer to y^e^ Baptists propositions which they have printed wherein they desire that about 50 or 60 of a side may meet together with some moderate persons unconcernd and then after to publish thinges by consent, dear Georg I am much out of these broyles, and I earnestly desire that they may have an end; & truely if friends could be cleer and Truth cleer, I think they would be glad to be eased of these turbulent persons: W^m^ Pen has laboured hard, and spent himselfe very much in these...[a] they strik...[a] him and...[a] good spirit which doth give him great advantage against them; and his manner and way of managment much takeing and acceptable to most people; I hope God will keep him humble, & y^t^ will be his...[a] dear Georg I cannot yett hear of R. ffr. Book though I have severall times spoken both to Ed: Man &

[a] Paper torn at edge.

Ellis Hookes. I have not much more att present but dear love to thee, and to dear Margaret, T. Lower & Susan & friends...[a] I. Penington being present rem: his dear love to thee &c. My wife salutes thee and thy wife. T. L. & S. ff. I re...[a] Truth

G. R.; G. W. &c
salute thee & the rest with thee.]

[1][*T: L: unto G ff: & M: ff:*

Swarthmoore this 18th of ye 12th Month 1674.

Deare Mother

Thine wherein ye Joyfull news off my ffathers full & honorable dischardge was related wee received & doe from ye bottome of our hearts returne praise unto ye Lorde ffor his Continnuall love & mercy towards us: & all his flocke & ffamily In generall: whose hearts will bee glad & rejoyce att our deare ffathers deliverans & hee coulde nott have beene more noblely releast: & his adversaryes & malitious persecutors lesse gratifyed; then by this way & manner of dischardge which was always unto mee ye most probable way to bee effected In: & I thinke My ffathers minde mostly Inclined yt way alsoe: though by some Itt was obstucted: butt In yt Itt is att last effected wee doe rejoyce & blesse & praise ye name off ye Lorde whoe is ye author off all our good thinges.

And now wee are In hopes off seeinge our Deare ffather & thee returne togeather Into these parts: when ye Lorde makes way for itt: whose Company Is nott a litle desired: & needed In these parts: butt as ye Lorde shall order yt & as My ffather feeles & findes In himselfe: soe shall wee acquiesce: nott daringe to desire or Invite him: contrary to his owne freedome: butt onely to expresse howe glad wee shoulde bee off such a blesseinge if ye Lorde see it meete: & make his way cleere:

[a] Paper torn at edge.

[a]I writt a letter unto my ffather & thee {& one since unto thee} touchinge our returne {Into Cornewall} y^e^ Contents of which I desire you to aunswer nowe att your leisure: as touchinge my deare wiffe shee is butt sickely: & frequently afflicted with headeach: her olde & even hereditary distemper: her other distemper much better: butt shee lookes pale & ill: butt I trust In y^e^ Lorde as y^e^ springe comes on to give her somethinge which with Gods blesseinge may doe her goode: your & our litle one[1] praised bee y^e^ Lorde for it y^e^ thriveingst well likeinge childe y^t^ ever I behelde: & very apprehensive off her age: Cousen W: Yeomans[2] much mended In his Countenance & health: since hee came hither & my sisters both very well & In health praised bee y^e^ Lorde & all thinges heere att home well & in good order as ffarre as I knowe: I am soe thronge with patients I can hardely gett time to write[a]. I have nott much more to adde att present more then y^e^ deare remembrans of mine my deare wiffe & sisters deare love unto our dearely beloved ffather & thy selfe: & unto our Bro: & Sister Rouse & Sister Susan: soe rests

Thy dearely loveinge son
Thomas Lower

[b]In my two last I mentioned y^t^ I thought there woulde bee noe neede to buy mee a Coate for I thinke to convert my Cloake Into a rideinge Coate which will bee most convenient for y^e^ Summer approachinge & therfore I desired E: Hookes might bee acquainted y^t^ hee forbeare to buy any: & y^t^ Insteade of a Coate for mee: I woulde desire a gownde might be bought for my wiffe: of haire {& two of y^e^ hoodes}[c] barrateene[d]: off y^e^ same man where sister Rachell bought hers If you thinke fitt: & soe lett y^e^ skinns & her gownde & my shooes & thinges bee sent downe togeather:

[a]...[a] The lines of MS. containing these words have strokes through them cross-wise.

[b] This and the next paragraph are also crossed through.

[c] These words were erased, after having been inserted. See later insertion.

[d] The word first written, and not now legible, was altered by Sarah Fell to *barrateene*

& a ffrench hatt: which I woulde E: Hookes to buy for mee: large enough in y^e^ heade for my ffather:

If my shooes coulde bee sent sooner by any Convenient opportunity I shoulde bee glad seeinge I neede them: If nott with y^e^ other thinges {togeather with two hoodes for my wiffe: of y^e^ best sorte & a Coate for my Childe}.

[a]Wee sent some things per Thompson y^e^ younger to sister Susannah, which wee desire to know, if they bee come to you.

If you thinke fitt, may buy us some garden seeds there & send them down if you come not in time to sow them; {&} if you doe not {buy there}, then lett us know, & wee shall buy here—ffather & Bro: Lower ordered thy white horse, to be brought from Worster to Will^m^ Gandies, where hee stayes till thou give order whether {hee} shall come home, or stay there till thou thinke to come downe, & soe meett thee at Chester, in which thou may please to signify thy minde in thy next.

S: F:[a]]

[1][*an exampell upon his son that put the oath to gff at woster 1674*

Deare G: ff:]

Justice Simpson, who set Judge of the Court att ye first sessions thee was att here, who tendred ye oath to thee: had his sonne Araigned att ye Barre here in ye same place, for Killing a man [which was a great exercise to his father. One of ye Company when the murder was Committed (who was it seemes more concerned in ye murder then Simpsons sonne was, for hee did not (as it is said) strike ye man y^t^ was murdered) was burnt in ye hand & is to suffer Imprisonment one yeare, & had much adce to Escape soe, but Simpsons son was freed. This was att ye Assizes holden here ye last weeke which Simpson may take warning by, soe as not to lay snares for ye righteous, who keep ye Commandements of Jesus.

E: B:

Worcester: 17^th^: first
month $167\frac{4}{5}$

[a]...[a] These two paragraphs were added by S. Fell.

a friend whose name is Elizabeth Baylyse[1], who Lodgeth in my House hath her deare love remembred unto thee. And Tho: Brayes[2] love is to thee, & thy wife & children. fare well.

I have sent thee with this a Bottle of my healing water which I desire thee to accept of.][3]

[a]And soe when I was sett at liberty I haveing beene very weake: I past to Kingston after I had visited frendes in London & after I had stayde a while there & visited ffreindes I came to London againe: & I writt a paper to ye parlament: & sent severall bookes to y[m]: & severall papers out of diverse parts of ye nation were sent uppe to ye kinge & parlament: from freindes: & a great booke against swearinge was given to y[m] & I went doune Into Midlesex & visited ffreindes & after came to London againe: to ye generall meetinge [1675] where there was severall frendes from most partes of ye nation & some from beyonde seas: & a glorious meetinge in ye everlastinge power of God it was.

And soe I stayde at London till ye parlament was broaken uppe[4] & after they was broaken uppe: whoe had donne nothinge for ffrendes nor against ffrendes I was cleere of my service for ye Lorde at London.

And att Jo: Nelsons[b][5] I had a glorious meetinge ye morninge before I came out: & soe I tooke Coach[c] {with Margarett & her daughter Susann}: & many ffrendes accompanyed us to High gate & after to Dunstable: & ye next day wee came to Newport Pannell where many ffrendes came to visitt us: & from thence wee came to Northampton where many ffrendes came to visitt us: [& from thence wee came to Coventry: where ffrendes visited us] & from thence to Cossell: where ffrendes came in att night & visited us: {And there was a woman brought her daughter to shew mee how well shee was which had had ye kinges evill: for when I was there before shee desired mee to lay my handes on her & pray for her which I did [& it was immediately made well]:} & soe from thence wee came to [Whitechuch:

[a] Narrative continued from page 286.
[b] Ellwood editions: *John Elson's*
[c] Ellwood editions add *for I was not able to travel on Horseback*

& from thence to] Jo: Symcockes[1] [on ye first day]: where freindes came to visitt us & from thence wee came to Will: Gandys & from thence to Warrington [{where wee lodged all night}] where severall frendes came to visitt us: & from thence wee came to Preston: [where wee stayde all night:] & [from thence ye next day {wee came}] to Lancaster: where severall frendes came to visitt us: & I had not been there at Lancaster since I was carryed away by ye undersheriffe & goaler towards Scarborough.

And it beinge there fayre time & there trained bands was gathered there to a generall muster: att y$^{t}$ time: [soe I came to ye Kinges Armes & I went Into ye parlor where was many of ye Collonells & officers gathered togeather: & seeinge it full I went out againe Into a Chamber] & many ffrendes beinge come out of severall places of ye Country Came to visitt us: & Itt beinge ye generall Quarterly meetinge ye day after: I stayde in townde one day {& two nights in Lancaster} & went to both there meetinges {both ye men & womens} which were very full large & peaceable {& ye Lords power was over y$^{m}$ all & none medled with us}: & att Lancaster Tho: Lower: & his wiffe & Sarah ffell mett us {& Leo: ffell & Ja: Lancaster}: & ye next day wee came over ye sandes: with severall other ffreindes & came to Swarthmoore: ye 25$^{th}$ day: of ye 4$^{th}$ mo$^{th}$ [1675].

And after I had beene a while att Swarthmoore severall frendes from diverse places came to visitt mee.

And Att last Coll: Kirby came to visit mee: & to bid mee welcome Into ye Country {as hee said}: whoe had beene one of my olde {great} persecutors & was seemeingely very loveinge.

And severall frendes came from London to visit mee & out of Scotlande: & diverse other partes of ye nation [{& from beyondes seas}]: & in Scotlande this yeere there was fowr younge preists[a] convinct in Scotlande: att Aberdeene[2] by Ro: Barkley[3] &: G: Keith att a dispute y$^{t}$ they had with some of ye university there.

And whilst I was at Worcester I gave foorth severall bookes[4]:

1. one was a warneinge to Englande[5]
2. & another: was to ye Jewes to prove y$^{t}$ ye Messiah was come by ye prophetts: above 1600 yeeres since[6]:

[a] Ellwood editions: *students*

3. And another was concerneinge Inspiration revelation & prophesy[1]

4. And another was against all vaine disputes[2]

5. And another was: for all Bishopps & ministers to try y^m^selves by ye Scriptures[3]

[And another was an aunswer to D^tr^ Goode[4] with: Ed: Bourns name sett to it.]

6. Another: to all such as say: wee love none but our selves[5]:

7. our testimony Concerneinge Christ[6].

{8. alsoe a litle booke Concerneinge swearinge[7] which was first of all given to ye parlament which did much affect y^m^ & they generally confest to ye reason of it.}

And since I came to Swarthmoore I gave foorth severall mor bookes {as followeth}:

1. Concerneinge swearinge[8]:

2. y^t^ none are sucessors: to ye Prophetts & Apostles but whoe suceede y^m^ in ye same power & holy ghoast y^t^ they was in[9].

3. Concerneinge possession: above profession[10]: & how the professors now persecute Christ in spiritt as ye Jews persecuted him in ye days of his flesh.

4. Another: litle book to ye majestrates of Danzicke[11].

5. Caine persecutinge Abell: or: an aunswer to ye new Englande mens: lawes[12]:

6. Another: to ffrendes at Mevis[13] Concerneinge watchinge

7. A generall Epistle to all ffreindes in America[14].

8. Another: Concerneinge Cesors due & Gods due: which they ought to have[15].

{9. Alsoe another booke Concerneinge orderinge of familÿes[16].}

10. And Another Concerneinge ye spirituall man Judgeth all thinges[17].

11. And Another: Concerneinge ye higher power[18].

And diverse other {generall} Epistles & papers to ffreinds: & aunswers to ffrendes beyonde seas & in Olde Englande: besydes many: aunswers: to {some} papers Concerneinge [Jo: W. & Jo: Storys] runninges out & opposition to ye order of ye gospell [1676][19].

And alsoe a Collection of many of my Epistles to ffrendes:

And severall papers: to: O: C: & ye parlament & magistrates in his time:

And of severall: other papers to ye kinge: & his Councell & parlaments & to ye magistrates & Justices since.

And likewise a Collection of all Certificates from ye governors Judges & Justices & parlament men for cleeringe truth & mee from many slaunders which ye envyous preists & professors: cast upon truth & mee.

And likewise two bookes of Collections off ffreindes first goenge foorth: to preach the Gospell to nations Countryes & places.

And alsoe a booke of principles & notes & what thinges I declared to ffrendes in some generall meetinges[1].

And alsoe a list of such ffreindes as first went foorth out of ye north: when truth first broake foorth in ye north [as ffolloweth[a]]:

Alsoe there was Collected a booke: of Epistles & letters: to mee.

And alsoe another booke of letters of mine: to ffrendes [{& alsoe another booke of miracles wherein ye wonderfull power of God was seene}]

Alsoe: another booke of ye signification of ye types & figures of Christ [besydes all ye bookes $y^t$ I gave foorth from 52: to 73: {which are not Inserted heere} as may be seene in ye {followeinge} list[2]:

And many other bookes which has not my name att $y^m$ but other ffreinds $y^t$ sawe & owned ye thinges {contained in $y^m$} & putt there names to $y^m$ by my leave & order].

And after: I had beene att Swarthmoore a pretty while & Coll: Kirby was Come againe Into ye Country: whoe had sent for ye Constables of Ulverston & charged $y^m$ {to come} uppe to Swarthmoore: & bid $y^m$ tell mee $y^t$ wee must not have any more meetinges att Swarthmoore for if wee had they were commanded by him to breake $y^m$ uppe: & $y^t$ they was to come ye next first day after: & this was noised over all ye Country.

And ye next first day I went Into ye meetinge one ye first day: & there wee had a pretious meetinge & ye Lords presence was amongst us: & after ye meetinge was donne: one came uppe & tolde mee ye Chuchwardens were in ye

[a] See later, page 321.

meetinge but it was a mistake & ye Constables did not Come to disturbe us: & soe ye meetinges have beene quiett ever since: & have encreased[1].

[2][1650. And in 1650: Rice Jones {of Nottingham} & Joh: Trentam[3] of Mansfeilde runn out & drew a great company after y^m & opposed ye truth: in ye power of God: & Jo: Trentam turned a drunkarde: & dyed miserablely: & Rice Jones hee grew poore & sett uppe an ale house: & tooke all ye oaths they putt to him: & most of all there people came to nought but what turned againe to ffrendes & truth.

And in this yeere alsoe Jo: ffretwell runn out: but hee came {in again}.

1652. And in 1652 James Milner: & Rich: Myer runn out & many with y^m: but they came in againe.

1656. And in this yeere Jam: Naylor runn out & drew a great company after him: some ranters & loose persons: but hee came in againe & condemned his goeinge out: & many with him but some of y^m never came in againe.

And in {this yeere} Mildred[4] runn out & gathered a company of raunters y^t opposed ye truth but shee & the raunters never came Into truth: againe.

1657. And Anne Blayklinge[5] shee runn out & gathered a Company: to worke on first days[6]: & not to pay taxes: but they must pay ye Improipriators tyths: but they came in againe & ye rest y^t did not came to nought:

1657. Humfry Norton runn out {in this yeere} & drew a Company after him Into his imaginations & selfe righteousnesse & some of y^m came in againe & hee came to meetinges againe: but ye rest {of y^m} came to nothinge.

1660. And one Jo: Harwoode[7] a dirty fellow hee runn out & sought to take away G: ff^s life: but ye Lord confounded him: soe as hee turned to bee a very loose person.

1661. And Jo: Perrott & Ch: Bailey they runn out & drew a great Company after y^m: & most of there people came in againe: but what came to nought: & soe turned a swearer & drunkarde & soe dyed & Ch: Bailey came to nought.

{1663. And about this time Jos: Hellen runn out & some others with him: & hee turned a very debaucht & wicked man & a fortune teller & never came in againe:}

1667. And Jo: Swinton & some others runn out & many followed him but hee & most of y^m^ came in againe & condemned there goenge foorth.

{1667. And there was {one} Barnes[1] & Rose Atkins & Mich: Stancliffe[2] a hosyer att London: & a cooke[3] runn out: & this Barnes & Atkins prophesyed y^t^ ye rest of London shoulde bee burned: & thereupon severall of y^m^ went out of London: but Stancliffe did not: & they {much} opposed frendes meetinges in ye Countrys & runn Into wickednesse for this Rose woulde have cutt a Childes throate: & hee stabbed ye goaler: att Winchester: & att last this Rose Atkins husband hanged himselfe: & most of ye rest came to nought.}

1671. And Jo: Pennyman & Muckloe & some others with y^m^ runn out but came not in againe but became open opposers of truth.

1674. And Jo: Wilkison & Jo: Story: runn out & drew many after y^m^ by subscriptions & otherwise: but ye Lords power & truth is come over y^m^ & some of y^m^ since have made a kinde of a Condemnation of there opposition to ye truth & ye order of ye gospell.]

And severall others have risse in opposition to ye truth: but ye truth hath outlasted y^m^ all & ye worde & power of God hath blasted y^m^ all & ye seede hath grinded y^m^ to peices.

And this hath beene fulfilled they y^t^ have beene convinced & have not lived & walked in ye truth have beene ye worst enimyes to ye truth: & donne ye most hurte amongst ffrendes in ye truth & to others; but ye Lords power hath blasted y^m^.

For ye Lord did shew mee y^t^ such shoulde bee ye greatest deceivers then all ye preists & professors.

For such as came as farr as Cain & Balam & Core & Dathan & coulde preach Christ [in ye streets]: & say they had preacht in his name.

And such as came to be Apostles & had tasted of ye power of Christ & {then to} turne from it then such coulde speak there olde experiences like Core Cain & Balam: & have ye good wordes but kept not in ye life & truth: such deceived ye heartes of ye simple then & now: & such: comes to bee of ye Devill {y^t^ is} out of truth: & aboade not in it.

Soe Cain & all ye Jewes y^t^ aboade not in ye truth: though Cain might talke of God & ye Jews might talk of Abraham Moses & ye prophetts yett Christ tells y^m^ they was of ye Devill soe though ye Christians may talk of Christ & ye Apostles & disciples wordes yett not abideinge in ye truth & power & spiritt y^t^ ye Apostles was in they are of ye Devill out of truth & soe is all these y^t^ has beene convinct of Gods eternall truth since it sprange upp in this nation[1].

And after y^t^ I had beene rounde about ye nation both in Englande & Wales; to preach ye everlastinge gospell & ye worde of life which was in ye beginninge through many prisons & trÿalls then I was moved to goe about ye nation againe to sett uppe ye Quarterly meetinges or write to where I came not though some monthly meetinges was setled in ye north of Englande[a].

And then after ye truth was spreade & Increased over ye nation I was moved to goe through ye nation againe & to sett uppe ye mens monthly meetinges.

And after this I was alsoe moved to set uppe ye womens monthly & Quarterly meetinges both in Englande & Irelande [& in America & in ye Islands y^t^ aways & to write to Scotland & Hollande for y^m^ to doe ye same where I did not come]: y^t^ all y^t^ had received ye gospell ye worde of life y^t^ they might come Into ye possession; of ye Gospell ye power of God: & soe to act & walke in ye power of God & doe his busnesse: & beinge all in ye possession of ye power of God ye gospell which power of God was before ye Devill was then nothinge woulde bee able to gett betwixt y^m^ & ye Lord.

[And all ye papers may bee seene which I have beene moved to give foorth Concerneinge ye mens & womens monthly & Quarterly meetinges.]

And howe y^t^ all ye faithfull must labor in Gods vinyarde they beinge his hired servants: & hee haveinge given y^m^ his earnest of his spiritt.

For a master: y^t^ hires a servant hee gives him his earnest off his hire to doe his worke after hee knows his will in ye outwarde creation.

[a] Ellwood editions add *in the Year 1653.*

Soe y$^{t}$ all Gods people y$^{t}$ bee of ye new creation: y$^{t}$ hath receved his earnest of his spiritt y$^{t}$ they might labor with his spiritt & power: & grace & faith in ye light in Gods vineyarde y$^{t}$ they may have there wages every one when they have donne Gods worke & busnesse in his day which is eternall life.

And none can labor in his vineyarde & doe his busnesse & his will butt as they walke in his heavenly devine light [to see his heavenly vineyarde.

And as they walke in ye] grace & in ye spiritt [& in ye truth y$^{t}$ ye devill is out of which Devill has clogged y$^{m}$ with ye body of death & sin & corrupted y$^{m}$ & blinded y$^{m}$: & by ye light & truth they have dominion over him & made free from him & in ye power of God they have dominion over him.]

[a]Soe it has beene[a] my travell & labor in ye Lord to turne all to [ye devine light of Christ y$^{t}$ hee hath enlightned y$^{m}$ withall y$^{t}$ they might beleive in it & soe become children of light & to bee grafted in to Christ ye life ye greene & fresh roote to nourish ye graft: y$^{t}$ it may bringe foorth fruites of life to ye praise of ye God of life & {to turne} all: to ye grace of God which hath appeared to all men: which will teach y$^{m}$ & bringe there salvation: & season there wordes & stablish there heartes: & this grace is sufficient.

And likewise ye manifestation of ye spiritt of God which is given to every one to profitt withall: & there is noe one profitts in ye thinges of God nor knows ye thinges of God but by ye spiritt.

And therfore every man & woman must come to ye spiritt of God: & by it they may know & profitt in ye thinges of God y$^{t}$ is eternall.

And this spiritt does give y$^{m}$ understandinge & wisedome & in it they have felloweshippe yea with ye Lord & with ye scriptures & one with another.

And wee was much accused with ye preists & professors as holdeinge foorth free will; but wee saw all y$^{m}$ poore people in there owne wills loose & att liberty & free & yett ye spiritt vext & greved & quencht in y$^{m}$.

And ye light of Christ hated & his grace turned Into Wantonnesse.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *which is, hath been and is*

For as they confesse they have not ye same power & spiritt y^t^ ye Apostles had then what have they but there owne wills: ffor {ye prophetts} Christ & ye Apostles denyed ye hirelinges which taught for meanes: & filthy lucre.

And now all these y^t^ doth teach for hire & filthy lucre & cast people in prison & spoile there goods because they wont give y^m^ meanes & yett say they are ministers of Christ: though Christ says ye contrary freely you have receved freely give.

Now are not all these in there wicked & free wills & there wills at liberty to doe what they will: likewise {all} y^t^ runns after drunkennesse pleasures & plays & swearinge & curseinge: which Christ & ye Apostle forbids {such} & says sweare not att all: are not all these in there free wills.

Butt for such accuseinge us y^t^ wee holde free will they are mistaken & knows not what they affirme.

For God worketh in us both to will & to doe accordinge to his good pleasure: soe y^t^ which God workes in us by his power light spiritt grace & faith by y^t^ our wills are subjected & made Conformable to his will.

Soe it is hee y^t^ worketh in us both to will & to doe y^t^ which as I said before which is accordinge to his good pleasure & y^t^ by which hee worketh in us to will & to doe: our salvation is wrough out thereby with fear & tremblinge soe y^t^ all ye olde house is shaket doune with his olde stuffe: & with ye olde life & ye olde rocky stony hearte; & a new hearte & a new minde & new life is wrought in which God is served in his new covenant In which people are brought to God: & shall not as they therein abide never more departe from him.]

[1][And often ye preists & professors woulde upbraide us with will worshippe which was there owne condition: ffor they y^t^ doeth Confesse y^t^ they have not ye same power & spiritt as ye Apostles had & y^t^ they Cannott bee made free from ye body of sin & death athis syde of ye grave cannott worshippe God in ye spiritt & truth which ye Devill is out of by which truth they are made free from ye Devill & his body of death & body of sin.

Soe I doe say y^t^ they bee all willworshippers & in a feigned humility: & doth Intrude Into those thinges y^t^ they

never saw y$^{t}$ bee not in ye spiritt & truth as ye Apostles was in.

For wee serve God in ye spiritt by which wee are circumcised & have ye body of death & sins of ye flesh putt of by ye circumcision of ye spiritt by which spiritt wee are baptised Into one body which Christ ye spirituall man is ye heade off.

And In this spiritt & truth doe wee worshippe God: which worshippe Christ set uppe above 1600 yeeres since when hee ended ye worshippe at Jerusalem amongst ye Jewes & att ye mountaine where Jacobs well was: & by which truth wee are made Gods free men & women from him y$^{t}$ is out of truth: & ye beast & dragons worshippe soe wee worshippe not God in oure wills but in ye spiritt & truth {& not} as they doe y$^{t}$ say they have not ye same power & spiritt y$^{t}$ ye Apostles had: for all such worshippe God in there wills whoe under a pretence of preachinge God & Christ {preaches in there owne wills & spirits} ye scriptures for money: & say they have not ye same power & spirit ye Apostles had nor have not hearde ye voice of God nor Christ.

And y$^{t}$ none heares it now adays: & every man they say Is not enlightned by Christ & Christ hath not dyed for all men & y$^{t}$ his grace hath not appeared to all men y$^{t}$ bringeth salvation & y$^{t}$ ye manifestation of ye spiritt of God is not given to every man to profitt withall.

Now they y$^{m}$selves haveinge not ye spiritt of God & there people haveinge not ye spiritt of God: as they say: howe can these bee other then will worshipers seeinge God is worshiped onely in spiritt & truth {which they say they have not}.

And Againe ye preists & professors presbyterians: Independants Baptists & others charged us with a blinde Zeale.

And yett they y$^{m}$selves Calls ye light which is ye life in Christ: whoe hath enlightned every one y$^{t}$ cometh Into ye worlde naturall: & ye Jewes said of Christ ye worde & ye light & life y$^{t}$ hee had a Devill & by ye prince of devills Cast out Devills.

And nowe ye pretended Christians calls ye life in Christ ye worde: which enlightenth every man y$^{t}$ Cometh Into ye worlde naturall & of ye Devill & Antichrist as may bee seene in there bookes against ffrendes.

Soe heere y^m^selves are founde in ye blinde Zeale y^t^ cannot see ye light & confesse they have not ye same power & spirit ye Apostles had.

And therfore howe can they bee in ye true Zeale which wee doe confesse unto ye same power & spiritt as ye Apostles was in & ye same light y^t^ shines In our heartes to give us ye light of ye knowledge of ye glory of God in ye face of Christ Jesus: which makes us Zealous for Christ & God in ye truth accordinge to knowledge by his light & understandinge by his spirit.

And Againe the preists aforesaid used to charge us with Justifyeinge our selves & selfe righteousnesse.

But this was againe there own conditions whoe denyes {of} haveinge ye same power & holy ghoast y^t^ Christ & his Apostles had both to y^m^selves & others.

And soe denyes ye promise of Christ & that {of sendinge ye holy ghoast} which was & is ye saintes leader Into all truth: & comforter.

And alsoe denyes y^t^ which shoulde reprove ye worlde & y^m^selves off there righteousnesse & of there Judgement & unbeleife soe it is cleere they are in {there} owne righteousnesse & pleadinge for there unrighteousnesse to ye grave & in unbeleife & in there owne Judgement Judgeinge like ye Jews y^t^ resisted ye holy ghoast: for there is noe man y^t^ comes from his owne righteousnesse & Judgement & unbeleife but by turneinge at ye reproofe of ye holy ghoast by which holy ghoast wee know our unbeleife our righteousnesse & our owne Judgement {& are turned from it}.

And by ye holy ghoast was turned to Christ to receive of his righteousnesse: & in ye holy ghoast to have a spirituall Judgement & soe by ye holy ghoast ye spiritt of truth {wee} come to bee ledd In to all ye truth: of what ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles declared {of} which was given foorth from ye holy ghoast.

And by this holy ghoast wee doe knowe Christ whoe was Conceved by ye holy ghoast: & by this holy ghoast wee doe see thinges to come & this holy ghoast does take of Christs heavenly thinges & gives unto us accordinge to Christs wordes.

And soe by this holy ghoast wee are turned from our

owne righteousnesse & unrighteousnesse & unbeleife & Judgement.

And they y^t^ bee not in ye same holy ghoast ye Apostles was in are in there owne {righteousnesse &} unrighteousnesse & unbelife & blinde Zeale & will worshippe & are in there owne Judgement out of ye Judgement of ye holy ghoast Judgeinge ye prophetts fooles y^t^ was in ye holy ghoast & Christ & deceiver y^t^ was Conceived by ye holy ghoast & ye Apostles reprobrates & deceivers y^t^ was led Into all truth by ye holy ghoast.

Soe it was & soe it is by y^m^ y^t^ are not in the holy ghoast against y^m^ y^t^ are led by it.

Which all this is reproved by ye holy ghoast {to this day.}][a]

[1][*An account of what ministers came foorth in 1649.*

G: ff: was Imprisoned in Nottingham for preachinge y^e^ everlastinge gospell in y^e^ yeere 1649: though hee had gonne foorth longe before to preach y^e^ gospell as may bee seene in y^e^ former narrative of truths first breakeinge foorth: alsoe G: ff: for preachinge y^e^ everlastinge gospell was committed to Darby dungeon & goale where hee remained a prisoner neere a yeere: & many more Imprisoned there y^t^ yeere & y^e^ next {1650} for preachinge y^e^ gospell as Eliz: Hutton[2] & Tho: Richardeson[3] {in y^e^ ffen country} whoe after dÿed a prisoner for truth: & Eliz: Hutton dÿed in y^e^ service of God in Jamaica about y^e^ yeere 1672. And diverse others y^e^ Lorde opned there mouths to declare y^e^ worde of life.]

[4][*An account of what ministers came foorth in 1651.*

Tho: Aldam {Alsoe Jam: Nayler Tho: Goodyeere Rich ffarnsworth & Will: Dewsberry came foorth in this yeere to preach y^e^ gospell}: & Philippe Scaffe whoe had beene a preacher for hire: {hee} layde it doune & became a free preacher of y^e^ everlastinge gospell.

Alsoe one Preist Boyes whoe had beene a preacher in Yorkesheere for money: about this time came to bee convinct & to receive y^e^ everlastinge gospell; whoe forsooke his tyth

[a] Close of narrative.

& hire: & preacht freely: & denÿed to receive any pay from his parishners sayinge hee had {had} enough {from y^m}.

Alsoe Capt: Phill: Pursloe[1] came foorth this yeere to preach y^e gospell & diverse others y^e Lorde opned there mouths to shew foorth his praise this yeere: as Rog: Hebden[2] & diverse others.]

[1660[a]. Alsoe about y^e yeere 1660[a] Jo: Wilkison {of Cumberland} whoe had three parishes under his care: came to bee convinct; of Gods truth & received his Gospell freely hee came to bee an able minister off y^e everlastinge gospell & preacht it freely both in Englande Scotland & Irelande whoe dÿed in y^e yeere 1674.

1655. Alsoe in Wales a preist George White[3] came to bee convinct of y^e everlastinge gospell & received it freely: & preacht it freely: & left his preachinge for hire: & Walter Jenkins whoe had beene a Justice of peace: was convinct: this yeere 1655.

Alsoe Sam ffisher whoe had beene a high preist & a pastor amongst y^e Baptists in Kent came to be convinct of Gods everlastinge gospell: & freely as hee had received it hee declared it & preacht it abroade In this nation & others nations (& forsooke all his former gainefull trade) {1655} both in Hollande Flanders Germany Rome & Italy: & went through much persecution & Imprisonements suffringes & reproaches: & dyed att London in 1663: when hee had finisht his testimony.

1660. Alsoe Tho: Budd[4] a preist in Somersetsheere came to bee convinct of y^e everlastinge gospell: & forsooke all his parsonage & profitts & came to bee Imprisoned for truth: & præmunired because hee coulde not sweare: whoe whilst hee was a preacher for money hee was highly esteemed by y^e bishopps: & y^e Bishoppe[5] when hee went his visitation progresse haveinge an esteeme for him: tolde him hee might gett his parishoners togeather & gett a barrell or two of drinke & plum cakes & make merry with his parishoners & bringe them off those melancholy humors they were in: soe when y^e Bishoppe came y^t away againe hee tolde him may it please your grace I have observed your orders butt when hee came to receive Gods ever-

[a] Altered from *1656* The exact date would appear to be 1655.

lastinge truth hee forsooke all these vanitÿes & then hee was sorely Imprisoned & persecuted butt hee stoode faithfull in Gods truth to his dÿinge day.]

[1661 Alsoe in Wales about y^e^ yeere 1661 there were three preists convinct by a faithfull minister: & since there is another preist convinct in Wales whoe have received y^e^ everlastinge gospell & have left preachinge for hire & denÿed y^t^ trade.

1663. And att Nottingham there is another preist y^t^ was a preacher for hire whoe since hee hath received y^e^ Gospell of Christ Jesus hee preaches freely: & hath given foorth bookes in truths behalfe {whose name is Jackeson[1]}.]

[1673 Alsoe in y^e^ yeere 1673 there is a preist whoe preacht for hire in Wiltsheere y^t^ came to bee convinct of y^e^ everlastinge Gospell & is become a free preacher of y^e^ gospell & left his preachinge for hire {whose name is Steele[2]}.

1652. Alsoe Tho: Lawson {preist of Ramsÿde Chapell in Furnace in Lancashere} whoe was a preist & preacht for money came to bee convinct of Gods everlastinge truth: & left his preachinge for hire: & went & preacht y^e^ everlastinge gospell freely: & was much persecuted & Imprisoned for truth.

1652. Alsoe John app John a welch man was a preacher butt when hee came to bee convinct hee left his former trade & preacht y^e^ everlastinge gospell freely as hee had received it {freely} & was much persecuted & Imprisoned for truth & preachinge.]

[3]*[An account of what ministers went foorth in 53 & {from} whence.*

1653. Alsoe G: ff: was Imprisond in Carlile for preachinge y^e^ everlastinge gospell.

Alsoe James Naylor Tho: Killam[4] Tho: Goodyeere Rich: ffarnsworth Will: Dewsberry E: Hutton Ja: Parnell: Rob: Withers these preacht y^e^ gospell in y^e^ north {1653}: & then went Into y^e^ south.

1653. Alsoe Jo: Whitehead went foorth then to preach y^e^ gospell.

1653. Alsoe ff: Howgill & Jo: Audland whoe had beene formerly preachers for money & hire: came now to bee convinced: & went & restored the money they had formerly received {from y^e^ parishoners of Colton} for preachinge & went & preacht freely y^e^ everlastinge gospell: in y^e^ yeere 1653.

1652. Alsoe Tho: Taylor a preacher for money att Richmonde {& Preston Patricke Chappell} came to bee convinct of Gods truth & to receive the Gospell of Christ freely: hee preacht it freely & forsooke his former hire & parishes.

And likewise Christ: Taylor whoe had beene a preacher for money was y^e^ same yeere convinct: & received y^e^ gospell of Christ: hee forsooke his hire: & preacht freely y^e^ gospell: & then both hee & his brother Thomas was cruelly persecuted & Imprisoned by y^e^ preists & professors: & both labord in y^e^ gospell in many Cittÿes & Countryes {since}.

1653. And Tho: Taylor was Imprisoned att Worcester & att Stafforde & att Richmonde where hee had formerly preacht for money {& att Coventry}: & Christ: Taylor was Imprisoned att Harforde And was runn Into y^e^ backe with a rapier when hee was preachinge y^e^ gospell in Bullen.

1653. Alsoe Alex: Parker came foorth in this yeere & went abroade in y^e^ ministry {& after went} in{to} most parts of Englande & Scotland.

[a]1666. Aboute 1666 there was a preist convinst at westminster and dyed in y^e^ truth.

1672. About 1672 there was a priest convinct; in Polland[1] who came into England; with his wife {&} his daughter & her husband; & y^e^ rest of his children; {&} his son in law is a scoollmaster.[a]

1653. Alsoe this yeere Jo: Audlande was Imprisoned in Newcastle for preachinge y^e^ gospell & Miles Halheade in Barwicke for preachinge y^e^ gospell.]

[2][*An account of what Ministers came foorth to preach y^e^ gospell In y^e^ yeeres {1647} 1648: & 1649.*

G:ff: preacht y^e^ everlastinge Gospell in Nottinghamsheere & in Darbysheere & in Leistersheere {hee preacht y^e^ Gospell

[a]...[a] These two paragraphs are not in the handwriting of Thomas Lower.

in 1646 & 1647}: & att last was Imprisoned in Nottingham where y^e^ Lorde opned many men & womens mouths: by his power & spiritt to declare {in y^e^ yeere 1649} his truth: as Rich: Richardeson[1] of Sutton {in Nottinghamsheere} whoe was an able minister & was Imprisoned & persecuted to death in y^e^ ffenn country: & dÿed in prison because hee coulde not sweare: aboute y^e^ yeere 1660.

And Elizabeth Hutton whose mouth was opned to preach y^e^ gospell: about this time 1649.

[a]In the yeere 1667 John Wilkinson & John Banckes[2] of Cumberland went into the south & west of England in the service of truth: & in the yeare 1669 John Banckes went ffor Ireland & twise since that being now 1676 being 21 yeeres: since I was Turned unto god. Jo. Ban:[a]

[b]In y^e^ yeare 1658 John Burnyeat went into Scotland {to preach y^e^ gospell: &} in y^e^ yeare 1659 hee went into Ireland {to preach y^e^ gospell}.[b]

And in y^e^ yeere 1672: Jo: Burneyat went beyonde sea with G: ff: & others Into America to preach y^e^ gospell.]

[3][*An account off ffreindes goeinge foorth out of y^e^ north Into y^e^ service of y^e^ Lorde & to preach y^e^ Gospell in this nation & other nations in y^e^ yeere 1655: & where they suffered & were Imprisoned are as followeth:*

William Caton & Jo: Stubbs {whoe had beene in Kent preachinge y^e^ gospell: & at Maidston in Kent they were stockt & whippt & after: y^e^ said W: C: & J: St:} were moved off y^e^ Lorde to passe over Into Holland to preach y^e^ gospell in this yeere: & sailed from Tinmouth y^e^ first day of y^e^ 7^th^ mo^th^ 1655: & had a faire winde & prosperous passage for Hollande: where they had good service for y^e^ Lorde: in Hollande: & turned many from y^e^ darknesse to y^e^ light of Christ & from {under} Sathans power to y^e^ power of God:

[a]...[a] This paragraph was probably written and signed by John Banks. John Wilkinson's name is crossed through.

[b]...[b] As originally written, probably by John Burnyeat himself, this paragraph ran: *In y^e^ yeare 1658 I went into Scotland, in y^e^ yeare 1659 I went into Ireland: John Burnyeat.* As altered by T. Lower it now stands as above.

Alsoe this yeere two women ffreindes past Into Wales: & Cristopher ffell past Into Scotlande to preach y^e^ gospell.

Alsoe this yeere ffreindes out of y^e^ North {& from all parts of y^e^ nation}: sent a large Collection unto y^e^ poore distressed {persecuted} people of Amboyna & Savoy.

Alsoe in this yeere severall ffreindes were Imprisoned in Banbury in Oxfordesheere: as Rich: ffarnsworth Anne Audlande & Jane Waugh[1] & Rob: Rich[2]

Alsoe Anne Blayklinge past Into y^e^ west this yeere: & Anne Gargill[3] past over seas Into Portugall:

Alsoe Geo: Taylor[4] was Imprisoned in Kendall this yeere for writeinge a letter to John Archer[5]: caled a Justice.

Severall ffreindes were Imprisoned att Cambridge & Apelby & Lancaster this yeere {& uppe & doune in y^e^ nation}.

Alsoe this yeere: James Wilson[6] Math: Robinson[7] Jo: Gill[8] Jo: fferon[9] & Jo: Dixon[10] were Committed to Carlile Goale for tyths upon a Common writt out of y^e^ upper bench att y^e^ suite of S^r^ Geo: ffletcher[11]: of Cumberlande.

Alsoe this yeere: Will: Caton & Jo: Stubbs after there returne out off Holland passt uppe Into Scotlande: to preach y^e^ gospell: alsoe James Harrison[12] James Moore[13] & Jo: Slee past uppe Into Scotlande to preach y^e^ gospell this yeere: about y^e^ 10^th^ mo^th^ 1655 {& severall other ffreindes}.

Alsoe this yeere: Tho: Holme & Eliz: Holme: att a meetinge in Underbarrow: were much exercised by y^e^ power of y^e^ Lorde in songes & Hymms & made melody & rejoyced: & y^e^ life was raised thereby & refreshed in many: in y^t^ meetinge: but some did scruple of Underbarrowe butt it Confounded y^e^ enticeinge words of mans wisedome: Itt beinge y^e^ preachinge of y^e^ crosse: this in a letter: from Tho: Willan to M: ff:[14]

Alsoe this yeere ffrancis Howghill & Ed: Burrough passt Into Ireland & Rebecca Warde[15] to preach y^e^ gospell: & Eliz: ffletcher[16]: & Lanclett Wardell[17].

Alsoe Tho: Taylor was this yeere Imprisoned in Coventry: & Tho: Robertson & Ambrosse Rigge[18] & some others Imprisoned att Basinge stoake: & James Taylor {& others} att Lancaster.

And Jam: Harrison after his returne out of Scotlande past uppe to Westchester.

Alsoe by letter this yeere from Jo: Audlande out of Wiltsheere {hee writes}: y^t^ y^e^ worke of y^e^ Lorde spreads mightily in those parts & prospers: & {y^t^} his service is great in those parts.

Alsoe by letter from Miles Halheade & Tho: Salthouse: they write y^t^ after they were released from there Imprisonement in Exeter goale[a] where they were kept about 14 or 15 days upon there returne att or neere Taunton in Somerset sheere they were required by a Justice of peace to goe Into there owne Country: & they tolde him they stoode in y^e^ will of God; & y^t^ then this Justice made a passe to sende y^m^ to London & soe Into...[b] from Constable to Constable.

And as they were goeinge with y^e^ messenger with y^m^ doune y^e^ streets: y^e^ man y^t^ shoulde...[b] carryed y^m^ to y^e^ next Constable ffell doune in y^e^ street & was not able to rise againe: & then they (viz) M: H: & T: S: went backe to y^e^ Justice of peace & tolde him y^t^ his convoy & his passe were lyeinge as myre in y^e^ streets: whoe was strucken with astonishment: & soe they staide y^t^ night in y^e^ tounde: & y^e^ next day beinge y^e^ first day had a meetinge in y^e^ tounde: & y^e^ seconde day foloweinge y^e^ Justice aforesaid sent for y^m^ againe to see if they woulde goe Into there owne Country & they aunswered him as before: & hee saide God speede y^m^ well but sent noe more messengers with y^m^[1].

Alsoe this yeere this followeinge letter was sent from Geo: Taylor: Concerneinge passages att Appleby: Assises: as followeth:]

[2][*From George Taylor to Mar: ffell 1655*

M: ffell:

deare sister my deare love in the unchangeable is for ever with thee:

I have beene at Appulbÿ the 6^o^ 7: 1^st^ and 2: dayes in all which time was never an oppertunitie taken to call foorth our friends that was in the Gaole though I beleive they will bee Caled. And if they had not beene worse used

[a] In the margin of the sheet, opposite these words, there is a ☞

[b] Corner of sheet torn off, but missing words supplied by MS. mentioned in note 1—*the north* and in the later lacuna *have*

by others then those wold, there Bondage had not continued soe longe and if theire former pretences of Law by fineing some and Contininge others in theire wills had not beene theire Libertie had beene more easily procured, for I see noe hatered in those mens spirrits (that are caled Judges) against them. Ger: Benson was exceedinge servicable for the truth hee was with Recorder Steele[1] severall times. and found him (as in truth he is) verÿ Moderate, hee gave him this inclosed paper and hee tooke it verÿ kindly and promised to reade it by him selfe In his Charge I have not heard such another in these parts this twice 7: yeares if in anie thinge hee had opened the leaste gapp or seemeingly given the priests or persecuteinge Maiestrats an Advantage or the leaste hoole of hope to theire wickedness hee cold have the wisehest have made upp the breach that ever I sawe and have fed the doggs with bones instead of bread, soe that from first to last of his Charge they rather sufferd hunger then good feeding, hee told them of Judgment and Justice and what they came aboute, hee told them who was the enimies to it and breakers of it and named them As those that went aboute to Levie warr: And those that by plotts or otherwise did Contrive mischeefe secretly and said they had diverss of them with them what ever they had here and named them the papists and popishly affected, theire the enimie got a stopp, And hee told them they were to take notice of oathes and falce sweareing for which the land mournd. And because of these falce oathes theire was some that wold not sweare at all, for the one you are to take notice and the best way is to warne them and the other though they mistake the words of Christ yet to Admonish them and this is our deutie, And to looke that on the sabath day (for which as in the figure and for sweareing hee perfectly spooke had he lived in the time when it was in use) hee said they were to take speciall notice to preserve the publike peace in the Assemblies of all the saints mett on that day And though diversities of Judgments and Opinnions yett if all hold the head to live in peace one with another and not to disturbe or disquiet one another in theire meeteings for wee wold not that anie shold doe soe to us. (these were his owne words.)

The other Parker[2] which was upon triealls some friends

came and was one to bee of a Jurÿ and denid to sweare, hee said hee might then hold upp his hand hee said hee denid all manner of swearing, well said hee then take another; another the next day was before him and denid to sweare and the people said hee is a Quaker hee will not sweare, will hee not sweare said Parker. then take another: this is most I can say at present but that friends are all well:

Tho: Willan[1] Received from London that G: ff: was gone to a boute Noridge. J: Nayler in the Citie, Manie in prisons. and the Stock verÿ low, and money to goe to Chester. Leanard ffell and William Simpson was at a meeteing last first day at Caldbeck neare the steeple house. and Lenard went downe to it and the priest was much weakned and people manie followed him, they have beene verie servicable there I heare they are to pass towards Bishoppwrick, I shall goe to Carlill if the lord will. A: Pearson is like to bee there. for the present rests thine in the measure of life made manifest.

Geo: Taylor

From Penreth the 14°
of the 6° month (55)]

[Alsoe this yeere by letter from Ed: Burrough from London hee writes y$^{t}$ all y$^{e}$ ffreindes att Norwich were released except: Ch: Atkinson butt many Imprisoned att other places & y$^{t}$ great persecution is like to bee: for there is an act comeinge foorth to punnish under pretence of popish recusants all such as refuse to take y$^{e}$ oath of abjuration: & accordingely a proclamation came foorth requireinge y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ oath aforesaid shoulde bee tendred to all persons suspected of popery & y$^{t}$ they which refuse to take it shall forfeite all there landes & estates reall & personall: & upon refusall bee Imprisoned dureinge life[2]:

Alsoe by letter ffrom ffran: Howghill & Ed: Burrough[3] the 14$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 2$^{d}$ mo$^{th}$ 55: they write y$^{t}$ G: ff: is in London: & y$^{t}$ Alex: Parker {& Ger: Benson} is there: & y$^{t}$ they have 6 or 7 meetinges in London on y$^{e}$ first days. & y$^{t}$ Jo: Story: & Jo: Wilkison were there: but passinge Into Kent: & y$^{t}$ Tho: Salthouse & Mil: Halheade were Imprisoned in Exeter & many more with y$^{m}$: & y$^{t}$ severall ffreindes were Imprisoned att Northampton:

Alsoe this yeere about y^e^ 4^th^ mo^th^ Crist: Atkinson runn out: & after gave foorth a paper of Condemnation:

Alsoe att Carlile assisses this yeere y^e^ Judges aforesaid Parker & Steele carryed y^m^selves very moderate {in there charge though Judge Parker was not soe Just as Steele}: for when some of y^e^ worlde saide ffreindes shoulde bee fined for not swearinge Judge Steele said noe there Appearans hath saved there ffines & soe pleaded y^e^ Cause of y^e^ Innocent. In a letter from Tho: Willan y^e^ 18^th^ of y^e^ 6^th^ mo^th^ 55[1].

Alsoe this yeere there was three ffreindes sent to Lancaster prison for speakeinge to y^e^ preists.

Alsoe this yeere Jo: Wilkison & Jo: Story were Imprisoned att Glocester: for a meetinge: though they stayde att Marsfeilde townde ende till y^e^ time as they thought y^t^ y^e^ preist had neere ended his lecture: & then went to y^e^ meetinge: & soe were sent to Glocester prison & kept a while there in prison: about y^e^ 7^th^ mo^th^ 55.

Alsoe this yeere about y^e^ 11^th^ of y^e^ 8^th^ mo^th^ 55 Cristopher Taylor: whoe had beene a prisoner sometime in Apelby goale was released with y^e^ rest of y^e^ prisoners.

Alsoe one Hugh Stamper[2] y^t^ was a prisoner att Carlile & kept in for some time for fees: was at last sett at liberty {about y^e^ time aforesaid} without payinge a penny fees to y^e^ goaler or any of y^e^ officers: Soe Pharoth was wearyed of y^e^ Isralite.

Alsoe att y^e^ assises att Carlile Judge Parker: though in his charge hee was very moderate & y^e^ preists gott litle advantage by it against ffreindes: & thereupon some of y^e^ Justices denyed there owne orders against ffreindes through feare & slavishnesse when It was urged against y^m^ by one of there owne tribe one John Musgrave[3]: whoe matcht y^m^ very handesomely with there owne weapons & gave y^m^ y^e^ worse: yett when ffreindes were caled foorth to y^e^ barr before Judge Parker hee asked ffreindes: what doe you come heere for Justice: & ffreindes aunswered yea if they might have it: & Parker saide if they had come in y^e^ same manner y^t^ other men came (uncovered) they might have {had} it: butt seeinge they did not they might returne to y^e^ place from whence they came & soe y^e^ goaler was bid to take y^m^ away: & soe they are continnued still in goale {there} & att Apelby: goale alsoe:

Alsoe in Northampton some ffreindes were Imprisoned onely upon report & fame & for beinge caled Quakers.

Att Appleby Assises a freinde layde before Judge Steele y^e^ ffine Imposed upon Cristo: Taylor & {his} inability of payinge it: which y^e^ Judge confest unto but said hee coulde not remitt another mans debt: but left it to y^e^ sheriffe to have cleared some of y^m^: butt hee kept ffrendes in for there ffees: which was {about} y^e^ 6^th^ mo^th^ 55.

Alsoe this yeere Alice Birkett[1] Agnes Wilson[2] E: Holme & E: ffletcher went uppe Into y^e^ south & westerne parts & Tho: Holme & Jane Waugh

Alsoe this yeere about y^e^ 10^th^ mo^th^ 1655: James Lancaster & Rich: Cleyton past over Into Irelande to preach y^e^ gospell:

Alsoe this yeere Jo: Scafe {Tho: Rawlinson} & Dorothy Waugh[3] past uppe Into y^e^ south & Eli: Cowart[4]: & severall ffreindes were Imprisoned att Lancaster & Apelby: & Carlile & in diverse other parts of y^e^ nation.

Alsoe Rich: Huberthorne Geo: Whiteheade Ja: Parnell & Tho: Taylor past uppe Into y^e^ south this yeere to preach y^e^ gospell.

Alsoe Will: Simpson passed over Into Irelande & Rich: Roper & Rich: Waler[5]: {to preach y^e^ gospell &} Anne Wilson[6] was Imprisoned this yeere in Cambridge Castle.

Alsoe Crist: ffell past Into Scotlande & Rich: Ihmaide[7] & Jo: Grave[8] & Tho: Hutton & Will: Simpson: & George Wilson: & Jam: Lancaster & Rich: Clayton: & Tho: Rawlinson: & Tho: Stubbs {& Jos: Nicolson &} also this yeere Joseph Nicholson past over seas to new Englande {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

And Will: Wilson & Reginalde Holme[9] for Germany: {for y^e^ service of y^e^ Lorde}.

Alsoe Elizabeth Cowart past over seas to Venice to preach y^e^ gospell.

Alsoe this yeere Jane Willinson[10] past over Into Hollande to preach y^e^ gospell:

1655. Alsoe Will: Stocdall[11] past Into Scotlande.

And Barbary Pattison[12] & Margarett Bradley[13] Into y^e^ west.

[a]Alsoe this yeere Geo: Bayley[1] went into ffrance to preach y[e] gospell: & there was Imprisoned & dÿed there.[a]

Alsoe in this yeere Jam: Lancaster was Imprisoned in Bedforde goale.

Ed: Whitewell[2] of Hutton had his horse taken from him {this yeere} by preist Greeneheads order: & never restored to him againe: nor any overplus: money: for 6[d] formerly due to {Miles Birkett}.

Alsoe this yeere Tho: Lawson past uppe Into Surrey to preach y[e] gospell & Jo: Lawson Into y[e] south.

Alsoe this yeere Rob: Salthouse & another ffreinde past over Into y[e] Isle of Man to preach y[e] gospell.

Alsoe this yeere Leonarde ffell past Into Yorkesheere & severall other parts of y[e] nation to preach y[e] gospell.

And Crist: ffell was Imprisoned att Carlile.

Alsoe this yeere Margarett Cleyton[3] Anne Clayton[4] James Simpson[5] Jane Asburner[6] Walt: Myer[7] Tho: Curwen[8] Rich: Waler: & Jo: Driver[9] Will: Adamson[10] Rich: Waler Elin Cominge[11] Tho: Hardy[12] & Rich: Ashburner[13] were all Imprisoned in Lancaster goale: y[e] last of whome Rich: Ashburner: dÿed in prison & finished there his testimony for y[e] Lorde.

Alsoe Miles Halheade & Tho: Salthouse were kept in prison att Exeter by a guarde of souldyers upon y[m]: whoe woulde suffer none y[t] came to see y[m] to come att y[m] y[t] were ffreindes: butt either Imprisoned y[m] or kept y[m] att there guarde: but y[e] under officers confest they acted contrary to there Consciences but they were forct to it by there superiors:

Alsoe this yeere Jo: Bowren[14] & Will: Stockdall past over Into Irelande to preach y[e] gospell: & returned againe about y[e] 7[th] mo[th] 1656[b].

{Alsoe many others past uppe & doune y[e] nation to preach y[e] gospell this yeere: & beyonde y[e] seas:

Alsoe G: ff: & Ed: Pyott past uppe Into y[e] west & Into Cornewall this yeere to preach y[e] gospell: & were there cast Into Launceston goale: by Maj[r] Peter Ceely this yeere 1655.}]

[a]...[a] This paragraph has a line through it. See pp. 334, 336.
[b] Altered from *1657*

[1][*An account off ffreindes travells & sufferinges in y^e^ yeere 1656 & Into what places beyonde y^e^ seas they past to preach y^e^ gospell in this yeere.*

Jo: Slee & Tho: Rawlinson past into y^e^ South this yeere {& Tho: Rawlinson had 20^s^ taken from him by y^e^ Constables in Devonsheere & watchmen}.

Alsoe Jo: Hall[2]: went Into Scotland this yeere & Jo: Westray[3] & Jo: Gill & Geo: Reynalde[4] {& Anne Hargrove[5] & Cristop: ffell & Marga: Bradley}:

Alsoe severall ffreindes in prison att Carlile.

Alsoe Leo: ffell: past uppe Into y^e^ West & Into Cornewall this yeere: & Jane Waugh was Imprisoned att Banbury: & Geo: Scafe[6] past uppe Into y^e^ South {to preach whoe after turned an Apostate & became a panter[a]}.

Alsoe this yeere Will: Ames[7] past over Into Irelande {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe Rich: Clayton & Jam: Lancaster past this yeere Into Irelande.

Alsoe this yeere Will Aimes went over Into Hollande to preach y^e^ gospell & Jo: Stubbs: after his returne out of Irelande past over into Hollande alsoe {&} Miles Halheade & Tho: Salthouse {were} In prison att Exeter goale this yeere.

Alsoe Geo: Harrison[8] past uppe Into y^e^ West & Alex: Parker & Leo: ffell {to preach y^e^ gospell} & Rich: Cleyton.

Alsoe Jo: Scafe past uppe Into y^e^ South this yeere & Rich: Huberthorne & Eli ffletcher: & E: Smyth[9]: {& ffran: fflemminge.}

And Tho: Clyburne[10] past uppe Into Scotlande & Geo: Wilson: & Crist: ffell & others {to preach y^e^ Gospell}.

Alsoe Henery ffell past over seas to Barbadoes this yeere {& severall others to preach y^e^ gospell: &} severall of Ed:[11] Bookes {were} seised on {to witt 94} & carryed to Whitehall y^e^ 2^d^ mo^th^ 56 to before O: P: & a ffreinde spoake to a preist before O: P: fface.

Alsoe this yeere about y^e^ 2^d^[b] mo^th^ 1656: Jam: Parnell dÿed in Colchester prison.

[a] So written. Perhaps, *ranter*

[b] Altered from *1^st^* The exact date was 10th April (Second Month).

Alsoe this yeere Jam: Naylor: runn out: & suffered in London cruell punishments about y^e^ 4^th^[a] mo^th^ 1656.

Alsoe Jo: Audland past uppe to Bristoll this yeere about y^e^ 2^d^ mo^th^ 1656.

Alsoe Tho: Robertson was Imprisoned in Horsham in Sussex this yeere.

Alsoe Jam: Lancaster past this yeere over to Irelande.

Alsoe this yeere Crist: ffell: & Will: Stocdall & Geo: Wilson {& Jo: Grave} past uppe Into Scotlande: which Geo: Wilson went after Into Virginia & Mary lande to preach y^e^ Gospell {& severall others Into America to preach y^e^ gospell} where hee was cast Into prison & cruelly used soe as hee dÿed in chaines in Virginia.

Alsoe severall ffreindes this yeere were Imprisoned att Durham {& many other places in y^e^ nation}.

And Jo: Stubbs gott over to Will: Ames In Hollande to preach y^e^ gospell: y^e^ 15^th^ of y^e^ 5^th^ mo^th^ 1656.

Alsoe this yeere Will: Caton past Into Scotland to preach y^e^ gospell: & Alex: Parker & Jo: Langstaffe[1] were expected there about y^t^ time:

Alsoe y^e^ baptists were in a great rage against ffreindes about this time about Newcastle: & Bishopricke:

Alsoe Will: Caton past over {againe} Into Hollande this yeere {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

And Geo: Bailey to ffrance.

Alsoe Will: Brande[2] Mary Weatherheade[3] & Sarah Gibbans[4] & {many} others went to new Englande this yeere 1656 {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe this yeere Capt: Marshall[5] & Jo: Parrott: & others went for Turkey: & Esther Beedle: to new founde lande:

And Geo: Roffe went Into Hollande: & Jo: Hall {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

And Anne Austin[6] past over to Barbadoes & Mary ffisher[7] {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe two ffrendes past over to Hamborough: this yeere {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe Sam: ffisher & Jo: Stubbs past over to flanders & to Dunkirke: & Ed: Burrough {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

[a] The *4th* appears to have been a later insertion in a blank space. It was the month of Nayler's fall not of his punishment.

Alsoe some other ffreindes past to Venice {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

And two ffreindes past over to Jamaica to preach y^e^ gospell where one of y^m^ dyed:

Alsoe Henery ffell past to Barbadoes: & Jo: Stubbs {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe Ambrosse Rigge was Imprisoned att Southampton about y^e^ 28 of y^e^ 1^st^ mo^th^ 1656.

Jo: Slee past Into y^e^ South this yeere.

Alsoe about y^e^ 23^th^ of y^e^ 11^th^ mo^th^ Jam: Naylor suffered y^e^ remainder of y^e^ cruell punnishments Inflicted upon him by y^e^ parlament att Bristoll[a]: & a plott this time was discovered against O: P:

This yeere y^e^ presbyterians {preists & Independants from Newcastle & Bishopricke} writt to O: P: for protection in there worshippe: & O: P: writt backe to them y^t^ if they were what they pretended to bee they neede not write to him for protection for y^e^ Lorde Jesus Christ woulde then protect y^m^ & hee alsoe in there Christian exercises which letters past & repast about y^e^ 10^th^ mo^th^ 1656.

Alsoe about this time Steephen Hubersty: for speakeinge to y^e^ people in y^e^ steeplehouse was sent to prison to Kendall: about y^e^ 12^th^ 1656.

Alsoe about y^e^ beginninge of this yeere Jam: Naylor sent for Ed: Burrough & ffr: Howghill to come uppe Into y^e^ South y^e^ laborers beinge then few in those partes & y^e^ service great.

And about y^e^ 3^d^ mo^th^ they went uppe Into y^e^ South: & fr: Howghill past Into Kent:

Alsoe about y^e^ 23^th^ of y^e^ 5^d^[b] mo^th^ Jam: Lancaster was Imprisoned att Carlile for speakeinge to a preist in his time of preachinge.

Alsoe Tho: Robertson & Jane Blande[1] past Into y^e^ west & were Imprisoned att Exeter.

Alsoe Tho: Curwen {of Lancasheere} & Walt: Summers[2] {of Glocestersheere} past abroade to preach y^e^ gospell in this yeere {& many others: & many was Imprisoned in y^e^ nation seldome under: a thousande: att a time}.]

[a] The exact date was 17 xi (Jan.), 1656/7. The antecedent of *Bristoll* is, of course, *punnishments* and not *parlament*

[b] Altered from *3^d^*

[1][*An account off what ffreindes went foorth to preach y^e^ Gospell out of y^e^ North: in y^e^ yeere 1657: & Into what partes: of y^e^ worlde: they travailed: & where they suffered this yeere 1657:*

This yeere about y^e^ 5^th^ mo^th^ Jo: Stubbs: past over Into Hollande in y^e^ service off y^e^ Lorde & Will: Caton: & Geo: Rolfe: & Jo: Hall & Will: Ames.

Alsoe George Bailey went for ffrance this yeere:

And Will: Shaw[2]: past over Into Irelande:

Alsoe Will: Brande Mary Weatherheade; Sarah Gibbins: past over to New Englande but Mary Weatherheade was shott att sea by a Dutch privateere & killed.

Alsoe Capt: Marshall & {severall} others past over Into Turkey & Jo: Parrott.

Anne Austin & Mary ffisher past over seas to Barbadoes: & Esther Beedle.

Alsoe this yeere Jo: Stubbs: & Sam: ffisher: went to Legorne & Rome & Italy & Into Turkey {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe two other ffreindes past over seas to Hambrough {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe two women ffreindes went to Venice {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

And other ffreindes past over sea to Jamaica to preach y^e^ gospell.

Alsoe Cristopher Birkett[3] suffred cruell Imprisonement in Hollande this yeere {in Midleborough} & in ffrance:

Alsoe Jo: Harwoode & Will: Salt past over Into ffrance this yeere: but after turned both off y^m^ Apostates from y^e^ truth.

Alsoe Rich: Waler & Rich: Roper both lancasheere men past over Into Irelande this yeere {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

And Jos: Nicolson past over seas to New Englande & his wiffe {to preach y^e^ gospell & diverse others}.

And Tho: Salthouse & Miles Halheade & Tho: Robertson & Steven Hubersty past Into y^e^ South & west of Englande to preach y^e^ gospell:

Alsoe ffrancis Howghill past this yeere Into Scotlande & Tho: Robertson {to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe two ffreindes came out of Wiltsheere & past Into

Scotlande to preach y^e^ gospell this yeere about y^e^ 5^th^ mo^th^ 1657: & Tho: Holme went againe for Scotlande & Jo: Grave {to preach y^e^ Gospell}.

Alsoe Ambrosse Rigge past this yeere Into y^e^ South to preach y^e^ gospell.

Alsoe Will: Ames past Into Irelande & Jo: Westray & Jo: Gill & Jam: Lancaster & Rich: Cleyton: {& Rich: Waler to preach y^e^ gospell}.

Alsoe Tho: Cleaburne went beyonde sea this yeere to preach y^e^ gospell & Jo: Stubbs.

Alsoe E: Gybson[1] & Rob: Huntingeton[2] past Into y^e^ South & Into Scotlande.

Alsoe this yeere there was established & ordered for generall Collections to be ffor y^e^ service of truth & ffreindes y^t^ travailed beyonde seas: through all y^e^ Nation: which charge had layne mostly upon y^e^ northerne Countyes before this time: which was {established} about y^e^ 3^d^ mo^th^ 57:

Alsoe this yeere Miles Halhead Miles Hubersty & litle Miles Bateman travailed Into y^e^ South & to Bristoll & Into y^e^ West to preach y^e^ gospell {which Bateman turned Apostate}.

1657. Alsoe y^e^ 10^th^ of y^e^ 7^th^ mo^th^ Geo: ffox past Into Sco...[a] y^e^ gospell: & there went with him Alex: Parker Jam: L...[a] Coll: Osburne & Rob: Widder.

Rich: Cleyton El: Holme & Tho: Hutton: past Into y^e^ west to preach y^e^ gospell.

And Tho: Holme past Into Barwicke.

Alsoe this yeere Ed: Burrough was Imprisoned att Kingston upon Thames about y^e^ 7^th^ mo^th^.

And Will: Ames & Geo: Rolfe travailed Into Germany to preach y^e^ gospell & had good service for y^e^ Lord in those parts.

Alsoe two ffreindes were Imprisoned att Paris in ffrance this yeere & sufferd cruelly there.

Alsoe Tho: Lecocke Amb: Rigge & Tho: Salthouse {were} Imprisoned in Southwarke goale this yeere {& many others uppe & doune y^e^ nation}.

Alsoe Tho: Rawlinson & Tho: Robertson past this yeere Into Scotland to preach y^e^ gospell.

[a] Corner of sheet torn off. Doubtless the words were *Scotland to preach* and in the next line *Lancaster*

Alsoe this yeere G: ff: drew uppe y^e^ preists principles[1] beinge Collected out off there owne madd bookes.

Alsoe this yeere some ffreindes passed over seas to Jerusalem: & severall Into diverse partes of y^e^ worlde to preach y^e^ gospell: as Geo: Robinson[2] to Jerusalem {& others to other places}.

Alsoe this yeere Will: Dewsberry: past doune Into Cornewall: & Into y^e^ west.]

[3]And y^e^ truth sprange uppe first in Leistersheere {in 1644} {& in} Warwickesheere in 1645: & in Nottingham sheere in: 46: in Darbysheere in 47: & in y^e^ adjacent Countryes: {in} 48: 49: 50: & in Yorkesheere in 1651: & in Lancasheere {&} Westmorlande in 1652: & in Cumberlande & Bishopricke & Northumberlande in 1653: & in London & most parts of y^e^ nation & Scotlande & Irelande in 1654.

And in 1655: many went beyonde seas where truth alsoe sprange uppe.

And in 1656: truth broake foorth: in America: & in many other places.

[a]And y^e^ truth[a] stoode all y^e^ crueltyes & sufferinges y^t^ was Inflicted upon ffrendes by y^e^ Longe Parlament & then by O: P: {& all y^e^ acts y^t^ O: P: made & his parlaments: & his son Richarde after him} & y^e^ Comittee of Safety:

And after: it withstood & lasted out all y^e^ acts: & proclamations since 1660: y^t^ y^e^ kinge came in: [& still y^e^ lords truth is over all: & his seede reignes & his truth exceedingely spreades unto this yeere 1676 {&] ffrends never feared there acts nor prisons nor goales nor house of Corrections nor banishments nor spoleinge of goods nea nor life it selfe}.

And there was never any persecution y^t^ came but wee saw it was for Good & wee looket upon it to bee good as from God & there was never any prisons or sufferinges y^t^ I was in but still it was for y^e^ bringeinge multitudes more out of prison.

For they y^t^ Imprisoned y^e^ truth & quencht y^e^ spiritt in y^m^ selves woulde prison it & quench it without y^m^.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions in which this summary appears: *In the authority of this divine truth friends*

Soe y$^{t}$ there was a time when there were soe many in prison y$^{t}$ it became as {a} by worde truth was not any where to bee founde butt in goales.

And after y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ kinge came in frends sufred much because they woulde not drinke y$^{e}$ kinges health: & say God blesse y$^{e}$ kinge {soe} y$^{t}$ many times ffrendes were In dainger of there lifes by rude people who were ready to runn them through with there swords for refuseinge it untill y$^{e}$ kinge gave foorth a proclamation against drinkeinge healths[1].

For wee were {& are} against all drinkeinge healths & excesse both before his Comeinge in & after.

For wee desired the Kinges good: & y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ blesseinges of God might Come upon him & all his subjects & all people upon y$^{e}$ face of y$^{e}$ earth.

And wee did desire people not to drinke y$^{e}$ kinges health: but lett him have his health & all people else: & soe to drinke for there owne health & necessity onely.

For y$^{t}$ way of drinkeing {healths &} to excesse was not for y$^{e}$ kinges health nor there owne nor noe ones: which excesse often brought foorth quarellinge & destroyeinge one another ffor they destroyed y$^{e}$ creation & one another: & this was not for y$^{e}$ kinges wealth nor health nor honor but might greive him to have y$^{e}$ creaturs destroyed & his subjects.

And soe y$^{e}$ Lords power gave us dominion over y$^{t}$ alsoe: & all our other suffringes.

Butt {oh} y$^{e}$ number of sufferers in y$^{e}$ Commonwealths {days & in} O: P: {days} & since but especially them y$^{t}$ were haled before {there} Courtes for not payinge tyths: & not swearinge in there Juryes & for not puttinge off there hatts & for goeinge to meetinges on y$^{e}$ first days[2] {under pretence of breakinge y$^{e}$ Saboth} & other meetinges {in y$^{e}$ weeke days whoe were abused both in y$^{e}$ meetinges & on y$^{e}$ high ways}.

Oh how great were y$^{e}$ suffringes wee then sustained upon these accounts:

For sometimes they woulde drive ffrendes by droves Into [a]there pen foldes[a]: & there keepe y$^{m}$ on y$^{e}$ first days:

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *the prison-houses like penfolds*

& {then} take there horses from $y^m$: & keep $y^m$ {for {pretended} breach of there saboth though they woulde ride in there Coaches & upon there fatt horses to $y^e$ steeplehouses: & yett punnish others}.

And many ffreinds were turned out of there Copy holdes & Customary tenements because they Coulde not sweare: & as they went to meetinges they have beene stoned through $y^e$ streets: & cruelly abused otherwise: & many was fined with great ffines & lay longe In prison for not puttinge of there hatts[1]: though ffrends Coulde never pay $y^m$; where they kept $y^m$ {in prison} till they had satisfyed there owne wills upon $y^m$ {& at last turned $y^m$ out after they had kept $y^m$ about a yeere or more in prisons}.

[And many ffrends were exceedingely spoiled in there estates & goods in $y^e$ petty Courts for tyths: till wee gott a prohibition out of $y^e$ kinges bench $y^t$ threw $y^e$ tryall of all such thinges out of all there petty Courts: soe $y^t$ now they can onely sue for them in $y^e$ Courtes att London: which my desires is $y^t$ $y^e$ Lord may open there understandinges {alsoe} if it bee his will to throw $y^m$ out of those Courts alsoe.]

And many bookes I gave foorth against tyths: & how $y^e$ preisthoode was changhed $y^t$ took $y^m$: & $y^t$ Christ sent foorth his 70 & 12 disciples & said unto $y^m$ freely they had received & freely they were to give.

And soe all $y^t$ [are transgressors &] does not obey $y^e$ doctrine & Commande of Christ therein wee cannot receive $y^m$.

[And many suffred because they coulde not sweare: both before & since $y^e$ kinge came in because they coulde not swear in obediens to $y^e$ Commande of Christ & $y^e$ Apostles whoe forbidd all swearinge[2].

For there was noe tyths nor swearinge before $y^e$ fall: & soe there is none againe in $y^e$ restoration by Christ {for tenths was offred uppe in $y^e$ time of $y^e$ law: but all must bee ofred uppe in $y^e$ time of $y^e$ gospell.

And though swearinge was in time of $y^e$ law: yett} our yea is to bee yea & our nea to bee nea {in $y^e$ time of $y^e$ gospell}.]

And severall bookes I was moved to give foorth against

swearinge & y$^{t}$ our yea & nea might bee taken Insteade of an oath & if wee broake y$^{t}$: lett us suffer: y$^{e}$ same punnishment y$^{t}$ they did y$^{t}$ broake there oaths.

And in Jamaica y$^{e}$ governor graunted y$^{e}$ thinge & y$^{e}$ assembly & it is alsoe graunted in some other places.

And severall of y$^{e}$ parlament men in Englande has acknowledged y$^{e}$ reason of y$^{e}$ thinge:

[For y$^{e}$ true oath of God was but to tye people to sweare by y$^{e}$ Lord & to {say & to} doe truth since man & woman ffell in y$^{e}$ time of y$^{e}$ law: & not before fall.

And this was y$^{e}$ oath y$^{t}$ Christ came to fulfill & ende & {hee} saith sweare not att all:

I say Christ fulfills & ends this oath: which men was to performe to y$^{e}$ Lord whoe performes Gods oath: which hee sware by himselfe & fulfills y$^{t}$: & {hee} setts uppe yea yea & nea nea Insteade thereof: Concerneinge which I & my ffreinds has written att large in our bookes touchinge this subject.

And] y$^{e}$ magistrates after some time when they saw our faithfulnesse in yea & nea: y$^{m}$ y$^{t}$ was moderate: both before & since y$^{e}$ kinge came in: woulde putt ffreindes Into offices [& Juryes] without it: but y$^{m}$ y$^{t}$ was cruell: & envyous: would fine ffrends to gett money: though ffrends coulde not pay y$^{m}$ any.

And thus y$^{e}$ Lords power hath carryed us through all & over all to his everlastinge glory & praise for Gods power [which was before y$^{e}$ Devill was] has been our hedge our walls: our keeper & y$^{e}$ preserver of his plants & vineyarde whoe have not had y$^{e}$ magistrates {sworde & staffe} to helpe {y$^{m}$} nor never trusted in y$^{e}$ arme of flesh & has gonne without Judas his bagge or y$^{e}$ magistrates sworde {& staffe} to preach y$^{e}$ worde of life: which was in y$^{e}$ beginninge before it was.

Which worde reconciles to God & thousands have received y$^{e}$ worde of reconciliation: & are borne againe of y$^{e}$ immortall seed by y$^{e}$ worde of God: & are feedinge upon y$^{e}$ milk of y$^{e}$ worde which lives & abides & endures for ever.

And many has suffered {to} death for there testimony both: in England & beyonde y$^{e}$ seas: both before & since y$^{e}$ kinge came in as you may see as followeth.[1]

[And since y^e^ kinge came in three acts[1] hath beene made by y^e^ kinge & parlament besydes y^e^ proclamations by which many has suffered Imprisonement & bannishment & many to death.

And yett for all these Acts & proclamations & bannishment & persecutions & suffringes ffreindes are as fresh as ever in y^e^ Lords power {& valiant} for his name & truth.

And some there was when y^e^ kinge came in y^t^ did sweare & take y^e^ oaths: but after when they had donne they were soe troubled for disobeyinge y^e^ Commande of Christ & y^e^ Apostle: y^t^ they went to y^e^ magistrates & condemned y^m^selves: & offered y^m^selves to goe to prison.

And thus y^e^ Lord in his everlastinge power has beene y^e^ support & stay off his people.

And when y^e^ glorious gospell & truth was spreade over y^e^ nation & they had received y^e^ worde of life then first y^e^ Quarterly {& some monthly} meetinges were setled throughout y^e^ nation: & then after: as truth more & more spreade y^e^ monthly mens meetinges in 1667 {& 1668}.

And then {alsoe} some womens meetinges were sett uppe: & after: y^e^ womens meetinges throughout y^e^ nation & other nations: were exhorted unto & sett uppe & established throughout y^e^ nations.

For {when} I was sent for to many sicke people: & att one time I was sent for to White Chappell {abut three a clocke in y^e^ morninge} to a woman y^t^ was dyeinge & her Childe & y^e^ people was weepinge about her: & after a while I was moved to speak to y^e^ woman: & shee & her Childe was raised uppe: & shee gott uppe to y^e^ astonishment of y^e^ people & her childe alsoe was healed.

And when I came to Ger: Roberts house about 8 in y^e^ morninge & there came in Sarah Blackbourne[2]: to complaine to mee of y^e^ poore & howe many poore ffrendes was in want: & y^e^ Lorde had shewed mee what I should doe in his eternall power & wisdome.

Soe I spoake to her: to bid about 60 women to meete {mee} about y^e^ 1^st^ houre in y^e^ afternoone att y^e^ {signe of y^e^} helmett att a ffrendes house[3] & they did soe accordingely: such as were sensible women of y^e^ Lords truth & fearinge God.

And what y^e^ Lord had opned unto mee I declared unto

$y^m$ Concerneinge there haveinge a meetinge once a weeke every 2 day: $y^t$ they might see & enquire Into $y^e$ necessity of all ffrendes whoe was sicke & weake & whoe was in wants or widdowes & fatherlesse: in $y^e$ Citty & suburbes.

And soe they blest $y^e$ Lord for $y^e$ wisedome of God: $y^t$ had setled such a meetinge in his power {amongst $y^m$}: for they all {$y^t$} was heires of $y^e$ power of God: was to take there possession of $y^e$ power of God $y^e$ gospell {& its order} which was before $y^e$ devill was.

And this brought $y^m$ Into $y^e$ practise of $y^e$ pure religion to visitt $y^e$ sicke & to releive $y^e$ fatherlesse & $y^e$ widdowe & to see $y^t$ nothinge was lackeinge amongst $y^m$.

And that they in visitinge $y^e$ sicke in $y^e$ Lords power & worde through which they woulde have $y^e$ wisedome of $y^e$ Lord {& of his creation & howe to administer his} Creatures & by $y^e$ same power to heale & strengthen with $y^e$ outwarde thinges & without $y^m$: which they have felt prosperous to this day: & great thinges has beene donn in there meetinges by $y^e$ Lords power.

And very honorable It has beene in $y^e$ eyes of all $y^e$ faithfull yea & $y^e$ worlde alsoe:

And after $y^e$ same womens meetinges were setled upp & doune $y^e$ nation & beyonde $y^e$ seas in $y^e$ power of $y^e$ Lord which was before $y^e$ Devill was in which power of $y^e$ Lord noe sect nor Apostacy can come: but peace & unity.

And $y^e$ power of $y^e$ Lord $y^e$ gospell is $y^e$ authority of all $y^e$ mens & womens meetinges: & all $y^e$ heires of $y^e$ power $y^e$ gospell: both men & women are to take there {possessions of $y^e$} Inheritance of $y^e$ power of God which is over $y^e$ Devill: soe in it nothinge Can gett betwixt $y^m$ & $y^e$ Lord God.

And at $y^e$ setlinge of $y^e$ mens meetinges in $y^e$ gospell $y^e$ power of God I lett $y^m$ see how they had a mens meetinge in $y^e$ first conversion amongst $y^e$ {primitive} Christians: of {such as were} faithfull men {&} full of $y^e$ holy ghoast: & these were to see in $y^e$ Lords power & wisedome $y^t$ nothinge was lackeinge.

For since $y^e$ Christians denyed $y^e$ Jews temple storehouse & preists where $y^e$ widdows strangers & fatherlesse were releived: they sett uppe a mens meetinge in $y^e$ power of God & in $y^e$ holy ghoast to see $y^t$ widdowes fatherlesse

& strangers were releved & y$^{t}$ nothinge was wantinge amongst y$^{m}$.

Now though this {practise} has beene lost since y$^{e}$ Apostles days since men has gonne from y$^{e}$ power of God & y$^{e}$ holy ghoast y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Apostles was in.

And therfore are y$^{e}$ streets & country: soe full of widdowes & strangers & beggars: & soe full of wants: whoe wants y$^{e}$ sense of y$^{e}$ good spiritt & power to open there heartes {as y$^{e}$ Apostles & primitive Christians was in} but y$^{e}$ everlastinge gospell beinge preacht againe by y$^{e}$ same holy ghoast as y$^{e}$ Apostles was in & received from heaven as they received it.

And many thousands haveinge received this Gospell: now agane a mens meetinge is sett uppe as was in y$^{e}$ days of y$^{e}$ Apostles in y$^{e}$ power of God & in y$^{e}$ holy ghoast:

And womens meetinges as mothers & y$^{t}$ they may bee teachers of good thinges: & soe to see y$^{t}$ nothinge bee lackeinge amongst y$^{m}$ & soe to doe good unto all but especially unto y$^{e}$ householde of faith.

And now y$^{e}$ power of God is y$^{e}$ authority of both our men & womens meetinges & all y$^{e}$ other meetinges which power of God was before y$^{e}$ Apostacy was from y$^{e}$ Apostles: & before y$^{e}$ fall & y$^{e}$ devill was & is over all:

And all are to take there possessions of it: & in it to doe gods service & busnesse.

Soe these meetinges is for y$^{e}$ Converted & elect: before y$^{e}$ worlde began: & {such as} are heires of y$^{e}$ power & does possesse it.

And what they doe & act in the spiritt & power of God they doe it in y$^{t}$ which shall never have an ende to y$^{e}$ glory of God for ever Amen.]

[1][And in y$^{e}$ days of O: P: many ffrendes was Imprisoned for admonishinge preists & professors {& other} teachers by Queene Marys lawe[2] {& suffered} 3 months Imprisonement {by it}.

Soe {then} all {y$^{e}$} presbyterian Independant & Baptist preists all cryed uppe Queene Marys lawe: if ffrendes went to admonish y$^{m}$ In y$^{e}$ steeplehouses & to declare y$^{e}$ everlastinge truth to y$^{e}$ people.

And sometimes y$^{e}$ preists would be soe Confounded &

stoppt y$^{t}$ if a frende came but in when they were preachinge: they coulde not goe farther: though y$^{e}$ messenger of y$^{e}$ Lord spoake never a worde: as in diverse partes of y$^{e}$ nation it was soe: & sometimes y$^{e}$ officers woulde say to y$^{e}$ preist goe on Sir hee says nothinge to disturb you: but y$^{e}$ preist woulde cry {out}: I cannot goe on as longe as hee or shee stands there.

As preist Baxter[1] caused Tho: Goodyeere to bee Imprisoned for sayinge hum: whoe as y$^{e}$ preist was declareinge against y$^{e}$ truth: Thomas Goodyeere said Hem: & this hee said disturbed him.

Alsoe {when} Miles Halheade: came In to Underbarrow steeplehouse y$^{e}$ preist Coulde not speak a worde.

Alsoe when Jos: Coale: Came Into S$^{t}$[a] Tudy steeplehouse in Cornewall: & parson Liverton[2] a new Englande preacher being then preachinge: hee was soe Amazed & strucke with feare: as for a longe time hee was like one speechlesse: & at last with a dreadefull roaringe voice hee cryed out hale him away parishoners hale him away {though hee spoake nothinge to him before}: which they did: & Anthony Nicolls[3] then & there a Justice of peace sent him to Launceston Goale for {sayinge nothinge which hee caled a disturbans of y$^{e}$ preist}.

And many hundreds more uppe & doune in y$^{e}$ nation: were soe dreadefully affrighted & strucke when any freinde man or woman came In to steeplehouses y$^{e}$ preists coulde not goe on: as longe as frendes remained in y$^{e}$ steeplehouses.

1656. And in this yeere they revived an olde law: made in Queene Elizabeths time against sturdy vagrants[4] & beggars goeinge uppe & doune which law they putt in execution against our ffrendes & sett uppe watch & warde in y$^{e}$ high ways: to stoppe & take uppe all ffrendes especially in y$^{e}$ westerne parts by which many ffrendes was taken uppe: men of estates: & of account in y$^{e}$ worlde though some were goinge about ther outwarde Imployment: as well as others y$^{t}$ were goeinge to declare y$^{e}$ truth but y$^{e}$ Lord brake all these lawes & snares to peices.

And often: y$^{e}$ presbyterians Independants Baptists &

[a] This word appears to have been inserted and afterwards erased.

papists & all y^e^ other sects woulde aske us whoe was y^e^ first speaker amongst y^e^ Quakers.

Our Aunswer was & is Christ Jesus for God was y^e^ first speaker to Adam & Eve in paradice & as longe as they kept under Gods teachinge they was happy & blessed & kept y^e^ image of God & righteousnesse & holynesse; & had power over all y^t^ God made.

But when they hearkned to y^e^ serpent y^e^ false teacher they lost y^e^ paradice & y^e^ Image & righteousnesse & there dominion & blessed state.

Soe death reigned from Adam till Moses: & y^e^ law & y^e^ prophetts were untill John: & y^e^ promise was y^e^ seede of y^e^ woman should bruise y^e^ serpents heade: & Christ through death destroyes death yea & y^e^ Devill y^e^ power of death.

And hee says learne of mee & God said this is my beloved son heare yee him.

Soe I say God was y^e^ first teacher in paradice y^e^ serpent was y^e^ {seconde & y^e^} false: but Christ bruises y^e^ heade of this false teacher: Whoe is y^e^ prophet {Moses spoake of y^t^} God woulde raise uppe like unto him whom all must heare.

And y^e^ Apostle saith God att sundry times & after diverse manners spoake unto y^e^ fathers by y^e^ prophetts but now in these last days hee hath spoaken unto us by his son.

Soe us y^e^ disciples & us y^e^ true Church: whome Christ is y^e^ heade off: hath god spoken unto {by his son}.

And Alsoe y^e^ Apostle saith neglect not his voice y^t^ speakes from heaven: for they y^t^ neglected Moses dyed under y^e^ handes of two or 3 wittnesses which was but a naturall death: but howe much sorer punnishment will come upon y^m^: if they neglect him y^t^ speakes from heaven ffor they dye an eternall death y^t^ does neglect there salvation & therfore his voice is to be hearde whose voice shakes y^e^ earth & y^e^ heavens {alsoe}.

And all must know there earth shaken & y^e^ heavens alsoe y^t^ y^t^ may appeare which cannot be shaken.

Soe Christ whoe is y^e^ first & y^e^ last: is our first speaker & y^e^ last true speaker whoe bruises y^e^ heade of all false speakers ways religions chuches & worshipps.

And Christ is y^e^ heade of all y^e^ true {speakers}: whoe became a Curse to redeeme man out of y^e^ Curse & to bringe man uppe Into y^e^ Image & righteousness & holyness {& y^e^ blessed state y^t^} man was in before hee fell {&} to God againe.

Soe God was y^e^ first speaker in paradice & hee hath sent his son: to bruise y^e^ heade of y^e^ false & second speaker y^e^ Serpent & to reconcile man uppe againe to God & God hath spoaken to us againe by his son whoe was y^e^ first speaker in paradice: & is y^e^ Quakers first speaker nowe {& y^e^ last} whoe has brought us into y^e^ image of God & righteousnesse & holynesse & blessed state as man was in before hee fell: & not onely to that state but uppe into himselfe to y^e^ state y^t^ shall never fall to his measure & stature: & this is by growth & first repentans & then beleife: & then grafted & passenge from death to life & soe from faith to faith which Christ is y^e^ author off: till they come from a babe to a younge man & y^e^ olde mans state y^t^ knows Christ as hee was in y^e^ beginninge & much might be declared of these thinges.]

[1][*Concerning {who are}[a] them that are ordered to Look after the printing of G ffs Books.*

All my Papers that are Written & printed, Books or Broadsides printed, that have been sent Beyond y^e^ Seas or are to y^e^ Rulers or to priests or Magistrates Let y^m^ be printed in a Book.

And all my Notes that bee written in Books or Lye in papers which Notes are the heads of things that I have Noted & Written Lett them bee printed together in a Book, and some are in Holland that have not been printed in England to y^e^ Jews & professours.

And all my Epistles that are written or printed to bee gathered together & printed in a Book—And all my Answers to priests Bishops Magistrates & professours which are in print or Writeing they all may bee gathered together & printed in a Book.

And y^e^ great Jornall of my Life, Sufferings, Travills and Imprisonments they may bee put together that Lye in

[a] Words inserted by Sarah Meade, née Fell[2].

papers and y^e^ Little Jornall Books they may bee printed together in a Book—And many of my Epistles you will find Ingrossed in Some Books at Thomas Widders[1] & att Swarthmoore & there are some of Mine at y^e^ Chamber & in y^e^ North & others in writeing tyed up in Bundles—And many you will find of my old Epistles may bee had in the North—And many of my Books Bound up with other Books—And I have a List of some of my printed Books & Epistles but not of them all—they may bee printed together in a Book & y^e^ Speeches that I spake att y^e^ Yearly Meetings which were taken in Writeing with y^e^ heads & Notes of Truth they may bee Printed together {in A Booke}[a] which are Written & are in Books.

The Book in which y^e^ Lords power was Manifest at y^e^ Breaking first of the Truth, where itt may bee seen Some are Miracles that his power wrought, you may print if you will—And all y^e^ Certificates may bee Bound up together in a Manuscript & written fair over & kept, which were for Clearing of mee from many filthy Slanders & Ungodly Lying Tongues which I am & was Clear of I Bless the God of heaven whom I have served, and hee hath given mee power to Condemne their Slanderous Tongues, and hee hath Restrained their Weapons that y^e^ wicked hath {all alonge}[a] fformed against mee Blessed be his Name.

And I doe desire T: Lower & J Rouse & W Mead & A Parker & G Whitehead and St Crisp[2] & Tho: Elwood[3] & John ffield[4] & Benj: Antrobus[5], & W Penn & Tho: Robinson[6] & J. V.[7] & John Blakelaine to gether up all my Books & Epistles printed & not printed as is before Mentioned & Let them bee printed & Bound up & Every one of y^m^ to have a Book {one}[a] a peece for their Labour & paines and to Every ffaithfull Minister a Book, and they that I have ordered for y^e^ printing of my Books & y^e^ Gathering of them up together a Guiney a peece for their Labour & paines, & when they are printed, my Wife & Daughters & Sons in Law and their Children to have one a peece, and there are Many Errours & Mistakes in y^e^ printing & Writeing of Some which may be Mended in y^e^ Reading of them; And soe I Desire that all may be Looked up & Carefully printed, there are some at Swarthmoor & some att William Meads

[a] Insertion by Sarah Meade.

& some at Benjamin Antrobuses, And when they are done you may give to Every Yearly Meeting & Quarterly Meeting of Gods people one a peece ffreely, ffor When all things are Discharged Concerning mee & what I have ordered in my other papers then all y^e^ Money that I have Left is for y^e^ printing of my Books, and soe farr as itt will goe or Reach they may be given ffreely. Soe y^e^ Lord God order you all by his Wisdome to his Glory. Amen.

Geo: ffox.

And all y^e^ overplus Books of Mine & those that are good Books not Mine Let y^m^ bee kept together & not Lost for they may bee Serviceable.

The: 4: mo: 27: 1685:

G: ff:

And Let Tho: Dockrey[1] that knoweth many of my Epistles and written Books which he did write Come up to London to Assist ffriends in Sorting of my Epistles & other writeings & Give him a Guiney.

G: ff:]

[2][*To them that are to Take Care of Gathering up G ffs Books & Papers.*

There are Many Epistles & papers of Mine which may be had in all the Quarterly & Monthly Meetings in England & Wales, which I Never took Copyes of; Besides many Books which I have not y^e^ Tytles of; ffor there was all Manner of Scruples Questions & Objections Answered Both of ffriends & y^e^ Worlds & they may be had in y^e^ Monthly & Quarterly Meetings its Like which ffriends alwayes sent to mee, about which none Indeed Could nor hardly would take y^e^ pains to Answer but mee, which may bee very serviceable to ffriends for y^e^ time to Come to print which may Easily be gathered up, from all y^e^ Quarterly & Monthly Meetings by writeing to y^m^.

G: ff:

All the passages of ffriends & their Travells from y^e^ Beginning of y^e^ Spreading of Truth both in England

Scotland & Ireland and other places Beyond y^e^ Seas I have y^m^ in Manuscript among my papers here at London, & att Swarthmoor, and Some of y^m^ Its Like may be found in Robert Withers Books of Epistles & Letters & some of y^m^ may be found in a Book y^t^ Eliz: Bland[1] hath of her Mothers, & R. Richardson hath aboundance of Copyes of my papers & Letters of passages at y^e^ Chamber to beyond y^e^ Seas & in England & to y^e^ Kings, some of y^m^ Mark[2] took from mee, & Besides others that Lye in y^e^ Little Drawer under y^e^ Table & all y^m^ that are Mine must bee Joyned to my Epistles & papers: And y^e^ others which are Hystory & passages to be Joyned to y^m^ which are to make a history of passages of y^e^ spreading of Truth which will be a Brave thing; And Tho: Lower hath many Brave Epistles & papers of Mine, which may Come in with y^e^ Rest, and Besides many Epistles & papers which I writt in y^e^ Countyes & never kept Copyes of which Its Like they may Easily be had out of their Books from Every Quarterly Meeting both in England & Wales.

All y^e^ passages of ffriends & Their Travills which they have Stiched up at Swarthmoore may be Gathered up to make a History of.

G: ff:]

[3][*For G ff to bee Laid in y^e^ Trunk at W Ms.*

I Doe order W^m^ & Sarah Mead & T Lower to take Care of all my Books & Epistles & Papers that bee att Benjamin Antrobuses & at R Rs Chamber & those that come from Swarthmoore, and my Jornall of my Life & the passages & Travills of ffriends & to take them all into their hands & all y^e^ overplus of y^m^ they may have & keep together as a Liberary, when they have gathered them together which are {not}[a] to bee printed.

And for them to take Charge of all my Money & Defray all as I have ordered in my other papers & any thing of Mine they may take & God {will &}[a] shall be their Reward: Thomas Lower & John Rouse may assist you.

G: ff:

[a] Insertion by Sarah Meade.

And all y^e^ passages & Travills & Sufferings of ffriends in the Beginning of y^e^ Spreading of y^e^ Truth which I have kept together will make a fine history, & they may bee had at Swarthmoor with my other Books, And if they Come to London with my papers then they may be had Either at W Ms or Benj: Antrobuses Closet, Soe itt is a fine thing to know the Beginning of y^e^ Spreading of y^e^ Gospell after Soe Long Night of Apostacy since y^e^ Apostles Dayes, that now Christ Reigns as hee did in the hearts of his people.

Glory to y^e^ Lord fforever, Amen

The 8: mo: 1688:

G: ff:]

[1][*This is to be put up among G ffs sealed up papers that packett that Sarah Mead hath.*

And all that I have written Concerning what I doe give to my Relations either Money or other wayes John Loft[2] may put itt up in my Trunk at John Elsons & write all things downe in a paper & make a paper out of all my papers how I have ordered things for them: And John Loft may send all things downe by Polesworth Carryer in y^e^ Trunk to John ffox[3] att Polesworth in Warwicksheere and Let John ffox send John Loft a full Receit & a Discharge and in this Matter none of you may bee Concerned but John Loft only.

And my other Little Trunk that standeth in Benjamin Antrobuses Closet with y^e^ out Landish things Thomas Lower shall have, and if itt bee ordered in any other papers to any other that must not stand so but as now ordered.

{G: F:}[a]

And Sarah {thou}[a] may give Sarah ffrecklton[4] half a Guiney for she hath been Serviceable to mee, an honest Carefull young Woman. {G: F:}[a]

Make noe Noise of these things but doe them in the Life as I have ordered them, and when all is done & Cleared what Remaines is to y^e^ printing of my Books.

[a] Insertion by Sarah Meade.

Benjamin Antrobus & Mary[1] hath of Mine 100 pownds take noe use of them for itt when you doe Receive itt.

And in my Chest in Benjamin Antrobuses Chamber there is a Little Guilt Box with some Gold in itt: Sarah Mead to take itt & Lett itt doe its Services amongst y^e^ Rest soe far as itt will goe, the Box is sealed up: {G: F:}[a]

And Lett Thomas Docker that knoweth many of my Epistles & written Books which hee did write Come up to London {to}[a] assist ffriends in Sorting of my Epistles & other writeings and give him a Guiney.

G: ff:]

[2][*For John ffox & Thomas Poultney*[3] *at Polesworth Near Tamworth in Warwickshire.*

My Trunke which stands at John Elsons Send to my Brother John ffox who Liveth at Polesworth in Warwickshire—And the things & y^e^ Money that my sister[4] had of her ffather & Mother which was Mine she shall have y^e^ use of as Long as she Liveth, & when she Dyeth what is Left of y^e^ principle John ffox my Brother & his Children shall have, and y^e^ Rest of y^e^ things that my Brother John ffox had & hath of Mine with y^e^ sheep hee shall Divide among his Children after the Decease of my Sister Katherne[5] but while she Liveth all things shall stand as they bee.

And y^e^ Land that my Brother John ffox bought by my order Lett Young George ffox[6] have itt & Lett itt bee made to him & his Heirs ffor ever who is y^e^ Son of my Brother John ffox.

Soe you that bee my outward Relations Live in y^e^ ffear of God & in Truth Righteousness & Godlyness & in peace & in the Love of God through Jesus Christ which is my Desire that you may to y^e^ end of your Dayes Amen.

G: ff:

And my Cousen Thomas Poultney shall have all y^e^ Sheep with the profitt after y^e^ Decease of his Aunt Katherne both what hee had of Samuell ffrettwell[7] & Since.

G: ff:

The 1: mo: 24: Day
1686.]

[a] Insertion by Sarah Meade.

[1][*Concerning John ffox & Thomas Poultney and John ffox Liveth att Polesworth near Tamworth in Warwickshire.*

And my Trunk that you doe send to John ffox y^e^ Great Trunk att John Elsons my Brother John ffox shall have and when itt is sent downe with some of my old Clothes John ffox & Thomas Poultney may Equally Divide them with him & their Children, as I said in my other paper.

And 30 pownd I doe give to bee Equally Divided among my outward Relations Namely my Sister Dorithyes[2] Children & John ffox & his Children, & Thomas Poultney & his if any, And Sister Catherne shall have 10 pownds of itt: If she bee Living & y^e^ other 20 shall be Equally Divided among them as before: But Young George ffox is but to have five Shillings of itt, for hee hath the Land that his ffather bought for him: And soe what old Clothes of Mine you doe Leave you may send some of y^m^ downe in y^e^ Trunk to them as before to bee Equally Divided.

And if any Question y^e^ Blotting
out of any thing in my papers
I did itt with my owne hand.

G: ff:

The 1: mo: 24: day
1686]

[3][*For M ff & T L: & J R: & D A*[4]*:*

My Wife shall have y^e^ profitt or Use of Pettyes with the Land as Long as she doth Live if she will, and then after her death to y^e^ Lord & ffriends as y^e^ Deed doth order of Mine.

And my Ebeney Bed with y^e^ Curtins & my great Chair & my sea Case with y^e^ Glass Bottles in itt I doe Give to stand in y^e^ house at pettyes which I have Given for a Meeting place & y^e^ Chair will serve for ffriends to sitt on & y^e^ Bed to Lye upon, and y^e^ Sea Case will hold some Liquour or Drink if any should bee faint.

And my Little Case with y^e^ Bottles in itt y^t^ is Covered with Straw I doe give to Rachel[5].

And my other things & Cloathes at Swarthmoore my

Wife & Thomas Lower & Rachell may Divide Equall Among them & y^e^ Deed of above a 1000 Akers of Land in Pensilvania which William Penn gave mee I doe give to John Rouse & to Thomas Lower & to Daniel Abrahams & their Children to bee Equally Divided among them, but only 16 Acers of itt I gave to ffriends there 10 of itt for a Close to put ffriends horses in when they Come to y^e^ Meeting that they might not bee Lost in y^e^ Woods & y^e^ other 6 Acers for a Meeting house, and a School house, & a Burying Place, But ffriends att Pensilvania never did write unto mee what they have done in this thing but I have y^e^ Deeds in my Trunke att W^m^ Meads, Sarah may give you them, and if you will not have itt then you may give itt to poor ffriends that goe over.

The 2 day: 8 mo:
1686 George ffox.]

[1][*Money of G ffs & Where.*

G ff hath one 32 part of John Cockerells[2] Ship of Scarborough Named y^e^ Pashant Triall which cometh to £38: 7: 8.

And in that Catch which was Thomas ffosters But now another Man is Master of her & she is now made a pink, first I had one 16 part : & then another half part first £50 : & after 12 : to 85 pownd, And John Richardson[3] is now Master & hath brought in Great Losses But you may take what is Left and Edw: Mann hath a part in her & hee can Informe you.

And John Rouse had & hath of G ffs for y^e^ Salt ponds in the Year 1685 y^e^ 23 : of y^e^ 11^th^ Month £200, as y^e^ Inclosed Note Sheweth.

Thomas Lower hath of G ffs, Sarah Mead hath y^e^ Bond, £100.

And att Lancaster in Susanah ffells Name, & Sarah Mead hath y^e^ Bond of one—100 pownd of G ffs.

And Bridget Austell[4] & John Plant[5] they Borrowed of G ff y^e^ 23 Day of y^e^ 11^th^ mo: 1684 :—50 pownds. Which G ff hath in their Trade y^e^ profitt of.

Alsoe G ff hath Some Money in Benjamin Antrobuses hand which is for G ffs Dayly Charge and if any bee Left you may take itt with y^e^ Rest, In Benjamin Antrobus & Mary his Wifes hand is 100 pownd. G: ff:

The 4 mo: 27: Day: 1685.]

[1][*Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.*

I do give to Thomas Lower my Sadle and Bridle they are at John Nelsons and Spurrs and Bootts inward Leathers and the New-England Indian Bible and my Great Book of the signifying of Names and my Book of the New Testament of eight Languages and all my Physical Things that came from beyond the Sea with the outlandish Cupp and that thing that People do give Glisters with And my two Dials the one is an Equinoctiall Diall And all my Overplus Books to be divided among my four Sons in Law and also all my other Books: And my Hammock I do give to Tho: Lower that is at Benjamin Antrobus his Closett and Rachell may take that which is at Swarthmore And thomas Lower may have My Wallnutt Equinoctiall Diall and if he can he may get one cut by it which will be hard to do. and he shall have one of my prospect-Glasses in my Trunck att London and a pair of my Gloves.—and my Seale G: F. and the Flaming Sword to Neath: Meade[2] and my other two Seales I: Rouse & the other Dan: Abraham. And Tho: Lower shall have my Spanish Leather-hood and S: Meade shall have my Magnifying Glass and the Tortoiseshell Comb and Case. G: F.

And Let Tho: Dockra that knoweth many of my Epistles and written Books which he did write come up to London to assist Friends in sorting of my Espistles and other writings and give him a Guinea. G: F.

And all that I Have written concerning what I do give to my Relations either Money or otherwise John Loft may put it up in my Trunck at John Elsons and write all things down in a paper and make a Paper out of all my Papers how I have ordered things for them and John Loft may send all things down by Powlesworth Carrier in the Trunck

to John Fox {at} Poulesworth in Warwickshire and lett John Fox send John Loft a full Receipt and a discharge and in this matter none of you may be concerned but John Loft only and my other Little Trunck that standeth in Benjamin Antrobus his Closett with the outlandish Things Thomas Lower shall have and if it be ordered in any other Papers that must not stand so, but as now ordered. G: F.

And Sarah thou may give Sarah Freckleton half a Guinea for she hath been serviceable to me an Honest careful young Woman. G: F.

Make no noise of these Things but do them in the Life as I have ordered them And when all is done and cleared what remains to the printing of my Books Benjamin Antrobus and Mary hath 100 Pounds of mine take no use of them for it when you do receive it And my Chest in Benjamin Antrobus his Chamber there is a little Gilt Box with some Gold in it. Sarah Meade to take it, and let it do it[a] service among the rest so far as it will go the Box is sealed up. G. F.

I do order William and Sarah Meade and T. Lower to take care of all my Books and Epistles and Papers that be at Benjamin Antrobuses and at R. R. Chamber and those that come from Swarthmore and my Journal of my Life and the Passages and Travels of Friends & to take them all into their Hands And all the overplus of them they may have & keep together as a Library when they have gathered them together which are to be printed. And for them to take charge of all my Money and defray all as I have ordered in my other Papers and any thing of mine they may the my[a] take, and God will and shall be their reward.

The 8th Moth 1688 G. F.

Thomas Lower and John Rouse may assist you and all the Passages and Travels and sufferings of Friends in the beginning of the Spreading of the Truth which I have kept together will make a fine History and they may be had at Swarthmore with my other Books and if they come to London with my Papers then they may be had either at W: M: Ben Antrobus his Closett—So it is a fine thing to

[a] Marginal note: "Orig[l] so"

know the beginning of the spreading of the Gospel, after so long Night of Apostacy since the Apostles Days that now Christ Reigns as he did in the Hearts of the People. Glory to the Lord for ever Amen.

The 8th Moth 1688. G. F.

Tricesimo Die Mensis Decembris Anno Dñi 1697°. Emavit Comco Margareta Fox Relictae & Legariae nominatae in Testo Georgij Fox nup̃ de Swarthmore in Com̃ Lancastriae sed in Proã Omniũ Sanctorũ Lombard Street Londoñ deftĩ heñtis &c. Ad administrand̃ Bona Jura & Credita dicti deftĩ Juxta tenorem et effectum Testĩ ipsius deftĩ (Eo quod nullũ omnio noĩavert Exẽtorem) Declaratione in presentia Dei Omnipontũ juxta Statutum Parliam̃ti in hac parte editum et Provisũ de bene et fideliter Administrand̃ eadem p̃dictam Margaretam Fox prius facta

Wm Legard
Pet. St Eloy } Deputy Registers.]
Hen: Stevens.

[1][I do give to Thomas Lower my sedell the ar at Jhon Nelsons and bridall and spores and bootes inward lethereths and the newengland indan Bible and my great book of the signifing of names, and my book of the new testement of eight langes and all my fisckall things that came from beyond the seay with the outlandesh cup and that thing that people do give glisters with and my tow dialls the one is an eknocksha dial and all my over pliesh bookes to be divided among my {4}[a] sones in law and also all my other bookes and my hamak I do give to Thomas Lower that is at bengamin antrobus his closet and rachall may take that which is at Swarchmor.

and Thomas Lover may have my walnut equnockshall diall and if he can he may get one cut by it which will be hard to do and he shall have one of my prospect glaseses in my trank at London and a pare of my gloveses and my seale G.F. and the flaming sword to Nat Meade and my other two seals J. Rose and the other Dan Abraham and Thomas Laier shall have my Spanesh lether hud S Meade shall have my magnifing glas and the torkel shell com and cace. G. F.

[a] This figure is inserted in pencil.

and all that I have written consaring what I do give to my relashons ether mony or other ways Jhon Loft may put it up in my tronke at Jhon Elfenes and wright all things downe in a paper and make a paper out of all my papers how I have ordered things for them and Jhon Loft may send all things down by Powelsworth carrer in the trounke to Jhon Fox at Powelsworth in Warwicksher and let Jhon Fox send John Loft a full receat and a discharge and in this mater and non of you may be consarned but Jhon Loft only. G. F.

and my other letell tronke that standeth in Bengmin Antrubeses closet with the outlandish things Thomas Lover shall have and if it be order'd in {any} other papeers to any other that must not stand so but as now orders. G. F.

and Sary thou may give Sary Frickenfeld half a gine for she hath been sarvesable to mee a honest carfull young Woman. G. F.

make no noyes of thes things but do them in the life as I have ordered them and when all is don and cleared what remenes to the printing of my bookes.

Bengmin Antrabus hath one 100 of mine take no yowes of them for it when you do recieve it.

and in my cheast in Bengamen Antrabs chamber there is a letell gilt box with som gold in it Sary Mead to take it and let it do it sarveses among the rest so far as it will go the box is sealed up. G. F.

and let Thomas Docker that knoeth many of my Epeseles and writen bookes which he did wright com up to London to assist frends in sorting of my Epeseles and other writings and give him a gine. G. F.

This is to be put up among G. F. seled up papers that packet that Sary Mead hath.

I do order W. and Sarah Mead and T. Lover to take care of all my books and Epeseles and papers that be at Benjimin Antrobis and at M. M.[1] chamber and those that com from Swarthmor and my jornal of my life and the paseges and travels of frends and to take them all into ther hands and all the over pluch of them the may have and keep together as a libary when the have gathered them together which is to be parted.

and for them to take charge of all my mony and defray

all as I have ordered in my other papers and any thing of mine the may the may take and god will and shall be ther reward. the 8 mo. 1688. G. F.

Thomas Lover and John Rous may asist you and all the paseges and travild and sufferings of frinds in the beging of the spreading of the troath which I have keep together will make a fine history and the may be had at Swarthmor with my other bookes and if the com to London with they papers then the may be had either at W. M. or ben Antrubs closet for it is a fine thing to know the beging of the spreading of the gospell after so long night of apostace since the Aposels days that now Christ reines as he did in the hearts of his people glory to the lord for ever amen. G. F.

The 8. mon. 1688.]

[1][*A Copy of my ffather G. ff*[s] *Donations*

To M: ff: the produce of Pettyes soe long as shee livs & 2 ginneys & to have a share of all my cloaths & things at Swarthmoore equall with T: L: & D: A: & his wife.

To M R: my knitt weastcoat & to take her choice of any of my cloaths or things in my chest or trunks at London & to her and her husband & chilldren a ginney a piec & to have a Share of my overplus books with W M: T: L: & D: A: & to Jo: R: a seal & a share of 1000 Acres of Land in Pensylvania equall with T: L: & D: A.

To Sarah Mead some of my Cloaths or things in y[e] Chest or trunk at London to take her choice, to her & her husband, self & child a ginney a piec &c—And to W M: & N: M: my great Combe case my Steel & chaine to knock Letters & to W M: my buff girdle & a Share of my overplus books with T: L: J: R: & D: A & to N M my gould seal & to S M: my magniefyeing glass & turtois shell Comb Case.

To Abraham Morrice his wife[1] & W Y: a ginney a piec, J M[2]: to have a share of my cloaths or things in my chest or trunk at London: to take her choice.

To Charles[3] & Isabella ffell[4] a ginney a piec.

To Daniel Abraham his Wife & 2 chilldren a ginney a piec a Share of my overplus books with J R: W M: & T L: & to R A my Hammock at Swarthmoore & a Seal to D A & a share of my 1000 Acres of Land in Pensylvania equall with J R & T L: & his wife to have a Share of all my cloaths & things at Swarthmoore equall with M ff: & T L: & his Wife.

To Susannah ffell one of my Chamlet Coats or any other she shall chuse a ginney & to her some of my cloaths or things in the Chest or trunks at London to take her choice.

To T L: & his Wife & Chilldren to have 10 ginneys when y^e^ 100^li^ is payd in And they to have a share of all my cloaths & things at Swarthmoore equall with M: ff: & D A & his Wife.

To T: L: my little trunk att B A & all my physicall things in it or elswhere & my Sadle bridle & boots & spurrs: my new england bible & booke of y^e^ signification of names & a book of y^e^ new testament of Languages: my two dialls & a glister pipe & a share of my overplus books with J: R: W M: & D A: my Hammack in B A Closet & an Equall share of my Land In Pensylvania equall with J R: D A: T L: my prospectiv-glass a pair of glov's & Spanish Leather hood.

To Thomas Dockrey a ginney to Sarah ffrecleton half a ginney.

To John Loft 10 ginneys & some of my Cloaths.

To Mary Nelson[1] a ginney & some of my books.

To Mary Antrobus a Ginney & one of my books.

To Ed: Man, Mary Wooley[2] & Bridget Austin one of my books if liveing when printed.

To Mary Antrobus my sea Chest which standeth in y^e^ Chamber where he Lay.

To Jo: ffox & Tho: Puntley y^e^ residue of my cloaths y^t^ are Left after M: S M: S ff: & J M: have taken their choice & T L some, y^e^ rest to be sent to my relations to be devided amongst them & their Chilldren.

And my trunk y^t^ is at Jo: Nelsons to my Brother Jo: ffox & 30^li^ In moneys to be equally devided amongst my outward Relations 10^li^ to my sister Katherine if liveing & 20^li^ to be equally devided to my Sister Dorothys Chilldren & Jo: ffox & his Chilldren & Tho: Puntley if he have any & Georg ffox is to have but 5^s^ of it haveing given him Land fformerly.]

[3][*A Copye of G: ffs Deed and Conveyanc off Pettyes*[4] *hous and Tennement unto ffeffees in trust as followeth;*

*This Indenture* made the 16^th^ day of September: Anno Domini 1687 and in the 3^d^ year of the reign of King James the 2^d^ of England &c *Between* George ffox of Swarthmore in y^e^ Countye of Lancaster gentleman of the one part and John Rouse of Kingstone upon Thames in the County of Surrey Merchant; Thomas Lower of Marshgrange in the Countye of Lancaster gentleman; William Mead citizen and Merchant taylor of London; Daniel Abraham of Manchester in the said County of Lancaster, gentleman: all sons in law of the said Geo: ffox; John Haydock[5] of Coppall in the said County of Lancaster, yeoman; Roger Haydock[6] of Warington in the said County, yeoman; Leonard ffell of Beakcliffe in y^e^ said County, yeoman, and Thomas Dockra of Lyndeth in the said County of Lancaster,

yeoman, of the other part *Witnesseth* that the said Geo: ffox for and in Consideration of the Sume of Seventy pounds of lawfull money of England to...[a] in hand well and truly payd by y^e^ said J. R: T. L: W. Mead: D A: J H: R. H: L ff: and T D: at and before ye Sealing and delivery hereof; the Receit whereof he doth hereby acknowledg, and therof doth acquitt, exonerate and discharge the said J. R: T: L: &c their executors &c: for ever by these presents *Hath* bargain'd, sold, alien'd, enfeoff'd, Releasd, and confirm'd, and by these presents doth fully, freely and absolutely, grant bargain sell, aliene, enfeoff releas, and Confirme unto the said J R: T L: &c: in their actuall posession thereof now being by forc and virtue of...[b] Indenture of bargain and sale for a year bearing date the day next before the date of these presents, and made between the said partyes to these presents and of the Statute for transfering of uses into posession in that behalfe made & provided, and to their heirs; *All* that Mansion or dwelling house, barne, kilne, garth, onsett, and one Close of land calld the Croft lyeing on the east side of the said dwelling house Containing by estimation nine roods or thereabouts be it more or less; and all that meadow lyeing on the North west side of the houses and barne, containing by estimation half an acre or thereabouts, be it more or less; all which said premmises are situate, lyeing and being in Swarthmore aforesaid; together with all barnes, stables, outhouses, edifices, buieldings, yards, gardens, orchards, ffronts, backsides, hedges, fences, ditches, easments, ways, paths, commons, comon of pasture and turbary, trees and underwoods, and the soile and ground of the said trees and underwoods, proffitts, comodities, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever, to the said mansion or dwelling house, lands and premisses belonging or in anywise appurtaining or therewithall now or any time heretofore held, us'd, occupied or enjoy'd or accepted, reputed, taken or known as part or parcel thereof or of any part thereof; heretofore in the posession of John Pettye deceasd and late in the occupation of Susannah ffell & Rachel ffell, and now of the said Geo: ffox his assignee or assigns tenant or under-

[a] Edge of paper worn off.
[b] Paper torn in the fold.

tenants; and the reversion & reversions remainder and remainders; Rents, Issues, and profitts, of all and singular the said Premisses and of every part and parcel thereof, and all the estate and estates, right, title, interest, use, posesion, benefit, claime and demand whatsoever, of him the said Geo: ffox of in and to the said mansion or dwelling house, lands and premisses, and of in and to every or any part or parcel thereof, together with all Deeds, evidences, writeings Escripts, and Minuments whatsoever now in his hands and Custodye or which he may lawfully come by without suit in law; which doe touch or concern the said Premisses onely or onely any part or parcel thereof: *To have and to Hold* y^e^ said mansion or dwelling house, Barne, Kilne, garden, onsett, Close of land, meadow, and all and singular the before bargain'd and releasd Premisses and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights members and appurtenances unto the said J R: T L: &c: their heirs and assigns forever to the onely use and behoofe of y^e^ said J R: T L: &c and of their heirs and assigns forever, To be holden of the chief Lord or Lords of the ffee or ffees of the premisses by the rents and services therefore due and of right accustom'd *And* the said Geo: ffox for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns and for every of them, doth Covenant promise and grant to & with the said J R: T L: &c their heirs & assigns by these presents that for and notwithstanding any act, matter or thing whatsoever by him y^e^ said G: ff: made, done, sufferd or consented unto to y^e^ contrary, he y^e^ said Geo: ffox, att y^e^ time of the sealing and delivery of these presents, and until the said premisses hereby mentiond to be bargaind sold, alien'd enfeoffd releasd and confirmd shall be lawfully and fully vested and setled in, to and upon them the said J R: T L: &c and their heirs according to the true intent and meaning of these Presents, shall and will stand and be lawfully rightfully and solely seized of the said mansion or dwelling house land and premisses before by these presents mentiond to be bargaind, sold, alien'd, enfeoffd, releasd & confirmd with their appurtnances of a good sure lawfull perfect absolute and indefeasable estate of inheritance in fee simple to his owne use absolutely, without any maner of Condition redemption, morgage, limitation of use or uses, or other

matter or thing whatsoever, to alter, change, charge, defeate or determine the same estate; And that for and notwithstanding any such act as aforesaid, he now hath in himself full power good right true title lawfull Interest and absolute authoritye to bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff releas and Confirme the said mansion or dwelling house lands and premisses with their appurtenances before hereby mention'd to be bargaind, sold, alien'd, enfeoff'd releasd and Confirm'd unto and upon the said J. R: T L: &c. their heirs and assigns forever; And allsoe that for and notwithstanding any such act or thing as aforesaid the said mansion or dwelling house, lands, hereditaments, and all other the before hereby mentiond to be bargaind Premisses, shall and may be lawfully, peacably, and quietly held, usd occupied, and enjoy'd forever hereafter by the said J R: T L: &c their heirs and assigns, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents without any lawfull lett, suite, trouble, denyall or interuption of or by him the said Geo: ffox his heirs or assigns, or of or by any other person or persons lawfully claimeing or to claime by from or under him them or any of them, free and cleare, and freely and clearly acquitted exonerated and dischargd, or by him the said G: ff. his heirs and assigns sufficiently sav'd and kept hameless, and off and from all and all manner of former and other bargains, sales, gifts, grants, Leases, estates, rights, titles, Jointurs, dowers, uses, Wills, Intayls, Rears and arearages of Rent, and rents, titles, troubles, charges, and incumbrances whatsoever, heretofore had, made, committed done or suffer'd by him the said G: ff: or by any other person or persons lawfully claiming or to claime by from or under him, except the rents custom's and services which from hencforth shall become due and payable to the chief lord or Lords of the ffee or ffees of the Premisses, for or in respect of his or their seigñory or seigñories, and that he the said G: ff: and all and every other person and persons any th...[a] lawfully haveing or claimeing or which hereafter shall or may lawfully have or claime any Lawfull estate, right, title or interest of in or...[a] the said premiss's or any part thereof from by or under him, shall and will att all times hereafter, att y^e^ reasonable request, Costs and charges in

[a] Edge of paper torn.

the Law of y^e^ said J R: T L: &c: their heirs or assigns; make, doe, acknowledge, execute, and suffer, or Cause to be made, done, acknowledg'd executed & sufferd all and every such further, and other lawfull and reasonable act & acts, thing and things, device and devises, Convayanc or Assurances in the Law whatsoever, for the further, better and more perfect convaying, establishing Setling and assureing of the said Mansion or dwelling house, lands, hereditaments and premisses, un...[a] and upon the said J R: T L: &c their heirs and assigns forever, to the onely proper use and behoofe of the said J R: T L: &c and of their heirs and assigns forever, as by the said J R: T L: &c their heir or assigns, or their or any of their counsell learnd in the law shall be reasonably devisd or advis'd and requir'd: soe as he or they be not compelld to goe or travel for the doeing thereof above the space of five miles from the then place of his or their respective abode or dwelling, and soe as there be contain'd therein noe further or other warranty or Covenants, then are in these Presents contained: *In Witness* whereof the Partyes first above named to these present Indentures interchangeably have sett their hands and seales the (day) and year first above written.

Seald & Deliverd
in y^e^ Presenc off
Henry Phillips } servants to
Jn^o^ Kemble } W^m^ Mead
George Garret servant to M^r^ Gillow
Clarke of y^e^ company of Turners London.]

[1][*Deed of Gift of Land to G Fox in America.*

*This Indenture* made this one and Twentieth of October in the Year of our Lord One Thousand sex Hundred and Eighty one and in the three and Thirtieth Year of Reign of King Charles the Second over England &c.

*Between* William Penn of Worminghurst in the County of sussex Esq^re^ of the one part and George Fox of London Gentleman of the other Part *Witnesseth* that the said William Penn for and in Consideration of the Sum of Five

[a] Edge of paper torn.

Shillings of Lawfull money of England to him in hand paid by the said George Fox the Receipt Whereof he Doth hearby acknowledge *Hath* Bargained and sold and by these Presents doth Bargain and sell unto the said George Fox the full and just Proportion and Quantity of Twelve Hundred and fifty Acres of Land Every Acre to be admeasured and computed According to the Dimensions of Acres Mentinod and Appointed in and by the Statue made in the three and thirtieth Year of Reign of King Edward the first situate lying and being in the Province of *Pensilvania* the said Twele Hundred and fifty Acres to be alloted and set out in such Places or parts of the said Province and in such Mannor and at such time and Times as by certain Concessions or Constiutions Bearing date the Eleventh day of July last past *And* signed Sealed and Executed by and Between the said William Penn on the one Part and the said George Fox and the other Purchasers of Lands Within the said Province of the {other} part at the Time of the Sealing and Executing of these Presents are agreed limitted and appointed or hereafter to be Signed Sealed and Executed by and Between the said Parties shall be agreed Limitted and Appointed together with the Rents Profits of the said Twelve hundred and fifty Acres and every part thereof *To Have And to Hold* the said Twelve hundred and fifty acres herein Mentinoed and intended to be Bargained and Sold with their and Every of their Apptenances and the said George Fox his Executors and Assigns from the Day Next before the Day of the date Hereof for and During and unto the full End and term of one Whole Year from thence next Ensuing and fully to be compleat and Ended *Yielding and paying* therefor for and during the said Term unto the said William Penn and his Heirs the Rent of one Pepper Corn onely at or upon the Last day of the said Term if the same be Lawfully demanded to the Intent by Vertue of these Presents and of the statute for Transferring Uses into Possession the said George Fox my be in the Actual Possession of all and singular the premisses and be Eneabled to accept of a Grant Release Confirmation and Conveyance there of and of the Reversion and Inheritance Thereof and of every Part and Parcel thereof to him and his Heirs *In Witness* whereof the Parties to these

Presents have to this Present Indentures interchangeably set their Hands and Seals dated the Day and Year first above Written.

Wm Penn.

Sealed and Delivered
In the Presence of
Herbt Springett[1]
Thos Coxe[2]
Mark Swaner]

[3]*For the yearly, and second days Meetting in London, and to all the Children of God in all places in the world;—By & from G: F:*

This for all the Children of God every where; that are led by his spiritt, & doe walke in his Light; in which they have life & unity & fellowshipp, with the Father and the son, & one with another;—Keep all your Meettings in the name of the Lord Jesus, that bee gathered in his name, by his Light, Grace, Truth, power & spiritt, by which you will feele his Blessed & refreshing Presence Amonge you, & in you to your Comfort and Gods Glory.

And now all Friends, all your Meettings; both Men's & Weomen's Monthly and Quarterly, & yearly &c:—were sett up, by the power & spiritt, & wisdome of God;—and in them, you doe know, that you have felt, both his power & spiritt, & wisdome, and blessed Refreshing presence Amonge you, & in you, to his praise & Glory, & your comfort, soe that you have been A Citty sett on A hill, that cannott bee hid.

And Although, many loose & unruly spiritts, hath risen, betimes to oppose you & them, both in print & otherways, but you have seen how they have come to nought, and the Lord hath blasted them, and brought their deeds to Light, and made them Manifest, to bee the Trees without fruite, & wells without water, & wandering starrs, from the ffirmament of Gods power; and the rageing waves of the sea, casting up their Mire & dirt:—And many of them, is like the dogg turned to his old vomitt, and the Sow, that was washed turned againe to the Mire; and this hath been the Condition of many, God knoweth,—and his people.

And Therefore, all to stand stedfast, in Christ Jesus your head, in whom you are all one, Male and female, and knoweth his Government, and the Increase of his Government, & peace, there shall bee noe End; But there will bee an End, of the Devills, & of all them, that bee out of Christ; and doth oppose it, and him; whose Judgment doth not Linger, and their damnation, doth not slumber, And therefore, in God & Christ, Light life spiritt, & power, live & walke, that is over all, (& the seed of it), in love & in Innocensy and simplicity; and in Righteousness, & holiness dwell, and in his power and holy ghost, in which Gods Kingdome, doth stand;—All Children of New & Heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, & is free, with all her holy spirituall Children, to her keep your eyes.

And as for this spiritt of Rebellion, & opposition, that hath risen, formerly & lately; it is out of the Kingdome of God, and heavenly Jerusalem, and is for Judgment and Condemnation, with all its Books, words & works:—And Therefore Friends, are to live, & walke, in the power, & spiritt of God, that is over it, and in the seed, that will bruise, & breake it to peices, in which seed, you have Joy & peace with God, & power & Authority to Judge it;—And your unity, is in the power, & spiritt of God, that doth Judge it; and all Gods wittnesses in his Tabernackle goeth out against it, and allways hath and will.

And Lett noe man, live to selfe, but to the Lord, as they will die in him, & seeke the peace of the Church of Christ, and the peace of all men in him, for blessed are the peace makers:—And dwell in the pure, peaceable heavenly wisdome of God, that is gentle, & easy to bee intreated, that is full of Mercy; all striveinge to bee of one minde, heart, soule; & Judgment in Christ, Haveinge his minde, and spiritt dwelling in you; Building up one another in the Love of God, which doth Edify the body of Christ his Church, who is the holy head thereof:—Soe Glory to God, through Christ, in this Age, and all other Ages, who is the Rocke & Foundation, and the Emmanuall God with us; Amen:—over all, the Beginning & the Ending:—In him, live and walke, in whom you have life Eternall; in whom you will feell mee, and I you. [G. F.]

All the Children of new Jerusalem, that descends from above, the holy Citty, which the Lord, & the Lambe, is the Light thereof, & is the Temple; in it they are borne Againe, of the spiritt, soe Jerusalem, that is above, is the Mother of them, that are borne of the spiritt; And soe them that cometh, and are come, to Heavenly Jerusalem, are them that Receiveth Christ; And hee giveth them power to become the Sonns of God; and are borne againe of the spiritt:—Soe Jerusalem, that[a] is their Mother; and such doe come to Heavenly Mount Sion, & the Innumerable company of Angells, & to the spiritts of Just men, made perfect, and are come to the Church of the Liveing God, written in Heaven; & have the name of God, & y^e^ Citty of God, written upon them:—Soe here is A new Mother, that bringeth forth, A heavenly, and A spirituall Generation.

There is noe Schisme, nor divission, nor Contention, nor strife, in heavenly Jerusalem, nor in the body of Christ, which is made up of Liveing stones, A spirituall House.

And Christ is not devided, for in him there is peace, Christ saith, in mee you have peace, & hee is from above, and not of this world, but in y^e^ world below, in the spiritt of it, there is trouble, therefore keep in Christ, and walke in him. [Amen] G: ff:

And Jerusalem, was the Mother of all the true Christians, before y^e^ Apostacy; & since the outward Christians are broken into many sects, and they have gotten many Mothers,—But all they that are come out of the Apostacy, by the power & spiritt of Christ;—Jerusalem that is above is their Mother (and none below her,) who doth nourish all her spirituall Children.

[1][London y^e^ 15^th^ $\frac{11^{th}}{mo}$ January 1690.

Lo: Freind
John Airey[2]

This Comes to acquaint y^e^ y^t^ that Antient Honourable & Worthy man Geo Fox is departed this Life He was att Grace Churchstreet Meeting on first day last, & gave in his

[a] Ellwood editions insert *is above*

Testimony amongst others, and after Meeting fell into Cold shiverings Fitts & grew worse & worse & weaker untill 3 day Last att Might[a] between 9 & 10 he dyed in his weakness desireing to be Remembred to all Freinds & advised & admonished Friends to ffly to y^e^ power of God, he dyed Sweetly, quietly & Sencible to y^e^ Last. After y^e^ Meeting on fourth day att Grace Churchstreet, All or most of y^e^ Frinds of y^e^ Ministry there went into a Chamber hard by as well to Condole y^e^ Lose & Death of y^t^ good Man, as alsoe to take Care about his Buriall which is Ordered from y^t^ Meetinghouse to Morrow (Fryday) about 2 afternoon, in y^e^ Chamber was W^m^ Penn, Stephen Crisp, Geo. Whitehead, Jo. Tayler[1] of York, W^m^ Bingley[2], Jn^o^ Vaughton, Fra. Stampert[3], Jo. Feild, Sam^ll^ Waldingfield[4], Jn^o^ Boucher[5] & others & onely as I Remember 3 of us not preachers while we Satt together under y^e^ deep Consideration of y^e^ Loss of y^t^ good Man, y^e^ Wonderfull power of God in a Miraculous Manner fell upon all in y^e^ Room, insoemuch y^t^ not one could Contain y^m^ selves, but was Crushed & Broaken down by y^e^ Weight of y^t^ Glory y^t^ for a considerable Time, there was nothing but deep sighs, Groans & Tears & Roaring to Admirotion, & after y^t^ all {had} vented & eased y^m^selves, & grew quiet in thir Minds, Siverall of y^m^ under y^t^ great Sence gave Testimonys concerning him too Large here to Insert. One said A valient is fallen in Israell, this day, & his place there would be vacant, If some Faithfull ones did not suply y^t^ Glorious Station he was in ~ Another y^t^ It was his Faith & {y^t^} it was with Him y^t^ that Spiritt & power which in soe Large a Mesure dwelt in y^t^ Body Should extend it Self into Thousands ~ Another Repeating y^e^ Antiquity of his Standing Service & faithfullnesse to y^e^ end. ~ {Another that he was a fixed Starr in y^e^ Firmament of Gods Glory, & their he shall shine forever.} Another one Price[6], a very old man declared in Teares & great Tenderness y^t^ he had Buryed his Father & Mother & many Children & which was nearest to him of all his Dear wife, but was Naturally soe strong hearted y^t^ he could never be overcome to shed a Tear, but now sayes he I am Overcome, much to this purpose, & much more was Spoke surely I shall never forgett y^t^ dayes work, It was very astonishing

[a] So in original, but doubtless intended for *Night*

to me. And it did appear to me in my eyes, y$^{t}$ It Resembled y$^{t}$ day when y$^{e}$ Apostles were mett together & y$^{e}$ mighty power of God fell upon y$^{m}$ & they prophesyed, Or when y$^{e}$ great power of God fell upon y$^{e}$ Multituds and they under y$^{e}$ sence of it Cryed out What shall wee doe to be saved.

I have eased my Spiritt in this Relation to y$^{e}$, I hope I shall never forgett y$^{t}$ day, y$^{e}$ Remembrance of it is sweet. It is ordered y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ elders & Antients of frinds take y$^{e}$ Corps first up, and six are Choised & Matched out of each of y$^{e}$ Six Monthly Meetings about London to carry, of which I am one for our quarter, & I Beliave hardly such a buryall was ever in England as this will be. ~ ~]

# NOTES.

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations do not include those given in vol. i. pp. 391—393.

Abraham MSS. = A collection of letters in the possession of Miss Emma C. Abraham, of Liverpool, a lineal descendant of Margaret Fell. Thirty of these MSS. are dated between 1658 and 1699.

Bristol MSS. = A collection of about three hundred original letters and documents relating to the early Friends, bound in four volumes, belonging to Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting. Deposited in D.

Crosfield MSS. = A general term for several sets of manuscripts, presented to D. at various dates from 1902, per John Dymond Crosfield, of Liverpool.

Crosse MSS. = A quarto volume of one hundred pages, into which have been copied, presumably by Edmond Crosse the first owner of the book, about eighty letters and papers, dated between 1661 and 1671. Purchased in 1897, and presented to D. by Alexander Peckover, F.S.A. etc. (Baron Peckover of Wisbech).

Kent MSS. = A collection of original papers and copies, mainly seventeenth century, contained in two bound volumes and three portfolios, relating to Quakerism in Kent and belonging to Kent Quarterly Meeting. Deposited in D.

Leek MSS. = A quarto volume of 176 pages, written at various times between 1670 and 1729, containing copies of epistles by George Fox and others, and also local records of Friends in Leek and district, Staffordshire. Presented, c. 1902, by John Dymond Crosfield, of Liverpool.

Miller MSS. = A collection of seventeen letters, mostly of the seventeenth century, in the possession of William F. Miller, of Winscombe, Som., to whom they came, through the family of Cockin, from the Fells.

Penn MSS. = Two albums containing a miscellaneous assortment of originals, transcripts, facsimiles, engravings, and newspaper cuttings relating to William Penn. Privately purchased and presented to D. in 1892. The collection was formed and annotated by Philip Justice, of Philadelphia, and in America was known as the Justice MSS. (see *Guide to Manuscript Materials*, by Andrews and Davenport, Washington, D.C. 1908).

Reynolds MSS. = A folio volume, bound in rough calf, containing copies of about one hundred letters of various dates. In 1777 it was in the possession of Richard Reynolds of Bristol (d. 1816), and in 1873, of Francis Fry, F.S.A., of Bristol (d. 1886). Acquired for D. in 1906.

Robson MSS. = Fifty-three books of various sizes, containing memoirs of Friends, compiled from many sources, by Thomas Robson, of Liverpool and Huddersfield (d. 1852) and others. Intended for a Biographical Dictionary of Friends. Presented to D. by the Robson family in 1905.

Shackleton MSS. = A collection of fourteen letters, covering the period 1652—83, belonging to Abraham Shackleton, of Dublin, a descendant of Margaret Fell, through her youngest daughter, Rachel Abraham.

Stowe MSS. = A collection of 996 items, formed by the Marquis of Buckingham at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and named from Stowe, his country seat, where it was kept. Purchased for the British Museum in 1883, and preserved there.

Thirnbeck MSS. = A collection of twenty-eight letters and papers, dated 1654—1700, in the possession of Wilfrid Grace, of Bristol, a descendant of Margaret Fell.

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1 1 The first two and a half pages of this volume represent two pages of MS. The latter are not numbered with the rest, but are in the handwriting of T. Lower. The position of the MS. in the narrative is indicated by a C.

1 2 William Sympson (1627 ?—1670/1) was of Lancashire, in which county he was convinced. He travelled in Cumberland, Oxfordshire and other districts of England and Ireland. Fox says of him, in *A Short Relation Concerning the Life and Death of... William Simpson*, 1671 :—"This William Simpson was a faithful Servant and Prophet of the Lord to the Nations....He went three years Naked and in Sackcloth, in the days of Oliver and his Parliament, as a Sign...who was made many times to go through Markets...and to Cambridge, stark naked...and...through London naked and he was obedient unto the heavenly command...." Sympson died while on a visit to Barbados with John Burnyeat, in Twelfth Month (Feb.), 1670/1, and was buried in Richard Forstall's garden at Bridge Town. At the end of *A Short Relation* is Sympson's paper, *Going Naked a Signe.* He wrote two or three other articles.

*John Burnyeat*, 1691 ; *Piety Promoted* ; *F. P. T.* ; *D. N. B.* ; MSS. in D.

2 1 Fox states in another place that "the Mayor of Cambridge put his Gown about him, being sensible there was something in the thing" (*Short Relation... William Simpson*, 1671). Though placed here under a MS. dated 1660, Sympson's experience at Cambridge was probably some years earlier. If it was in 1655, the Mayor referred to would be Samuel Spalding (i. 191. 1).

The "present maior of Cambridge," whose wife attended a meeting in 1661 (p. 9), may also have been the same Samuel Spalding. He was elected Mayor in 1661 for the third time, in the place of his predecessor, Thomas French, who was ejected from the office. As Thomas French and James Blackley (favourable to Friends) were both displaced as Aldermen in 1662, and Spalding appointed Mayor in French's room, it is reasonable to suppose, notwithstanding Fox's remark, that Spalding was not "a freinde." The wife of Thomas Nicholson, Mayor 1658—9, was in sympathy with Friends.

Information from Rev. C. H. Evelyn White, F.S.A., Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.

2 2 Robert Huntington ( —1708) lived in Carlisle. In 1660, he was apprehended while engaged in business in Carlisle market, and imprisoned for nearly six months for refusing the oath. In 1670, distress was levied upon some of his live-stock, upon which action Besse remarks, "A Concurrence of Disasters soon after happened to the Buyers," adding, "We think it but just to lay before our Readers the Fact...and leave them to form such a Judgment thereof, as from the Nature of the Case, when maturely considered, shall result" (*Suff.* i. 131).

2 3 Richard Sale ( —1657) lived at Hoole near Chester and was a tailor (Swarth. MSS. iv. 113). He was convinced by Richard Hubberthorne, whom it was his duty as constable, under the vagrancy law, to conduct out of the district (*F. P. T.* ; Taylor, *Hubberthorne*, 1911). The date of the sign here referred to was 1655, though given in the *Journal* under 1660. In a letter to Fox, Sale describes the proceeding, "I was made by the comand to take a letherne girdle, and to binde y^e^ sackclouth to my lines, and to take sum sweete flowers in my right hand, and sum stingking weeds in my left hand, and eashes strowed upon my head, bearefoote and bearlegged...my mouth was opened in much power and my mornening habbit was exseeding

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dredfull, soe y$^{t}$ those w$^{ch}$ ware clouthed in hoods vailes and ringes and changable suties of aparrill did hide them selves and ware eshamed" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 211). Besse describes Little Ease, "devised for Torture," thus:—"It was an Hole hewed out in a Rock, the Breadth and Cross from Side to Side was seventeen Inches, from the Back to the Inside of the great Door at the Top, seven Inches, at the Shoulders eight Inches, at the Breast nine Inches and an Half; from the Top to the Bottom one Yard and an Half, with a Device to lessen the Heighth, as they are minded to torment the Person put in, by Draw-boards, which shoot over the two Sides to a Yard Heighth, or thereabout" (*Suff.* i. 100). "Being corpulent it required the strength of four men to thrust him in, in doing which they crushed him till the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose" (Armistead, *Select Miscellanies*, 1851, iii. 354). Other Friends also suffered in Little Ease.

Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Barclay, *Letters*, 1841; Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance*, 1909, p. 56.

3 1 George Hughes, B.D. (1603—1667). He was born in Southwark and educated at Oxford. He held clerical appointments in London and Tavistock. He was appointed Lecturer at Plymouth in 1643 and Vicar soon after. On his ejectment he retired to Kingsbridge where he died. He was "a great textuary and divine...an acute disputant and a judicious casuist...unfeigned piety to God appeared in his whole deportment" (*Noncon. Mem.* ii. 59, copy in D. has an inserted portrait).

Shaw, *Church under the Commonwealth*, 1900; *D. N. B.*

3 2 John Light (c. 1622—1693) was a well-known Friend in his day. His wife, Grace, died in 1688. No reason appears for the omission of John Light's name from Ell. edd. in this place. It is given on p. 91, in which place Ell. edd. add the name of Arthur Cotton.

3 3 Ell. edd. add here "But to return to the present Time, the latter end of the Year 1660, and beginning of 1661."

3 4 Here follows in Ell. edd., "a little Paper concerning the Grounds and Rise of Persecutions," signed "G. F."

3 5 Lord d'Aubigny was "brother to the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, and almoner to the King" (note in *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Wheatley ed.). Gilbert Latey was frequently with "Lord Obaney," whom he describes as having "come over with the Queen Mother and was Lord Almoner to her" and "a priest in orders," and he pleaded with him on behalf of the prisoners in Malta (3. 6). When the two Friends had returned to England they visited Latey and d'Aubigny, to express their thanks. The latter replied, "Good Women, for what Service or Kindness I have done you, all that I shall desire of you is, That when you pray to God, you will remember me in your Prayers" (*Gilbert Latey*, 1707, pp. 49 ff.). But d'Aubigny declined when asked afterwards by Latey to assist in efforts for the release of Fox from Lancaster in 1664. "Hee was sure nothing Could Be don and hee Belived the[y] did it a purpos to vex us" (Latey to Fox, in Gibson MSS. i. 201).

3 6 Katharine Evans ( —1692) was wife of John Evans, of English Batch, near Bath, who died in prison in 1664. Sarah Chevers and she visited Scotland in 1654. In 1657, she suffered the indignity of being "strip'd and ty'd to a Whipping-Post in the market of Salisbury and there whip'd" (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 219). K. Evans travelled also in the Isle of Man, Ireland, and elsewhere and underwent much suffering and abuse. The journey towards the East with S. Chevers

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commenced in 1658 (Sewel, *Hist.* 1722) or beginning of 1659 (Whiting, *Memoirs*) and lasted from three and a half to four years, during which time these undaunted women underwent terrible sufferings in the Inquisition in Malta—"we were stung with Flyes called Muskatoes in our faces and our heads, as we lay in our beds, that were swollen as if we had the small-pox....The Room was so hot and so close, that we were fain to rise often out of bed, and lie down at a chink of their door for air to fetch breath" (*Short Relation*, 1662, p. 13; see also Swarth. MSS. iv. 184).

On the return of these Friends they undertook further service in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. K. Evans lived to a great age.

*British Friend*, 1847, p. 293; [Boorne] *The Friend in His Family*, 1865; Smith, *Steven Crisp*, 1892; MSS. (c. 1668) in the possession of Joseph J. Green, of Tunbridge Wells, 1911.

3 7 Sarah Chevers, wife of Henry Chevers, lived at Slaughterford in Wiltshire. She travelled in the ministry in company with Katharine Evans (3. 6). Little is known of her family or home life (3. 8). Among Bristol MSS. deposited in D. is an autograph letter from S. Chevers, written from the house of the English Consul to Friends of Street, Som., 20. viii. 1662. It is in a bold handwriting, the letters having been made in half-printed form. The date of her death is not known.

3 8 This is entitled *This is a Short Relation of some of the Cruel Sufferings...of Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers in the Inquisition in the Isle of Malta*, etc. (there are about 240 words on the title-page), 1662. The Epistle to the Readers is signed by Daniel Baker. Letters from both prisoners to their husbands and children are printed here, also other papers. This was reprinted in small octavo, with additions in 1663, and in 1715 appeared *A Brief History of the Voyage*, etc.

5 1 John Perrot was probably born near Waterford, Ireland. It has been stated that he was the illegitimate son of Sir John Perrot (d. 1592), who was an illegitimate son of Henry VIII (*Friends' Intelligencer*, 1909, p. 675), but this lacks confirmation. The date of his attachment to Quakerism does not appear, but from his prison at "the Marshalsie of the 4 Courts Dublin 1st: 3rd Month 1656," he wrote a long letter to Henry Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant, in which he described himself as "a Laboᵘrer in yᵉ gospell of Xᵗ Jesus in some pᵗˢ of this Nation of Ierland for some time" (*Jnl. F. H. S.* viii. 20—24). In 1657, in the Seventh Month (Sept.), Perrot wrote a letter from Athens to "the people called Baptists in Ireland" (MS. in D.). He was then travelling with John Love. "John Parrott Remaines A prisoner, but his companion John Lofe is deceased" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 269), upon which information William Penn remarks truly and naïvely, "John Perrot, who if he had been as faithful as his Companion, might with him have been hanged at Rome...to his own Comfort, the Truth's Honour, and the Churches Peace" (*Judas and the Jews*, 1673, p. 17). While in Rome he appears to have become almost deranged and he was for some time under restraint in the "Prison of Madmen" there. From hence, in 1659 and 1660, he wrote some curious pieces under such strange if picturesque titles as *A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings through which Runs A River of Rich Rejoycing* "by the extream Suffering Servant of the Lord, John," 1661, or *A Wren in the Burning Bush, Waving the Wings of Contraction, To the Congregated clean Fowls of the Heavens*, etc. On his return home, the description he gave of his sufferings drew around him many sympathisers and

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flatterers, resulting in spiritual pride which expressed itself in his refusal to remove his hat at time of prayer. (For the hat controversy, see 340. 1.) John Taylor states that "when he [Perrot] saw that he was seen through here in England, then he would needs go over into Barbadoes [1662], contrary to the good Counsel and advice of Friends" (*Loving & Friendly Invitation*, 1683, p. 6), leaving his family chargeable to Friends. From Barbados, Perrot wrote in Ninth Month (Nov.), 1662, an epistle *To the Upright in Heart*, and from Jamaica in 1665, he wrote to several Friends in England a letter to which an *Answer*, subscribed by Richard Farnsworth and others in the same year, was printed. John Taylor gives a full account of his strange doings and sad end in Jamaica—"He lost his Credit and repute among men : and the very world spewed him out, and so he ended his dayes miserably and was buried in an old Popish Mass-house" (*Loving & Friendly Invitation*, 1683, p. 9). He died in or before 1673 (Penn, *Judas*, 1673, p. 118).

Rich, *Hidden Things*, 1678; Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. i. pp. 270, 271; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; *Suff.*; Smith, *Steven Crisp*, 1892, pp. 13, 56; *D. N. B.*; Swarth. MSS.; Crosse MSS.

5 .2 Charles Bayly states that his "place of abode was in Mary-land in Virginia," and that he was "a Foreigner" in England (*Second Part of Cry of Innocent*, 1662, p. 20). This appears to agree with a statement in a letter from Virginia in 1657 (Swarth. MSS. iii. 7)—"Charles Balye y^e^ yonge man who was w^th^ us at o^r^ parting abides convinced." The circumstances of his arrival in England are not known, but he cannot have been in this country long before he fell out of repute with Friends; Luke Howard, writing in 1672 (*Looking-Glass for Baptists*), states that he had been denyed by Friends many years, and Fox places the event in the year 1661 (p. 314). A piece by Bayly, written in Dover prison, 15. i. 1661, was, however, printed in 1662 at the end of a book by Humphry Smith. Bayly was in prison in France somewhat later in 1661, and in 1663 he was in Newgate, Bristol and in 1665 in the Tower of London (Smith, *Cata.* i. 212). His "prophecy and revelation" in 1667 was made the subject of an attack on Friends (Hobbs and Partridge, *A True Relation*, 1667, and *The Quakers' Looking-Glass*, 1673, replied to by Luke Howard and Thomas Rudyard, 1672 and 1673).

Smith, *Steven Crisp*, 1892, p. 43—"C. B."; Crosse MSS.

5 3 Ell. edd. add "but others of them returned and repented."

5 4 In a letter dated the 29th Feb., 1659/60, Alexander Parker writes to Margaret Fell, "Of late we received letters out of New England w^ch^ certify that 2 of the Brethren, namely Will Robbinson & Marmaduk Stevenson have sealed their testimony to the Truth, with their lives, being Condemned by the Gou^r^nour Jo: Indicott to be hang^d^ on y^e^ Gallowes which was executed in the p^r^sence of Thousands of people (as we are informed) and thus y^e^ Lord houn^r^ed them with such a glorious Crowne, as to suffer for his names sake : There was another daughter of sion condemned with them [Mary Dyer], whoe ioyfully did heare and receive y^e^ sentence of wicked men, and was soe farre p^r^ceeded ag^t^ as was even without all hopes or possibility of escapeing according to appearance shee was upon y^e^ Gallowes with her Cloathes bound about her, and her face covered ready to be offered up, and then they read an order of y^e^ Court (as they call it) certifieing y^t^ at the petiçon of her son, shee was to have liberty for 48 houres to passe away &c but shee nobly & valiantly like a good souldier of Xt. denied their order and utterly disowned it (being by petiçon from her

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son) but they pulld her downe and had her to the prison, and after set her on horsback, and carried her away...their names will be had in memoriall, when the name of y^e^ wicked shall die and rott" (Swarth. MSS. i. 169). See 5. 5, 6. 1, 2.

5 5 A much more detailed account is given in Ell. edd. of the successful efforts made by English Friends to lessen the sufferings of their brethren in New England.

5 6 It is not evident to what book reference is here made; the statement is omitted from Ell. edd. Coddington wrote a letter to Richard Bellingham, Governor of Massachusetts and to two others, in 1672, which was printed with the title *A Demonstration of True Love*.

William Coddington (1601—1678) was born at Boston, Lincolnshire, and he emigrated to Boston, Mass., in 1630. He early sympathised with the Baptists and defended Anne Hutchinson against her Puritan adversaries. In 1638, he led a dissenting party to Aquidneck (island portion of Rhode Island), where he was "Judge" or "Governor" from 1640 to 1647. He was a founder of Newport. He had become a Quaker before 1665. Coddington was Deputy Governor, May 1673 to May 1674, and Governor, October 1674 to May 1676, when he was succeeded by Walter Clarke. On the death of Benedict Arnold, the successor of Walter Clarke, Coddington was again (1678) elected Governor, but his death cut short his term of office. He was succeeded by Major John Cranston, Deputy Governor.

In 1650, Coddington married, as his third wife, Anne Brinley (1628—1708), and had by her eight children (all the children of the first two marriages died young).

Fox was at Coddington's house at a marriage in 1672 (p. 222). About a month later, Coddington wrote to John Winthrop as follows:—"George Fox being at my house (who saw thee in England [p. 5]) spake to me to write thee, viz. that Samuel Winthrop, thy brother, was with him at Barbadoes, came hither to visit him, and G. F. could wish that thou was like him, and that thou wouldst stave off persecution..." (quoted by Gummere in *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, p. 92).

Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. p. 154; *Suff.* ii. 259; Backus, *Hist. of Baptists in New England*, i. 97; *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, i. 327, iii. 17, 24; *D. N. B.*; *Bulletin of F. H. S. of Phila.* i. 88, ii. 12; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, chap. viii.; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 561; information from Coddington's direct descendant, Amelia Mott Gummere, of Haverford, Pa., 1911.

5 7 Simon Bradstreet (Broadstreet) (1603—1697) emigrated to Salem, Massachusetts, 1630. He is described as "a man hardned in blood, and a cruel Persecutor" (Bishop, *New England Judged*, 1667, p. 11). He was Governor of the Colony 1679—1686 and 1689—1692.

John Norton, of Boston (1606—1663), was the "preist" sent over to explain the action taken against the Quakers (Humphrey Norton, *New England's Ensign*, 1659; Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703; Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts.* 1884, pp. 78, 613, 695; *D. N. B.*).

Bradstreet and Norton had been preceded by Colonel Temple. On their return these Agents carried with them the King's second letter, dated 28th June, 1662 (Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, and letter to the Editor, 1911).

5 8 John Winthrop, F.R.S. (1606—1676), son of John Winthrop (1588—1649), the great Governor of Massachusetts, emigrated to that

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Colony 1631. He was elected Governor of Connecticut 1657 and annually till his death. His eldest son, Fitz-John (1638—1707), was Governor of Connecticut from 1698 to his death. Bishop states that Winthrop opposed the hanging of Quakers (*New-England Judged*, 1703, p. 157; Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1887, p. 60).

*D. N. B.*; Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, 1899; Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, and letter to the Editor, 1911.

6 1 William Robinson ( —1659) is described as a London merchant by Bishop and Besse (*New England Judged*, 1661, p. 93; *Suff.* ii. 198) —Alexander Parker writes of him, "a Cumberland youth, I think' (Swarth. MSS. i. 169). He was imprisoned in London in 1655 (*Biog. Memoirs*, iv. 569). His father was evidently often in the City (p. 6). On the eve of his departure for the New World, he wrote a letter from Southampton to Margaret Fell, dated 6. iv. 1657 (preserved in D.). From New Amsterdam (New York) he passed to Boston, in the summer of 1659 and was at once arrested. On the 20th Oct. he was condemned to die and seven days later he was hanged on Boston Common. A letter is in D. which was written to Fox from Boston Gaol some three months before he suffered.

Stevenson, *A Call from Death to Life*, 1660; Robinson and Leddra, *Several Epistles*, 1669; Tuke, *Biographical Notices*, 1815; Bowden, *Hist.* i. 1850; *Holders of Holderness*, 1902.

6 2 William Robinson from London, and Marmaduke Stevenson from Yorkshire were hanged on Boston Common on the 27th Oct., 1659. Mary Dyer, of Rhode Island, was forcibly removed from the gallows on this day, owing to the receipt of an order for her reprieve but she again braved the rulers of Boston and was condemned and hanged on the 1st June, 1660. William Leddra from Barbados suffered death after the same manner on the 14th March, 1660/1.

Much has been written of this act of Puritan New England. The following may be consulted :—Stevenson, *A Call from Death to Life*, 1660; Bishop, *New England Judged*, 1661, 1667, 1703; *Suff.* i. xxix ff., ii. 177 ff.; Hodgson, *Historical Memoirs*, 1844, chap. xii.; Bowden, *Hist.* i. 1850; Whittier, *The King's Missive*, 1880; Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1887; Rogers, *Mary Dyer*, 1896; Thomas, *Hist. of Friends in America*, 1905; *Quaker Biographies*, iii. 1909; R. M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911.

7 1 Ell. edd. add "particularly, A Book written by Geo. Bishop of Bristol, Entituled, New-England judged. (In Two Parts.)"

7 2 "During the continuance of the Commonwealth, both printers and booksellers would seem to have had a quiet time. It had to be something extremely virulent to rouse the anger of the Government....With the Restoration the book-trade found itself once more under the heel of the oppressor. The Government appointed an Official Surveyor of the Press [Sir Roger L'Estrange] and they passed an Act for preventing the frequent abuses in printing (14 Car. II. cap. 33)" (Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers*, 1907). Friends suffered greatly for printing and issuing unlicensed literature. Many seizures of printed matter were made. Robert Wilson the London Quaker bookseller wrote to Richard Snead, of Bristol, in 1662 a letter which never reached its destination, having been intercepted in the post, in which he says, "Verily I am exposed in this day through many and frequent sufferings to severall difficultyes : for very often am I plundred by y^e^ Rulers of my Goods : burning them at home and abroad" (State Papers Dom., Chas. II., vol. 56, no. 83—

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*Cal.* 1661—2, p. 414). Seizures of Friends' books generally led to reprints (see i. 388, 469).

Andrew Sowle, in *Piety Promoted*; *Antiquarian Researches...Printers and Publishers*, 1844; Arber, *Term Catalogues*, 1903, preface.

7 3 A book by Fox on typology, though of a somewhat restricted character, is mentioned on p. 313. No book by Fox on this subject has been found; perhaps he had not any copy and did not rewrite. In the British Museum there is a holograph of his—an explanation of types from the Old Testament such as "arones linen breches"—"arons beles"—"the prests gardell"—"the ovt ward helemet," etc. (*Cata. of Stowe* MSS. 1883, p. 71 and pl. 12).

7 4 This is quite the most curious book sent out by the early Quakers. It is entitled *A Battle-Door for Teachers & Professors to learn Singular & Plural*, etc. (the title-page contains over 250 words), and to it are subscribed the names "George Fox, John Stubs, Benjamin Furley." The imprint is "London, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Windmil in Martins le Grand, 1660." This book "consists of about 200 small folio pages, besides nearly thirty pages in which the 'unsavory Words' taken from the school books used in teaching the classics, are exposed, and the schoolmasters using them are severely censured" (Isaac Sharp, B.A., in *The Friend* (London), 1902, p. 816). The work of preparation was heavy; Stubbs writes to Fox of the "much labour about Correcting the errors," and he gives interesting particulars of the cost of the book and its distribution (Crosfield MSS. preserved in D.). Fox's share in the work caused considerable discussion in print (*The Character of a Quaker*, 1672, p. 4; Bugg, *De Christiana Libertate*, 1682, ii. 163; Whitehead, *Innocency against Envy*, 1691, p. 15; *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 1728, p. 6). Fox had some slight knowledge of Hebrew, at least (p. 78; *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi. and books there quoted), and perhaps also of Welsh, p. 106.

Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance*, 1909, p. 51.

7 5 William Juxon (1582—1663) was *Arch*bishop of Canterbury at this time. His remarks upon the *Battle-Door* would be interesting reading.

Great care was taken in the distribution of this curious book. Margaret Fell records the distribution of three copies—"one to the King's bed-chamberman, and another to the dean of the chapel, and a third to a great man of the court" (*Fells*, 1865, p. 162).

7 6 Gilbert Sheldon (1598—1677) was Bishop of London from the Restoration to 1663, when he became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was greatly opposed to all forms of Nonconformity but he did good service to the study of the times by ordering a report from the clergy of every parish "as to what conventicles there were, what were the numbers attending them, of what sort of people they consisted and who were their leaders and teachers" (Brown, *From Restoration to Revolution*, 1904, p. 96). The returns are preserved at Lambeth Palace; they have been printed under the care of Professor G. Lyon Turner, M.A., in *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, 1911.

7 7 Ell. edd. insert here a paper "to open unto People the Nature of the True Worship, which Christ set up and which Christ accepts," because of the eagerness of bishops and priests to settle and set up their form of worship.

8 1 The matter from here to the break at the top of p. 10 represents four-and-a-quarter pages of MS. written by Lower in a larger hand

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than general. These pages are not numbered. The place of insertion is marked by ☞ *. There is the same style of conclusion in 10. 3, 89. 2, see i. 138. 1.

8 2 Richard Scosthrop (Costhorp) (1628—1661) was a native of the Craven district of N. W. Yorks, where there is "a group of villages named Airton, Calton, and Scostrop, in close contact with each other" (Backhouse, *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849). He was at first a persecutor of Friends "but the hand of the Lord was heavy upon him, so that he sought to those whom he had sorely abused" (*ibid.* p. 278 ; *F. P. T.*). In 1654, he was confined in Little Ease (2. 3). In 1663, at the end of a tract by Jackson, *Visitation of Love*, is printed an epistle to Friends, written by "Richard Scochthrap." One of the copies in D. belonged to John Whiting (1656—1722, Quaker bibliographer), who adds in MS. "This R. sc. (as I heard Leo. ffell Relate at my House in y^e^ year 1691) Prophesied in y^e^ Prison at London [not noted by Besse] as ff^rds^ was discoursing of ff^rds^ Sufferings he sitting by said five & twenty years hence and y^e^ Church shall {have} Rest, & Just according to y^e^ time so it Came to pass. Jo Whiting." Scosthrop died "far from his native Country, in the Island Zant" (MS. in D.).

Baker, *Short Relation*, 1662, pp. 91—99 ; *Suff.*

8 3 "Prester John's Country was Abyssinia. Prester John was a legendary Christian priest, who was believed in the early Middle Ages to reign over this Eastern country" (Jones, *George Fox*, 1903, p. 386 n.). Dr J. Rendel Harris describes him as "the Christian King of Ethiopia whom the Portuguese discovered holding the faith in the mountains that border on the southern end of the Red Sea" ("Prester John's Library" in *Hermas in Arcadia*, 1896). Fox wrote a letter to Presbyter John in 1660. It would be interesting to know whether the letter reached its destination and whether any reply was received. In the same year H. F[ell] and J. S[tubbs] addressed him in Latin, *Pro Presbytero Johanne, ac Omnibus ejus Regibus & Principibus subordinati*[*s*], *a Populo Dei in Anglia, vocato Anglice Quakers*, printed in Latin and English. They write as two of the apostles sent to all nations "to visite Gods Vineyard," and are satisfied that "the Kingdom of Heaven must be known in" them, "though it be but like a graine of Mustard Seed."

8 4 Daniel Baker, of London, was one of the Friends who offered to take the places of their fellow-believers in gaol, in 1659. From the subscription to various writings, it appears that Baker was in Winchester Prison in 1658, in the Poultry Compter, London, in 1659 ("for reproving the Pride and Vanity of the People in the day of the Lord Mayor's Show, at the Mayor's Gate, *Suff.* i. 365), in Worcester Prison in 1660, in Shrewsbury Town Gaol in 1662, and in Worcester again in 1663, whence he wrote several interesting letters to Fox (Swarth. MSS. iv. 183, 187). An early collection of letters, begun by Charles Lloyd, now in the possession of William C. Braithwaite, of Banbury, contains letters written by Baker during his imprisonment at Burdgesgate, Shrewsbury, in 1662.

Fox's statement respecting Baker seems scarcely warranted by the facts given elsewhere of his further service and suffering. He was helpful to the two prisoners of the Inquisition in Malta, and there does not appear anything against him in either Sewel's *Hist.* or Besse's *Suff.* His name appears among Friends in the ministry attending London Meetings in 1683 (*First Days Meetings*, MS. in D.). Joseph Smith states that Daniel Baker died at sea.

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8 5 This book is not yet identified.

9 1 Fox, on hearing of the decease of Burrough, wrote a touching little epistle to Friends "for the staying and settling of their Minds," given in Ell. edd.

9 2 Thomas Parnell ( —1702) lived at King's Ripton, Hunts. He married Elizabeth ——— who died in 1698. James Nayler died at his house in 1660 and was buried in his burying ground at King's Ripton. Sewel relates that Nayler, on his journey northward, "was found in a field by a countryman toward evening, and was had, or went to a friend's house at Holm not far from King's Rippon, where Thomas Parnel, a doctor of physick dwelt, who came to visit him" (*Hist.* 1722, note sub anno 1656). The Registers describe Parnell as "a skinner." Besse mentions him under Hunts.

9 3 Not identified.

10 1 Ell. edd. expand this allusion slightly, adding, "who, giving heed to a Spirit of Delusion, sought to introduce and set up among Friends that evil and uncomely Practice of keeping on the Hat in time of publick Prayers." They also give a short paper by Fox on "the spirit of John Perrot."

At this point is introduced by Ell. edd. the noted case, tried at Nottingham in 1661, at *nisi prius*, before John Archer, Judge (1598—1682), which helped to establish once for all the legality of Friends' marriages (see Sewel, *Hist.* 1722, sub anno 1661, and citation from Sewel in Haggard's *Consistory Reports*, 1822, Appendix, p. 9 ; *Book of Cases*, i. 28, MS. in D., containing records of legal cases relating to Friends from 1661 to the present time).

10 2 Friends made use of this occasion to publish "the Grounds and Reasons, why they refused to swear" (Ell. edd.) and Fox wrote a few lines to the magistrates (given in Ell. edd.).

This last-named piece is followed in Ell. edd. by an address to the King on Friends' sufferings, signed by George Fox and Richard Hubberthorne. A copy of this appeal is in D. (Gibson MSS. iii. 3), signed in autograph and endorsed by Fox "to King 1660." Fox signed "Georg ffox"—an extremely rare form of his signature. Each letter was separately made with a heavy hand.

10 3 This portion of the *Journal* has been written by Lower on two separate unnumbered sheets, in a smaller hand. Its place of insertion is indicated by ✳. For the style of the concluding words, see 8. 1.

11 1 Opposition between the Quakers and the other non-conforming bodies was sharper than between Quakers and Episcopalians. Though often brothers in adversity, they appear to have failed to discover any bonds of union.

11 2 Fox seems to have had a special aversion to "Jangelinge baptists" (p. 24), and his followers were opposed to the Baptists more than to any of the other sects of the times, although they really had much in common.

Moon, *True Light*, 1657 ; works of Edward Burrough, 1672 ; Tallack, *George Fox, The Friends and the Early Baptists*, 1868 ; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876 ; Brown, *John Bunyan*, 1885 ; *F. P. T.*

12 1 The Familists, or Family of Love, arose about the middle of the sixteenth century, their founder being Henry Nicholas, who was born in Westphalia in 1502. They disavowed all connection with the Puritans but historians have found it very difficult to learn from

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their writings their actual position as regards religion. The charges of gross immorality usually brought against them are now considered unfounded. The sect "lasted not much more than half a century on the Continent [of Europe], and lingered in England, where they were the most numerous, till the times of the Commonwealth" (Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 1876, pp. 25—35). In an address to King James II, they styled themselves "a sort of refin'd Quakers" (Evelyn, *Diary*, 16 June 1687).

Hallywell, *Account of Familism as it is Revived and Propagated by the Quakers*, 1673, and Penn's reply thereto, *Wisdom Justified of her Children*, 1673; Penn's Preface to *The Journal of George Fox* (Ell. edd.), 1694; Thomas, *The Family of Love*, Haverford College (U.S.A.) Studies, no. 12, 1893; Jones, *Mystical Religion*, 1909, chap. xviii.; *D. N. B.* s. v. Nicholas; *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. 50.

12 2 Followers of Lodowicke Muggleton (1609—1697/8) and John Reeve (1608—1658), who announced themselves as the "two witnesses" of Rev. xi. 3, and messengers of a new dispensation. Muggletonians and Quakers had much to speak, write and print against each other. Perhaps on some points they were nearer than they thought. Muggleton wrote *The Neck of the Quakers broken*, 1663, containing a letter to Edward Bourne, an answer to a letter of Samuel Hooton and W. S., a letter to R. Farnsworth and an answer to Farnsworth's *Truth Ascended*. In this book he writes, "I was made partaker of the power to bless and curse to eternity...neither will God give this power to any more after me, neither can any man come to the assurance of the favor of God now in these days, but in believing that God gave this power unto John Reeve and my self" (p. 43).

It was for publishing this book that Muggleton was tried at the Old Bailey in 1677, fined £500 and pilloried; he was released later in the same year. Fox replied to Muggleton's book in *Something in Answer*, 1667, and Muggleton then wrote *A Looking-Glass for George Fox*, 1668. He had previously written *A Letter sent to Thomas Taylor, Quaker, in the Year 1664*. Controversy also arose between him and William Penn, Isaac Penington and other Friends. He was not backward in exercising his power of condemnation, and pronounced various Friends "cursed, and damned, soul and body, from the presence of God, elect men and angels to all eternity," yet he frequently commends Quakerism as "the best of all in righteousness of life; yet the worst of all in point of doctrine" (*Spiritual Epistles*, reprinted 1820, pp. 48, 56, 69, 70). Some Friends were carried away by his teaching (see p. 451; also Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715, p. 68; *Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 142).

*News from the Sessions House...that Grand Impostor, Lodowick Muggleton*, 1676; *Muggleton's Last Will and Testament...Recantation*, 1679, with note to the reader by J[ames] B[edloe] ("a lampoon in connection with the Popish Plot," says Alexander Gordon, M.A., 1905, in MS. in D.); *John Gratton*, 1720, p. 23; Smith, *Adv. Cata.* 1873, pp. 300—333; Turner, *Quakers*, 1889; Jessopp, "The Prophet of Walnut-tree Yard," in *The Coming of the Friars*; *D. N. B.*

13 1 This was Thomas, third Viscount Beaumont, of Swords in the Peerage of Ireland ( —1702). His grandfather was Sir Thomas Beaumont, of Cole Orton, Leicestershire; his father, Sapcoate, second Viscount, died shortly before the Restoration. Both had suffered for their Royalist principles. This apprehension took place on the 2nd September, 1662. Besse gives a brief statement of the event, "The Lord Behmen, alias Swords, having received Information of an intended Meeting at Swanington, came thither and caused nine

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Persons to be apprehended...." The names given on the mittimus are George Fox, William Smith, Margaret Bayly, Susanna Frith, Joane Brockesby, Henry Walker, Edward Muggleston, Thomas Fowkes, Joane Roe. The mittimus is signed "T. Swords" (*Suff.* i. 333). The number of prisoners and their sex do not agree in both accounts. The whole event is very vividly described.

Burke, *Extinct Baronetcies*, 1844, pp. 48 f.

13 2 Thomas Fawkes (Fowkes) was a Derbyshire Friend. He is mentioned several times by Besse.

13 3 A small tortoise-shell pocket comb, with several teeth broken off, which is said to have been in the possession of George Fox, is preserved in D. It passed from the Fell family to the Fox family of Somerset (no known relationship with Fox of Drayton) and was presented to the Society of Friends in 1901.

18 1 Probably Henry Hastings ( —1667), son of the Earl of Huntingdon, created Baron Loughborough 1643, Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire 1661 (*D. N. B.*).

18 2 Captain Henry Browne lived at Barrow-on-Soar. An account of his wife, Sarah Browne, from the pen of their son, Samuel, was printed soon after her death, *Account and Testimony of Samuel Browne, Concerning his dear Mother Sarah Browne, Widow* (a facsimile ed. was printed in 1880). From this we learn that Sarah Browne was born at Loughborough and became a Baptist before joining Friends. She died in 1693 at the house of her son, who was a physician in the town of Leicester (*Piety Promoted*), aged eighty-three years. Margaret Killam attended a meeting at Captain Browne's house at Barrow in 1654 (Swarth. MSS. i. 374). There is no record in the Friends' Registers of the death of Captain Browne but from his son's *Account* it is probable that he died about 1673.

18 3 Barnett Hills was a refuge for Puritan preachers—"free" because outside the jurisdiction of the Five Mile Act (1665).

As a "private place" it was less likely that Sarah Browne would be arrested under the Quaker Act, 1662, for attending meetings.

19 1 The remarkable cure of the great man at Twycross took place in 1649 (Ell. edd.), and was probably mentioned in one of the sixteen pages missing from the commencement of the MS. *Journal*.

19 2 Ell. edd. insert here the visit to East Anglia, described on p. 9, under date of 1661.

19 3 Margaret Thomas ( —1691) was a widow, of Bristol. In 1655, she was imprisoned in Newgate for testifying against Ralph Farmer, the Vicar of St Nicholas Church, "after he had done his Prayer before his Divination" (*Cry of Blood*, 1656, pp. 113, 128). In a letter from Barbara Blaugden to Fox, dated 1656, occur the words "sara smitten and margret thomas should pas to jerusalem but the time i knew not" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 194). Nothing more is known of this. M. Thomas signed the Fox-Fell marriage certificate, 1669. Dorcas Erbury, who was concerned in Nayler's proceedings in Bristol, lived with Margaret Thomas (Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, p. 17 ; Grigge, *The Quakers' Jesus*, 1658, p. 10).

20 1 This interesting letter is among the MSS. forming the *Journal*, in original form. The alterations mentioned in the foot-notes to p. 20 were not made by the writer. The endorsement, as heading, was added by Fox. The document is worn and discoloured with age. See 20. 7.

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20 2 Dr Edward Bourne ( —1708), of Worcester, is described as "chemist" in the registry of his marriage, in 1661, with Margaret Paine, of Kings Capel (d. 1709). He suffered imprisonment in Worcester, Warwick, Marlborough, and Hereford. Besse gives a long account of his sufferings (*Suff.* ii. 65 ff.). In 1655, when Fox was in Worcestershire, Dr Bourne accompanied him from Worcester towards Tewkesbury, and he gives a striking account of Fox's conversation, "Hee speak of the Glory of the first body, and of the Egiptian Learning, & of the Language of the birds, & of w^t^ was wonnderfull to mee to heare, soe that I belived he was of a Deep & wonnderfull understanding in naturall but especially in spirituall things" (*F. P. T.*). Bourne wrote other pieces in addition to his reply to Dr Good (312. 4). Several of his letters are extant, written in a good, educated hand. The name does not occur in Ell. edd.

Noake, *Worcester Sects*, 1861 ; White, *Warwickshire*, 1894, pp. 35, 37 ; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 289.

20 3 Gobert Sikes lived at Hackney, Middlesex, where a meeting was held at his house (Crouch, *Posthuma Christiana*, 1712, p. 18 ; Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 37).

Little more is known of this Friend and the date of his death has not been ascertained.

20 4 That is, Edward Pyott, the younger—"a young lad then" (Rogers, *Christian Quaker*, 1680, pt. v. pp. 57, 61, 64).

He had a brother, Alexander Pyott ( —1696), who lived at Warminster, Wilts (Smith, *Cata.* ii. 441), joint-author of a once well-known *Apology for the Quakers*.

20 5 Dennis (Denys) Hollister ( —1676) was a grocer in Bristol High Street. He was one of the representatives for Somerset in the Nominated Parliament of 1653 (*Com. and Prot.* 1903, ii. 309). Whilst in London he had "sucked in some principles of this upstart locust doctrine, from a sort of people called quakers," returning to Bristol "with his heart full of discontent and his head full of poisonous new notions" (Underhill, *Broadmead Records*, 1847, pp. 43 ff.). He was one of the first to receive travelling Friends, in 1654 (*F. P. T.*). The eldest of his four daughters, Hannah, married, in 1660, Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, and became the mother of Hannah, second wife of William Penn (*Jnl. F. H. S.* iv.). The publication of the marriage proposals of Phoebe Hollister and Thomas Harris were made before Friends in gaol, and signed by Richard Snead for men Friends in Newgate and by Anna Jones for women Friends in Bridewell, 1683 (original document in D.). Hollister entered into controversy with his old friends in a letter addressed to "the Independent Baptiz'd People," and published under the title, *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered*, 1656. Other tracts followed.

Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, pp. 3, 47 ; Grigge, *Quakers' Jesus*, 1658, pp. 1, 3, 41, 43 ; Tanner, *Lectures...Bristol and Somersetshire*, 1858.

20 6 The name of Edward Pyott's wife does not appear. Thomas Rawlinson calls her "a pretious Hart" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 11). An Elizabeth Pyott signed the Fox-Fell marriage certificate in 1669.

20 7 William Rogers, merchant of Bristol, Separatist, raised a controversy, fourteen years later, over Fox's action in being present at a part only of this meeting at Broadmead, and in arriving and departing by the back-stairs to avoid capture, while desiring Friends present to keep the meeting going. Fox says, in reply, "I did not know which

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was Fore-stairs, and which was Back-stairs, but went as I was guided, and Friends say since, The one was as common as the other" (Rogers, *Christian Quaker*, 1680, pt. v. p. 55).

The alterations made in this letter, see notes *a* and *b*, are no doubt connected with this charge of Rogers. See 25. 2.

20 8 There was a Thomas Kent, a shoemaker of London, who died in 1673, aged fifty years, probably the same who in 1659 was among the Friends who offered to take the place of their brethren in bonds (*Declaration of Sufferings*, 1659) and who wrote *The Fall of Man Declared*, 1661, from "the Dungeon at Warwick (which is 20. Staires down)."

Another Thomas Kent was a Separatist. See *The Journal of Thomas Story*, anno 1696.

21 1 That is, Margaret Thomas, see 19. 3.

21 2, 4 Robert and Anne Yeamans had a large family. Their daughter, Anne, married Thomas Curtis. Another daughter, "Berthna," bapt. 1642, married John Speed in 1657, who was probably one of the brothers-in-law mentioned here. A daughter, Margaret, bapt. 1641, married Edward Martendale in 1666, but this date is later than that of John Stubbs's letter.

Friends' Registers; Registers of parishes of Christchurch and All Saints, Bristol.

21 3 Joan Hiley (Ely) ( —1687) lived in Bristol. She was one of the ninety Friends who subscribed the Fox-Fell wedding certificate. There is a record of a letter to her from Fox in 1678.

22 1 John Fordham (c. 1627—1683) and Elizabeth his wife ( —1663) lived in London, but, according to a letter of his to Fox in Lancaster Prison, 1663/4, he was always in Bristol "at the ffaires" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 168). In this letter Fordham writes of his "son John" and "maid Elizabeth." In 1661, he appended his signature to an account of sufferings *For the King and Both Houses of Parliament.*

22 2 John Rous ( —1694/5) was the elder son of Thomas Rous, merchant of Barbados (186. 3), on which Island he was born. Bowden gives a detailed account of his sufferings in New England, sufferings which culminated in the loss, by legal process, of one of his ears, 1658 (*Hist.* 1850, i. 98 ff.). Besse states that he visited Nevis 1658 (*Suff.* ii. 352). Rous appears to have been in London in 1659 (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 152), but whether for the first time or not cannot be determined. He passed several times between England and his native Island. In 1662 he married Margaret, eldest daughter of Judge Fell (162. 7). Of his religious labours in the British Isles little is known. In 1664, he is addressed as a "merchant, at the Bear and Fountain in Loathbury, London," but his home was for many years at Kingston on Thames. He was drowned on a voyage home from the West Indies (Abraham MSS. quoted in *Fells*, p. 386). His brother, Thomas, is mentioned on p. 298.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, many reff.; Holder, *Holders of Holderness*, 1902, pp. 131, 146; *D. N. B.*; many letters in D. and elsewhere.

22 3 Margaret Drinkwell (Drinkall) lived in London. Perhaps Margaret Fell was at her house at this time, at any rate she had visited the Drinkwells, when M. D. wrote to her, in 1664, "y^e^ Testimony w^ch^ thou left here for Truth & thy good example in my ffamily I hope will never be forgotten by me" (Swarth. MSS. i. 160). In this and a previous letter (*ibid.* i. 367) M. Drinkwell writes of her husband and of her daughter, Elizabeth (who appears to have been at or near

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Swarthmoor), and acknowledges a letter from "Blessed G. ff." She was a widow, of Bishopsgate, in 1684 (*Suff.* i. 468). The signature "Margarett Drinkwell" appears on a paper sent to M. Fox in Seventh Month (Sept.) 1695 from the Women's Quarterly Meeting in London (Spence MSS. iii. 195).

22 4 For the subject of remarkable cures, see i. 140. 1.

23 1 It cannot at present be determined whether this John Moore was the same as John Moore of Eldroth in the parish of Clapham, N.W. Yorks. (p. 135), or whether he can be identified with any other of the same name (see *F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS. iv. 96).

John Moore of Eldroth is mentioned in Swarth. MSS. i. 164.

25 1 This was William Fry (c. 1622—1708) of Ashgrove in the parish of Donhead St Mary, South Wilts., eldest son of Thomas and Grace Fry. He married Mary Lindsey of Weymouth, c. 1645, and had a numerous family. He is said to have removed to Bristol soon after 1700. His burial took place at Ashgrove. There was not any known connection between this family of Fry and the Fry family of North Wiltshire and Bristol. Ashgrove Friends' Burial Ground, situated at Ashcombe (or Chivecombe) Bottom in the parish of Donhead St Mary, once belonged to William Fry as the owner of the Ashcombe estate (*Charitable Trusts...of Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting*, 1870).

*Suff.*; *The Family of Fry of Ashgrove, Wiltshire*, by E. A. Fry, 1895, reprinted from *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, i.

25 2 Another view of the cause of Fox's freedom from arrest was published many years after by William Rogers, Separatist. He charges Fox with "fleeing in time of persecution" and hiding himself in a ditch. Fox in reply gives a circumstantial account of his movements at Ringwood, or rather at Poulner about a mile and a half from Ringwood (Rogers, *Christian Quaker*, 1680, pt. 5. p. 58).

26 1 Sarah Fell (c. 1643—1714) was the fourth daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall. She was, perhaps, the most intellectual and active of the Swarthmoor sisterhood. She was clerk (secretary) of several women's meetings for Church affairs, including that of Lancashire Quarterly Meeting, and her handwriting is very neat and clear. Croese extols her after the following fashion, "She was not only Beautiful and Lovely to a high degree, but wonderfully Happy in Ingeny and Memory; so stupendiously Eloquent in Discoursing and Preaching...that she ravish'd all her beholders and hearers with Admiration and Wonder. She apply'd her self to the study of the Hebrew Tongue..." (*Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 47). Sarah kept the accounts of the household at the Hall—her account-book (1673—1678) is now in the possession of J. Herbert Midgley, J.P. of Grange-over-Sands (Midgley, *Margaret Fell*, 1908).

Her work in connection with her step-father's papers was considerable. In 1681, she married William Meade and removed to the South of England (see 347. 2).

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, many reff.

26 2 In a letter from Thomas Salthouse to Humphrey Lower, Thomas Mounce, Justice Polixphen and others, dated 1660, the writer states, "I had a generall meeting last 5 day at Royger porters" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 174). This may be the Justice Porter here mentioned. A letter from Roger Porter "touching some designers about public money in Cornwall," Jan. 1659/60, is mentioned in *Cal. S. P. Dom.*

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26 3 In one of the copies in D. of Joseph Helling's tract, *The Lambs Innocency Defended*, 1658, the following words appear in an ancient handwriting:—"Read part of itt Poor Joseph Helling its like was then in a better Understanding, Then after hee had seen y^t^ Ranting Woman Blancx Pope she Darkened his weak Understanding." More respecting this woman does not at present appear.

27 1 Under Falmouth we read, "The first setled Meetting was att ffrancis Hodge his hous" (*F. P. T.*) which was at Budock, one and a half miles from Falmouth. In 1660 Hodge and another, "being observed in Falmouth Market with their Hats on, during the Reading of a Proclamation were sent...to prison" (*Suff.* i. 117). Hodge died in 1684/5.

27 2 The home of Thomas Teague does not appear. He died in 1698 and was buried at Marazion. Pentecost Teague, of Marazion Monthly Meeting, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1706 (*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1897, pp. 211, 213; Myers, *Quaker Arrivals in Philadelphia, 1682—1750*, 1902; *Publications of Geneal. Soc. of Pa.* iv. 1910), was doubtless a member of the same family.

28 1 George Hawkin ( —1692) of Stoke Climsland. In 1666, he and his son, Samson, suffered cruel ill-usage from the hands of the Priest of the Parish (*Suff.* i. 119). There was a Robert Hawkin of the same place (see *F. P. T.*).

30 1 This narrative of the lamentable end of Colonel Robinson was written by Thomas Lower on two sides of a separate piece of paper. The place of insertion is clearly marked thus *. The correctness of the narrative is fully established. Calamy mentions it (*Ejected Ministers*, iii. 215), and Palmer repeats it in brief in his abridgment of Calamy (*Noncon. Mem.* i. 351; see next note), giving Besse's account (*Suff.* i. 118) in a footnote. But still nearer the date of Robinson's death was written a letter from "Thomas ffolden to M^r^ James Hickes senior of the Letter office," dated from Falmouth, Feb. 27, 1671, here given as copied from the original among State Papers (*S. P. D.* Car. II. 288. 5, and printed in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, pp. 105, 171):—

"There is a woman about heere in this Countrie apprehended for a Witch & as by Letters from thence I am Informed thatt she hath discouered that shee was in the fleett when the Duke of Yorke was att Sea, & hendered the prosecution of thatt victory against the Duch & thatt she hath bing the Cause of the Queenes Barrenness & seueral other things & thatt she caused the Bull to kill Collonell Robinson a parlem^t^ man & justice of the Peace because he prosecuted the nonconformise shee being one her selfe either a Presbyterian or Baptize she was discouered by Cattes danceing in the aire & invitting one of her neighbors to the same crafte.....

"If you thinke fitt you may show this to Mr Williamson."

Steven Crisp writes under date 4. xi. 1669/70, "We travelled to Helston, where Robinson y^e^ persecutor dyed by his bull" (Smith, *Crisp*, 1892, p. xxxi).

30 2 Colonel Thomas Robinson ( —1663) was M.P. for the borough of Helston. He is referred to in Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* (i. 350 ff.). Joseph Sherwood, who had been ejected from the living of St Hilary, was brought before Robinson at a Petty Sessions for unauthorised preaching and much abused by him. "Sherwood looked him full in the face, and addressed him in these words, 'Sir, if you die the common death of all men, God never spake by me.'"

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34 1 Whitehough (pron. Whitehuff) is "a Manor House, situated in the parish of Ipstones and near to the town of Leek [in Staffs.]. It is now a large farm house [photo in D.] but small compared with the house once suitable for the owner of a considerable estate" (Norris, *John ap John*, 1907). There "are many traces of it having been a large and beautiful residence" (note by Joseph Lovatt, of Leek, 1910). In Fox's time it was the residence of the Quaker family of Mellor. Fox was there again in 1678, and he wrote thence a letter to Friends of Staffordshire (Ell. edd.; Leek MS. in D.). There are records of several marriages at Whitehough.

Sleigh, *Hist. of Leek*, 1883, esp. pp. 158, 172, 180, 181.

34 2 It is probable that Captain Lingard was the same as John Lingard, the elder ( —1684), who lived at Slack Hall, near Chapel-en-le-Frith, which would be about at the end of the twenty-mile journey referred to.

Besse, *Suff.*

35 1 This paper, written by Fox to clear Friends from participation in plots and plotting, is printed in Ell. edd. under date 1664. It was issued as a broadside, n. d. There is still extant in D. (Gibson MSS. iv. 217) an ancient, tattered, yet quite legible copy of this paper, appended to which are fourteen signatures, all apparently original save one, headed by James Lancaster. Number 4 is "George ffox," but it is not in Fox's handwriting; where he has himself signed a document with others it has been at the head of the names (cp. *Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 202). This MS. is endorsed by Thomas Lower, and dated by Fox, who has added "g f papers & triales at lankester." It is addressed "For Judge Turner and Judge Twisden These at Lancaster." It is highly likely that this sheet once belonged to the documents forming the Spence MSS. of the *Journal*.

35 2 In 1653, at the house of Justice Pearson, "Martin Richmond & three of his Sons" were convinced (*F. P. T.*). In the same year, Martin Richmond and Christopher Richmond signed an epistle from the county of Durham (Swarth. MSS. ii. 17). There was a John Richmond of Heighington, also Thomas and William. J. W. Steel says that Fox's visit was "probably at Heighington" (*Friendly Sketches*, 1876, p. 83, *Early Friends in the North*, 1905, p. 4). None of the names occurs in the Durham Burial Registers.

Besse, *Suff.*

35 3 Anne Audland (1627—1705) was a daughter of Richard Newby, of Kendal. She married John Audland (i. 42. 6) in 1650. In 1654 she visited the county of Durham, and with Jane Waugh, in the following year, she underwent much suffering at Banbury (*Saints' Testimony*, 1655; *F. P. T.*). Fox's reference to "Anne Audlands" may imply that her husband was then dead. If this was so, the visit must have been paid very shortly after his death, which took place 22. i. (March) 1663/4. John and Anne Audland had one daughter, who married John Moore, and one son, John, posthumous. In 1666, Anne Audland married Thomas Camm (1641—1707/8), of Camsgill, son of John Camm, the friend of her first husband.

Camm, *Memory of the Righteous Revived*, 1689; *Piety Promoted*; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; *D. N. B.*; MSS. in D.

36 1 Hugh Hutchinson, Senr., yeoman, of Sinderhope, in Allendale, "a minister many years" ( —1692). He signed, with others, an Epistle from a General Meeting held in Durham in 1659 (MS. in D.). In 1663 he was committed to Morpeth Gaol for non-payment of tithes

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and lay there ten years and four months (*Suff.* i. 175). The name was a common one in Allendale. There was a Hugh Hutchinson in 1547, and another held land at "Syndrop" in 1608.

Information from John Hall Shield, Whitfield, Northumberland.

36 2 It would be interesting to know the names of this "hale white olde man" of 122 years of age and his "auntient woman." Fox mentions another Friend "whoe was above 100 yeeres olde" (p. 107). Friends have been noted for their longevity. In addition to a score or so of Quaker centenarians whose names are known, it is on record that the grandmother of Lucy Choppin (née Wyatt), of Essex (d. 1705), was "of a perfect memory and...could thread a Needle within two weeks before she died, which was in the hundred & fourteenth Year of her Age" (Rowe MSS. xvii. 54); that Susannah Warder, a servant of William Penn, and born in his house, died c. 1810, in her one hundred and ninth year (*Quaker Biographies*, 1909, iii. 185); that Comfort Collins (née Hoag) was living in 1812, aged one hundred and eleven years (*Samuel Fothergill*, 1857, p. 200); and that Elizabeth Hanbury died in 1901, aged one hundred and eight years. Among non-Friends the instances of longevity usually cited are Thomas Parr (1483?—1635) and Henry Jenkins (1501?—1670) (Haydon, *Dictionary of Dates*, under Longevity; *D. N. B.*). See Morton, *New England's Memorial*, 1669.

The average age of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland who died during the year 1909—10 was 64 years (*Annual Monitor for 1911*).

36 3 A Richard Fletcher is twice mentioned in the Swarth. MSS. (i. 306, sub anno 1658), in association with Thomas Bewley, but the place of his residence does not appear. This may be the Friend here mentioned.

36 4 This may refer to Christopher Musgrave, son of Sir Philip Musgrave, Governor of Carlisle, who may have been appointed his father's deputy. Sir Christopher was appointed Governor in March, 1685 (Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.* 1890, p. 403).

*Cal. S. P. Dom.*; Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871.

36 5 William Pearson ( —1674) lived at Tiffinthwaite, near Wigton. He was one of "a few People Gathered together from y^e^ publique worship of y^e^ Nation & oftentimes sat together in Silence" (*F. P. T.*). Fox's first visit was in 1653, resulting in the convincement of this little company of Seekers. Pearson's house was opened for meetings until a meeting-house was built on part of his property (*ibid.*).

37 1 Hugh Tickell (c. 1610—1680) belonged to Portinscale Meeting in which "hee was a serviceable Man. Thatt wor[l]dly Riches, which itt pleased the Lord to besthow on him, hee made many pertakers thereof; hee setled some parcells of land to the use of the poor of the parish" (*F. P. T.*). In 1664, Tickell was imprisoned in Carlisle by the Priest of Crosthwaite (who "afterwards broke his Scull"), and again in about 1678, by another priest of Crosthwaite (who "was suddenly stricken and had the Use of one side of his Tongue, and Understanding much taken from him") (*Some Testimonies...Hugh Tickell*, 1690). He travelled in England and Scotland. A letter from William Caton in Eighth Month (Oct.), 1663 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 263) describes a storm in the North Sea, mentioning incidentally that they were "near unto y^e^ sands where dear Hughe Tickhils wife and another friend were cast away (as I am Informed) in their passing for Holland." It may therefore be inferred that shortly before the date of this letter Hugh Tickell lost his first wife under tragic circum-

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stances. His second wife was Dorothy, whom he married c. 1664 (she states in her Testimony to her husband, c. 1690, "I being his Wife about twenty six years"). In 1665, while in Carlisle Gaol, Tickell writes to his wife, "Let me know how thou gits on With thy Worke and when thou be going to mow" (original in D.). A letter from John Dixon to Hugh Tickell, respecting collections for the use of Friends, was found on the highway near Cockermouth and handed over to the local Authority (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661—2, pp. 263 ff.).

37 2 Thomas Laythes (c. 1627—1701), of Dalehead, near Keswick, within Portinscale Meeting, Cumberland, was convinced in the year 1659 and "had a few Words in Meetings sometimes" (*F. P. T.*). He had "many great Exercises both Inwardly and Outwardly," and "Fasts for several Days," once for fourteen days "unless only a little Water sometimes" (*Something Concerning my Convincement*, 1686, p. 5). His collected writings were published in 1705, with the title, *The Inward and Spiritual Christian.*

37 3 Francis Benson ( —1672) and his wife, Dorothy —1669), lived at "Fould in Loughrigge," in Langdale Meeting, Westmorland (*F. P. T.*; Registers). Among Spence MSS. (iii. 33) is a letter from M. Fell to Benson, respecting Gabriel Camelford (i. 46. 5).

Cowper, *Oldest Register Book of Parish of Hawkshead, 1568—1704.*

37 4 Sir Daniel Fleming (1633—1701) of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, was sworn Justice of the Peace in 1660; he was appointed Sheriff of Cumberland in the same year, and in 1674 Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Lancaster. He married in 1655, Barbara, daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher, of Hutton (105. 3). He was Knighted in 1681; M.P. for Cockermouth, 1685 to 1687. Fleming was one of a band of men, much interested in local affairs, some of whom were also connected by family relationship, and several of whom are mentioned in the *Journal*—Dodding, Lawson, Preston, Musgrave, Fletcher, Spencer, Rawlinson, West, Porter, Kirkby, Hudleston, Middleton, Bindloss. The Fleming MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com. *Report*, 1890) reveal something of the activity of Fleming and others in opposing the rising tide of Quakerism in the North-West (see "Justice Fleming and his Friends," in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1892).

*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, 1664—5; Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871, p. 354; *Westmorland Quaker Records*, 1902.

37 5 Henry S. Cowper, F.S.A., in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* (New Series), vol. vi., identifies Richard Kirkby (c. 1625—1681) of Kirkby Hall, in Furness, with the Colonel Kirkby of the *Journal.* He was a Justice for the County of Lancaster. One of his four wives was a daughter of Sir William Hudleston of Millom (48. 4). His sister, Margaret, married Miles Dodding (i. 360. 1). H. S. Cowper's article contains an admirable résumé of the relations between the Kirkbys and their neighbours, the Fells.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865.

39 1 If the persons of this surname mentioned here and on pp. 42, 61, 105 are the same, they represent Justice Robert Rawlinson, a lawyer.

39 2 Thomas Atkinson, of Cartmel, Lancs. (c. 1604— ), was the author of a 15-page pamphlet *The Christian's Testimony against Tythes*, 1678, in which he gives an account of prosecutions for non-payment of tithe, set up by Thomas Preston of Holker, and his son Thomas Preston the younger, as tithe-farmers to the Bishop of Chester. Later, in his eightieth year, 1684, he wrote *An Exhortation to all People.*

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39 3 According to the document printed on p. 105 (although the paragraph was crossed out) this was William Knipe, of [Wood] Broughton (in the parish of Cartmel), of the same family, apparently, as the John Knipe, who assaulted Fox in 1652 (i. 46). See *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* 1910, p. 296.

40 1 Sir Thomas Gower, Bart., was High Sheriff of Yorkshire at this time. His "papers concerning the intended rising in Yorkshire" are mentioned in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, p. 298. There is much information concerning this supposed plot in the North to be found in the State Papers. On 24 July, 1663, a letter, addressed to Secretary Bennet, states, "All are ready in Yorkshire and the four northern Counties to be up in a few days: the Quakers are engaged to a man" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, p. 216). March 12 was fixed for the rising, but the arrest of the chief designers delayed matters. It was renewed on October 12. In October there is a letter respecting the plot, which states "particulars of persons connected with it—Jos. Hellin, a quaker" (*ibid.* p. 323). In the State Papers the Quakers are persistently associated with this plot.

Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871, p. 28.

40 2 In an account of meetings at Wakefield in 1653 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 229) there is mention made of a Doctor Hodgson who was "very loveing to us, we went into his house, and there the people gott in as many as could thrust."

Watson MSS. in D., p. 27.

41 1 George Fox's refusal to take the oath at Holker Hall is the subject of a fine painting by John Pettie, R.A. (1839—1893), which was hung in the Royal Academy in 1864 and for which the artist was awarded the gold medal for historical painting (Whitten, *Quaker Pictures*, 1897). The painting is now in the possession of Robert Barclay, J.P., of Hoddesdon, Herts.

42 1 William Kirkby (c. 1635— ) was a brother of Colonel Richard Kirkby (37. 5). He lived at Ashlack Hall, which is near Kirkby Hall, and is still in good preservation (Cowper, "Homes of the Kirkbys of Kirkby Ireleth," in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* 1895). He was a Justice for the county of Lancaster, and was living in 1687.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 350; *Fleming MSS.* 1890.

42 2 Doubtless the Hon. William Spencer (c. 1630— ), of Ashton Hall, about four miles south of Lancaster. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the third Lord Gerard, and had ten children. Squire Spencer (as he was usually called in the district) was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1665—6.

Dugdale, *Visitation of Lancashire*, 1664; article by W. Hewitson, of Bury, in *Lancaster Observer*, 1889; Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.* 1890.

43 1 The MS. from which this relation is printed has, in error, been bound up with the sheets of the first volume of Spence MSS. The endorsement, as heading, was written by Lower, and Fox has added "at the shesons at lankester." In another contemporary handwriting are the words "Edw. Haistwhittle [? Haistwell] bound these up as they was read in y^e^ Journeys." See 52. 2.

48 1 The MS. follows the one referred to in the previous note. The numerous interlinings were made by Lower. It is carelessly written. One corner of the sheet was torn away before the sheet was written on. The endorsement is by Lower.

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48 2 Thomas Chorley is mentioned several times in Besse's *Sufferings*, but without the name of his place of residence. The Lancashire Registers contain the entry of the decease in 1698 of "Thomas Chorley, of Warton" (a place near to Carnforth), who was buried at Yealand.
Christopher Chorley of Carnforth is mentioned on p. 69.

48 3 Thomas Waters (Walters), of Bootle-in-Millom, one of the many Friends who had had military experience, is also associated with Thomas Chorley by Besse (*Suff.*).

48 4 Sir William Hudleston lived at Millom Castle, Cumberland. He came of the ancient Cumberland family of that name. His daughter, Isabel, married Col. Richard Kirkby, c. 1655 (37. 5).
*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1660—1, 1663—4, 1664—5.

49 1 William Grave (Greave) was the companion of William Wilson (50. 3) in missionary travels (Swarth. MSS. iv. 175).
*Suff.*; Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.* 1890.

50 1 Thomas Davenport appears to have lived at Runcorn, Cheshire (*Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.). He had a son of the same name. His imprisonments are referred to in letters from Alexander Parker from Nantwich in 1660 (Swarth. MSS. iii. 145, 146). The name Thomas Davenport is given as the author of a tract *The Word of the Lord to all Rulers*, n. d. There was also a Thomas Davenport, perhaps a son of the above, who wrote a paper in 1675 condemning his previous actions (printed in Lawrence, *Answer to Richard Smith of Westchester*, 1677).

50 2 Probably James Browne, of Bradley Orchard, in Frodsham parish, Cheshire ( —1666/7). His sufferings are alluded to in Swarth. MSS. (i. 171, iii. 130).

50 3 This was William Wilson, of Langdale Chapel Stile, in Westmorland ( —1682). His earlier experiences as an outward warrior are given here—he had also to suffer much as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. He travelled in many parts of the British Isles and also in Holland (*F. P. T.*), Hamburg (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 66), and Germany (p. 331). In 1663, Wilson wrote a letter to Daniel Fleming, of Rydal, from Lancaster Castle (extracts from original printed by Hist. MSS. Com. in *Fleming MSS.* 1890, p. 31; the whole letter, slightly modified in language, printed in *Collection of Letters of William Wilson*, 1685, p. 41), in which he states, "My friend William Grave [49. 1] is this day lyeing in the perall of death, and one prisoner is lyeing dead this day, upon the checker tabell....Thy Cosing William Kerby reported that...you had holed the Fox, and staid his Hambrough Quaker from travalling" (perhaps a reference to Wilson's troubles in Hamburg). But Grave recovered, for in 1664, Wilson wrote to Fox, "I have thoughts this weeke with our friend William Grave to goe doune to Carlile to visitte our friends there in prison" and proposing another visit to Scotland (Swarth. MSS. iv. 175), which visit apparently took place in 1673 (*Collection*, p. 52).
Wigan, *Antichrist's Strongest Hold overturned*, 1665; *Piety Promoted*; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; Robson MSS.

50 4 Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart. (1607—1677/8), was Royalist Governor of Carlisle in 1642, and again in 1660 and Custos Rotulorum. Sir Philip surprised and took Carlisle, shortly after its surrender to the Parliament, but was compelled to escape for his life when unable to hold the city. He was Mayor of Carlisle in 1665. The family seat of the Musgraves was Eden Hall, near Penrith. The father of the Quaker preacher, Christopher Story (1648—1720), was a servant in Sir

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Philip's family, and Sir Philip proposed that Christopher should be sent to the university with his son, at his charge, but the proposal did not take effect (*Christopher Story*, 1726). Musgrave was the chief prosecutor of Francis Howgill.

*John Banks*, 1712; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661—2, 1663—4; Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871; *D. N. B.*; Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.* 1890.

50 5 Considerable search has been made for the name, Justice Wren, but as yet without success.

52 1 This was, doubtless, Sir Richard *Grenville* (1600—1658), called *Greenfields* in the *Life of Sir John Digby* (1605—1645), just published by the Royal Historical Society (see index), and in State Papers, etc. He commanded Royalist forces in Ireland in 1641—3.

52 2 The original sheet has been misplaced in the binding of the MSS. It follows those described 43. 1 and 48. 1. It is written in a cultured hand; both paper and ink are brown with age. The original subscription consisted of the name "George ffox" and the words "And this is my testimonie"; and another writer has altered "my" to "our" and added the names printed at the top of p. 56.

A copy of this Testimony was sent by Margaret Fell to Colonel Kirkby from Swarthmoor, 20 Jan., 1664. Her letter and enclosure are now in the Public Record Office (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, p. 448).

56 1 As the other Friends who testify to the correctness of the foregoing narrative were concerned therein, it seems probable that this should be *Willson* and not *Wilkson*.

56 2 Ell. edd. insert here the sad case of Oliver Atherton ( —1663), imprisoned till death at the suit of Charlotte de la Trémouille, Countess of Derby (1599—1663/4), wife of James, seventh Earl. She was famed for her exploits against the Parliamentary forces (*D. N. B.*; MSS. in D.).

*Suff.* i. 311; Swarth. and other MSS. in D.

56 3 Sir Christopher Turner (Turnor) (1607—1675), Knighted at the Restoration, Baron of the Exchequer. Francis Howgill was before Judge Turner at the Appleby Assizes in August, 1664 (*Suff.* ii. 14 ff.).

*D. N. B.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, 1664—5.

56 4 Sir Thomas Twisden (1602—1683), son of the Judge of the Regicides, Knighted at the Restoration and created Baronet in 1666, though he had previously served under the Commonwealth. Dr Hodgkin describes him as a learned lawyer and honest man, but extremely passionate (*George Fox*, 1896). Justice of the King's Bench.

*Suff.* ii. 14; *D. N. B.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, 1664—5; Brown, *Bunyan*, 1887, p. 156.

56 5 One of these papers—"concerning Giving Evil Words and Nicknames" appears in Ell. edd., addressed "To all you, that be Judges."

57 1 This occupies a sheet and a half in the MS. It is finely and clearly written. The endorsements are on a separate sheet. That by Fox reads "gff triall at lankester 1663 be for ivdg twisdon at lankester frist triall." See *Examination and Tryall*, 1664.

| PAGE | NOTE | |
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| 57 | 2 | The order of events may be set out as follows:—<br>*Examination* at Holker Hall, 1663, before Rawlinson, Preston Middleton, and others—committed to the next Sessions (pp. 39—41).<br>*Sessions* at Lancaster, 1663, before Fleming, Spencer, West, and Rawlinson—committed to the Assizes (pp. 42—56).<br>*First Assizes*, 14. i. (Mar.), 1663/4, before Judge Twisden—committed to the next Assizes (pp. 56—63).<br>*Second Assizes*, 29. vi. (Aug.), 1664, before Judge Turner—committed to next Assizes (pp. 72—83).<br>*Third Assizes*, 16. i. (Mar.), 1664/5, before Judge Twisden—praemunired (pp. 84—89).<br>*Removal to Scarborough Castle*, April, 1665 (pp. 92—94).<br>*Release*, 1st September, 1666 (p. 102). |
| 60 | 1 | This Indictment in Latin and English is written in a bold hand on one side only of each of the nine leaves containing it. The leaves are much worn at the bottom right hand corners and are much discoloured. On the verso of the second sheet Fox has written the words forming the heading as printed. The last sheet is endorsed by Lower "A Copy of G: ffs Indictment att Lancaster 16 of y$^{e}$ mo$^{th}$ caled March 1663, these are {y$^{e}$} first tryalls of G: ff at Lancaster 1663 to be engrossed in order as they are now placed." |
| 60 | 2 | That is, "Gardianum Ecclesiae" = the "Churchwarden" of Lancaster. The MS. is not clear, but it should probably have been transcribed "ecclie." |
| 61 | 1 | Thomas Carus, Justice, is mentioned, with others of the Carus (Carehous) family, in the *Annals of the Parish of Halton*, 1900. He was one of the lessees in 1651, etc. of the manors of Hornby and Tatham, "then lately belonging to the Lord Morley, and sequestered for his delinquency" (MS. in D. by William Hewitson, of Bury, 1910).<br>*Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* 1909, 1910. |
| 61 | 2 | See 39. 1. |
| 61 | 3 | Nathaniel West, of Levens Hall ( —1670/71). He is described in a letter from Sir Daniel Fleming in 1666 as "Popish recusant" and requested to give an account of all arms in his possession, and to engage to hold them for the King's service. In his reply two days later, from Nether Levens, he states that he is not so well furnished with arms as he was against Sir George Booth, when he lived at Borwick (Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.*).<br>*Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* 1910. |
| 61 | 4 | Matthew Richardson's name appears with those of other Justices among the Fleming MSS., anno 1672. He was, perhaps, the same as Matthew Richardson, brother of Margaret Fell, mentioned in the will of George Fell (1670), printed *Jnl. F. H. S.* viii. and mentioned also in *Fells*, 1865, pp. 256—258. |
| 62 | 1 | Ell. edd. give a long address to Justice Fleming from the many prisoners in Lancaster Castle, also a few words subscribed by Fox only. |
| 63 | 1 | During this time Fox wrote two short epistles, one a warning to all professors and the other to Friends "to keep out of that Spirit, that wrought in John Perrot and his Company" (Ell. edd.). |
| 63 | 2, 3 | The "very wicked booke" was *Antichrist's Strongest Hold overturned: or, The Foundation of the Religion of the People called Quakers, Bared and Razed, in a Debate had with some of them in the Castle at* |

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*Lancaster*, etc., by J[ohn] W[igan], 1665, and reprints same year. The debate is dated "the 17th day of the first Month (vulgo March) $166\frac{3}{4}$, between J. W. and George Fox, John Stubs & many others about the Light within." The precedent circumstances are first detailed and then follows an account of the debate, "George Fox gets up to a seat with one foot, and to the table with the other, whereas I and others were standing on the ground," and specimens of "heavy censures" by Margaret Fell, James Park, Fox and others are given. Both sides use the plain language and the numerical dating.

Wigan's book of sixty-six pages was answered by Thomas Curwen and others in one of 152 pages, *This is An Answer to John Wiggan's Book*, 1665. In this book he is called "both a Preist and a Butchering Major." See i. 340. 1.

65 1 The MS. of this record of sufferings is out of place, appearing with those mentioned 43. 1, 48. 1, 52. 2 in vol. i. of the Spence MSS. instead of vol. ii. Fox wrote the endorsement.

66 1 Richard Clayton (Cleaton) was the owner of a small estate at Gleaston in Furness. He travelled in East Anglia with G. Whitehead and others. For putting up a paper on the church door at Bury St Edmunds (1655), he was whipped and sent home as a vagrant (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 67—69). This paper is printed in *The Path of the Just Cleared*, by Whitehead and Harwood, 1655. It refers to hireling ministry and tithes. Clayton visited other parts of England, and also Scotland and Ireland, of which journeys he wrote fully to M. Fell (Swarth. MSS. i. 27—31). In 1653 he addressed Justice Sawrey in very untempered language.

Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715; Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; Barclay, *Letters*, 1841.

68 1 "The Goads can lay claim to being one of the oldest of Furness families; the first local reference to the name is found at Aldingham in 1390" (Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A. Scot., quoted in *The Friend* (London), 1908, p. 221). John Goad (perhaps the one here mentioned) was born in 1626. There is a record of the death of a John Goad, of Gleaston, in 1709. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4.

68 2 Robert Salthouse ( —1712/13) was a brother of Thomas Salthouse (i. 203. 1), and is so described in Swarth. MSS. (*e.g.* i. 112, iii. 173). He appears to have paid religious visits to the Isle of Man, to Ireland and other parts (*ibid.* i. 197, 369). There are several of Salthouse's letters in D. The prosecution of Salthouse in 1698, for "Eight Pence Demanded for a Rectory Rent," forms the subject of a broadside entitled *The Cry of Oppression*. Alice Salthouse (née Goad) died 1704.

William Salthouse ( —1707) is mentioned (Swarth. MSS. i. 128) in connection with Robert and Thomas Salthouse. He may have been their brother, their father's name was William (i. 203. 1). At his marriage with Deborah Thompson, 1670, he is styled "shoemaker." His widow died 1710.

In a letter from John Rous to Margaret Fox, dated in London in 1671, we read:—"John Salthouse is come up to London to seeke an employm$^{t}$....I would willingly doe him all the kindnes I can for his brothers sake" (Swarth. MSS. i. 83).

69 1 John Backhouse, of Moss Side, near Yealand Redmayne, Lancs. ( —1690), was the ancestor of a long line of Quakers, many of whom have occupied and still occupy important positions within the Society and without. In 1650, he married Sarah Jackson (c. 1626—

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1706), who became a Minister, but did not travel much (*Piety Promoted*).

Foster, *The Descendants of John Backhouse, of Yealand Redman, Yeoman*, 1894.

69 2 This was, probably, William Waithman (1625—1694), of Lindeth, N. Lancs., mentioned in the *Life of Robert Widders*, 1688, p. 8, and by Besse.

A pedigree of the Waithman family is given by Foster, in his *Pedigree of Wilson of High Wray*, 2nd ed., 1890. The daughters of William Waithman married into the Quaker families of Routh of Kellet, Pearson of Poolbank, and Dockray of Swarthmoor.

Green, *History of the Spence Family*, 1903, MS. in D.

72 1 The two sheets containing the account of the Summer Assizes of 1664 are closely written in an unknown handwriting. Both paper and ink are brown with age and the paper is weak in the folds. The endorsement is by Fox. See 57. 1.

83 1 Fox addressed a letter to Friends in Eleventh Month (Jan.), 1664/5, thus, "From my Prison or more like a Limekiln in Lancaster—But it's well, for the truth is over all, and the seed Christ Jesus reigns" (modern copy in *Extracts from Register Books*, MS. in D.).

85 1 An interesting history attaches to the document, printed here, giving a more exact account of the proceedings at the third Assizes. MSS. containing full accounts of the first and second Assizes (57. 1 and 72. 1) have been for long included in the Spence MSS., but a similar account concerning the third Assizes, though referred to in the numbered pages (p. 84), was not to be found. In 1906, a little lot of papers relating to Friends was reported by a London bookseller, purchased, and placed in D. On examination one MS. proved to be the missing account! With it was an engraving of Judge Twisden. The MS. here printed is set out in the same style as the account of the first Assizes (57. 1), and though not in the same hand as that, it is a writing which occurs among Spence MSS. The three insertions were made by Lower, who also added to the Fox endorsement "the last {or 3$^{d}$} assises."

86 1 This catalogue of errors is in a large, legal hand, each letter being separate. The endorsement as printed is by Lower; Fox has written "erors in the frest in ditment 1663."

87 1 These further errors are in the same handwriting as 86. 1. To the endorsement by Lower, as printed, Fox has added "to his 2 inditment the erors 1664."

Parts of the above MS. appear also on another leaf (not printed), which is endorsed by Lower "G: ffs tryalls & examination before Judge Turner: y$^{e}$ 25$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 6$^{th}$ Mo$^{th}$ 1664: & to be Ingrossed as they are placed: B:", and in another hand "2$^{d}$ Coppies need not be written."

89 1 This piece is written in the same hand as 86. 1 and 87. 1. Bound with this are several smaller sheets once used as wrappers. On one are the words, as part of an address—"Thomas Green shopp Keeper in Lancaster"; on another, by Lower, "G: ffs tryalls & examination before Judge Turner: y$^{e}$ 25$^{th}$ of y$^{e}$ 6$^{th}$ mo$^{th}$ 1664: & to be Ingrossed as they are placed: B:"

89 2 From this point to the break on p. 91 the narrative continues on a separate sheet, unnumbered. A ☞* corresponds with a similar mark in the margin of a numbered sheet. For its conclusion, see 8. 1.

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89 3 Definite references to the hostile attitude of the Turks at this time are not forthcoming. The News-books of the period, which have been examined for this note, are full of accounts of engagements with the Turks, some being victories, others defeats.

90 1 The second Dutch war (1665—7), which resulted in the Treaty of Breda, whereby the American Colonies of Delaware, New Jersey, and New York came into the possession of England.

Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 1904; Doyle, *The Middle Colonies*, 1907.

90 2 Sewel states that "the pestilence broke out at London first of all in the house of a mealman in Bearbinder lane, next door to the house where Edward Brush lived [who with other Quakers had been imprisoned and banished], which by some was thought worthy being taken notice of" (*Hist.* 1722, following Crane, *Testimony...Banishment*, 1665, p. 5). King Charles is said to have asked whether any Quakers died of the Plague; and after being told that that was so, he "seemed to slight that sickness, and to conclude it could not be looked upon as a judgment upon their persecutors" (*ibid.*). Maria Webb says that 1177 deaths of Friends were registered in London during 1665 (*Fells*, 1865, p. 234). George Whitehead, who with Gilbert Latey and others remained in town throughout the time in which the Plague was raging, gives a vivid description in his *Christian Progress* (pp. 291 ff.) of this awful scourge, also of the sufferings of many Friends and especially of the fifty-five men and women taken out of Newgate and forced on board the ship called the *Black Eagle*, in order to banishment, whereon some twenty-seven of them died before the ship had passed Gravesend. Defoe states that Quakers had their own dead-cart (*Journal of the Plague Year*, towards the close of the book).

Letters from E. Hookes to M. Fell (Swarth. MSS. i. 49, iv. 121) give accounts of the sickness and also the names of Friends who "died in Newgate and in the shipp," the writer adding, "I have often laid downe my head in sorrow, & rose as I went to bed & not slept a wink for the groanes of them y$^{t}$ lay adyeing."

*Life of Mr John Pennyman*, 1696, p. 81; *Quakeriana*, 1894, p. 124; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664—5.

90 3 Before his removal to Scarborough, George Fox, though "grown very weak of body," was able to answer "several Books, as the Mass, and the Common-Prayer, and the Directory, and the Church-Faith; which are the Four Chief Religions, that are got up since the Apostles days" (Ell. edd.). He also wrote a paper on tithes (*ibid.*).

90 4 The Great Fire of London broke out on the 2nd of September, 1666, the day after Fox was liberated from Scarborough Castle. George Whitehead describes how, from the top of Gerard Roberts's house in St Thomas Apostles, he heard the timbers rattling and crackling in the flames (*Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 314 ff.). The principal loss sustained by Friends was the destruction of their large hired room at the Bull and Mouth, in Aldersgate Street.

*Letters and Papers of Mrs Mary Pennyman*, 1700/1, p. 5; Bury's *Messages and Warnings*, 1728; *Quakeriana*, 1894, p. 136; Gibson MSS. v. 13.

90 5 This was Thomas Ibbott (Ibbitt) (c. 1636— ), of Hemingford, Hunts. Whitehead devotes three pages of his *Christian Progress* (1725, pp. 314 ff.) to this occurrence, and he states his general approval of this "sign"; so also did others, as *e.g.* Penn (*Judas and the Jews*, 1673, p. 118).

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The following, taken from Hardy's *Notes and Extracts from the Sessions Rolls, 1581 to 1698*, Hertford, 1905, vol. i. pp. 179, 180, 188, is a valuable confirmation of accounts from Quaker sources :—

"Thomas Ibbott (Ibbit, Ibbarte).

"1666. The examination of Thomas Ibbott, of Hemingford, in the county of Huntingdon, oatmeal-man, taken Sept. 1st:—

"The examined says he is about 30 years of age, and lives at Hemingford, and is an oatmeal-man by trade, and that he 'hath bin att London with the King to show him a vission that he had seen a old man and a young man fight, and the Lord gave him to know that the Duke of York should beate all nations.'

"Being examined why he said that the Duke should be overmost, he says that he 'shall beate all nations but the three nations.'

"And being asked whether he knew anybody 'that had any hand or knowledge of the burning of London, or were acting or acsilary to it' he said that he knows nobody that had any hand about it, but thinks it to be from the hand of the Lord, and that he will give the King an account of it when he comes to him."

Calendar of prisoners for the Michaelmas Sessions, 1666:—

Thomas Ibbott "suspected to be privy to the fyreing of London" [and others].

*William Crouch*, 1712; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Bury, *Messages and Warnings*, 1728, p. 34.

91 1 A letter A connects this piece with the foregoing portion (89. 2).

91 2 The Conventicle Act, 1664, enacted that for a third offence, on conviction "a sentence was to be passed of seven years' transportation to any of his Majesty's foreign plantations, except Virginia and New England, unless £100 fine were paid; married women whose husbands were not under sentence being liable instead to twelve months' imprisonment. The cost of transportation was to be recovered out of the offender's lands and goods, and if these failed, the sheriff could contract with the shipmaster to detain and employ the offender as his labourer for five years....The punishment of transportation, which had broken down in practice, was omitted from the Conventicle Act of 1670" (William C. Braithwaite, in *F. P. T.*). Penalties of banishment were also part of the Blasphemy Act, 1650, and the Quaker Act, 1662.

The saddest case of banishment and attempted transportation took place during the Plague year, 1665 (see 90. 2; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 299 ff.; *Suff.* i. 244 ff.; Barclay, *Letters of Early Friends*, 1841, pp. 142 ff.; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 133; *Extracts from Register Books*, MS. in D.). The actual number of Friends landed on one or other of the Plantations, out of the many under order of transportation, was very small. One is mentioned in Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings* (1869, p. 267); several others were sent to Barbados in 1664/5 (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. 98). John Taylor was in Jamaica, c. 1666, when Edward Brush and James Harding, "banished out of their Native Country for the Truth's sake," arrived there and were well received (*Account...of John Taylor*, 1710, p. 22). It appears that, contrary to the Act, Friends were sent out to Virginia and New England (Beck and Ball, *op. cit.*; *Brief, Geschreven van een Burger tot Londen...aen sijn Vrund...tot Rotterdam*, 1688, p. 4.

Maning, *The Mask'd Devil*, 1664; Crane, *God's Holy Name magnified...by Testimony...Penalty of Banishment*, 1665—full historical record; *Suff.* i. 51, ii. 637; Crosse MSS.

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92 1 Arthur Annesley (1614—1686), created Earl of Anglesey 1661. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*; *D. N. B.*

93 1 This was Randolph Hunter, "deputy-gaoler," mentioned by Wigan, *Antichrist*, 1665, p. 1. In the *Answer* to Wigan, he is styled "Head-keeper."

93 2 Tynemouth Castle, now used as a barracks, stands upon a promontory overlooking the North Sea, and is surrounded by ruins of a Priory church. The Castle was besieged and taken by the Scots in 1644. In 1648 it was stormed, taken, repaired and fortified for the Parliament, under the governorship of Sir Arthur Haslerig. During some alterations in 1804, "vast quantities of human bones were found, supposed to be the remains of bodies buried there after the storming of the Castle in 1648" (Sykes, *Local Records*, 1833). See 95. 4.

94 1 John, Baron Frescheville, was Governor of York. The "great roome" was doubtless situated in Clifford's Tower, the ancient keep of the Castle of York. The Tower garrison was under Frescheville's command. There is a tradition, in which there is probably no truth, that a walnut tree once growing within the shell of the keep was planted by Fox (Cooper's forthcoming *History of the Castle of York*; see *Quaker Biographies*, 1909, ii. 48, for illustration of the tower and tree).

*Cal. S. P. Dom.*

94 2 Sir Jordan Crosland, Knight (c. 1620—1670), lived at Newby in the Liberty of Ripon. He was eldest son of John Crosland, of Helmsley. He married Bridget, eldest daughter of John Fleming, of Rydal and had issue (*Visit. Yorks.* 1665—6, Surtees Society, p. 133). He was appointed Governor of Scarborough Castle in July, 1660, and he retained the appointment till his death. He was M.P. for Scarborough in 1661. There is an inscription to his memory in Ripon Cathedral.

Hinderwell, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 1798, which mis-states the locality of Crosland's birthplace, see ed. of 1832; Baker, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 1882. A document signed by Crosland is in D.

Scarborough Castle was built in or about the year 1136 by William Le Gros, Earl of Albemarle and Holderness. It was twice besieged and taken during the Civil War by the Parliamentary forces and was temporarily repaired at the time of the Rebellion of 1745. It is now a ruin. There are not any records of the Castle itself extant, and but few references to it in the town records.

Hinderwell, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 1798.

94 3 Ell. edd. enlarge somewhat: "And the Room being to the Sea-side, and lying much open, the Wind drove in the Rain forcible; so that the Water came over my Bed, and ran about the Room, that I was fain to skim it up with a Platter. And when my Cloaths were wet, I had no Fire to dry them; so that my Body was nummed with Cold, and my Fingers swell'd, that one was grown as big as two."

94 4 Sir Francis Cobb (c. 1606— ), eldest son of Sir Francis Cobb, of Burnham, Norfolk, and later of Ottringham in Holderness (*Visit. Yorks.* 1665—6, Surtees Society, p. 332). John Rous writes to M. Fox from London in 1670, that "S$^{r}$ ffrancis Cobbe was very fair & civill," though he could not then be of any help "he wished with all his heart he could" (Swarth. MSS. i. 109). Sir Francis was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1664/5 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664—5, p. 219).

95 1 Ell. edd. record the visit of another Papist, who asserted that "all the Patriarchs were in Hell, but his mouth was stopped and he put to a stand."

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95 2 Robert Wittie, M.D., author of *Scarborough Spaw*, York, 1667, *Fons Scarburgensis*, London, 1677, etc. Dr Wittie practised medicine for eighteen years at Kingston-upon-Hull (*Fons*, p. 3), and he resided later in York. In his book, *Pyrologia Mimica*, written in reply to Dr William Sympson's strictures on his *Fons*, Wittie states, "I was Master of Arts before you were born" (p. 31). Of the Scriptures he writes, "The Scriptures were given forth by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to be a Standing Rule of Faith to the end of the World, and we expect no new addition or Revelation" (*Pyrologia*, p. 225)—a statement which would at once arouse Fox.

Hinderwell, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 1798, pp. 182—184; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667—8, p. 466; Harleian Society, vol. 39; Surtees Society, vol. 36.

95 3 Thomas Belasyse, second Viscount Fauconberg (1627—1700), was a member of the Council of State 1657, and envoy to France 1658. He married, as his second wife, Mary Cromwell, third daughter of the Protector (d. 1712). Created Earl of Fauconberg in 1689. He was Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire.

*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Wheatley ed., 1893; *D. N. B.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, 1664—5.

95 4 The Governor of Tynemouth Castle in 1665 was Colonel Edward Villiers (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, 1664—5). Colonel Villiers ordered the destruction of a considerable portion of the ruins of the ecclesiastical buildings which occupied, with the Castle, the promontory overlooking the North Sea. See 93. 2.

97 1 This was, apparently, Rhoda, daughter of Thomas Chapman, of London, and widow of Thomas Hussey, who, in 1646, became second wife of Ferdinando, second Baron Fairfax (1584—1647/8). She was step-mother of Sir Thomas Fairfax, third Baron (1612—1671), the great military leader in the army of the Parliament (*D. N. B.*).

97 2 This Dr Cradock was doubtless an Episcopalian and must not be confounded with the Dr Cradock of Coventry, mentioned in Ell. edd. anno 1647.

100 1 Early Friends were careful to give great publicity to their proceedings in regard to marriage, though declining to have aught to do with the usual procedure either civil or religious (see 118. 2). They married one another "in y^e^ presence of God & his people" and a wedding-certificate, prepared for each occasion, was and still is read at the time and signed by those present as witnesses. Many certificates, dating from early in 1666, are in D. One, dated 13. xii. 1666, describes the marriage as being "According to the Marrages of the Holy Men of God w^ch^ took to themselves Wives, as Relation is Geven in the Scriptures of truth" (*Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 29, see also p. 65). For a certificate dated 25. ix. 1666, see *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. and for one still earlier, 1659, see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1906, p. 523. A transcript of a Martin-Huntley certificate, 1658, is at Somerset House.

100 2 Nothing further is known of William Wilkinson, Fox's fellow-prisoner in Scarborough Castle.

101 1 On the death in 1670 of Sir Jordan Crosland, Governor of Scarborough Castle, Henry Crosland was "*continued* as deputy-governor" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1670, p. 403). Perhaps he held this office in 1666.

101 2 John Whitehead (1630—1696) was convinced when a soldier at Scarborough Castle in 1652 (not "c. 1645" as *D. N. B.* epitome vol.; see *F. P. T.*). He resided in the Holderness district of Yorkshire (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. 102) till 1683, when he removed to Fiskerton, near

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Lincoln. He was a "serviceable Instrument...and was made Instrumental both to Convince and Confirme many" (*F. P. T.* p. 298). His numerous writings were collected and published in 1704. His *True Testimony*, 1655, and *Enmitie...Two Seeds*, 1655, give particulars of his sufferings and imprisonments. Bugg gives him a place in his "cage of unclean birds." Several of his letters are in D. There is no evidence of any relationship to George Whitehead.

Chalk, *Life and Writings of John Whitehead*, 1852; *D. N. B.*

102 1 This is probably the most interesting of the documents included with the MS. of the *Journal*. It is the original discharge, signed by the Governor. The words which follow the signature were added somewhat later. The endorsement by Fox was perhaps written later in his life, as he has mistaken the christian name of the Governor. The paper measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ and shews signs of having been much used and consequently worn.

102 2 This is doubtless the original, but it does not shew any signs of having been through the post. It is endorsed by Fox "e houkes to mff 1666 read over of gf in prese at Skarbor 1666 14 day 6 month."

102 3 Probably Gilbert Latey (Latye) (1626—1705). He was born at St Issey in Cornwall and was apprenticed to a tailor, afterwards working at his trade at Plymouth, until in 1648 he settled in the Strand, London, and became a popular Court tailor (Tanquery, *Royal Quaker*, 1904, p. 107). After his convincement, one of the first in London, doubts arose in his mind in respect to supplying his customers with lace and other superfluities of dress, and for a time his trade diminished in consequence of the action taken by him. Latey became a first-rank London Friend. The authors of *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, recite the clever way in which he saved a meeting-house from the hands of Sir John Robinson, which drew from Sir John the confession, "I think you have now fitted me" (p. 164). In 1660, Latey wrote a tract *To all you Taylors and Brokers, who lyes in Wickedness, and to all you Tradesmen.* His widow, Mary Latey, and his nephew, Richard Hawkins, wrote Testimonies to his worth.

Lives by Hawkins (1707, 1821, etc.), Walton (n. d.), Budge (1877); *D. N. B.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, iv. 21.

103 1 John Child ( —1698) lived at Felstead, in Thaxted Monthly Meeting, Essex, and was by trade a tailor. His wife was Anne ——, who died 1697. Both these Friends were imprisoned in Colchester Castle, 1656, 1658. The Felstead meeting house was bought in the name of John Child, 1687.

Smith, *Steven Crisp and His Correspondents*, 1892; *F. P. T.*

103 2 Charles Rich, fourth Earl of Warwick (1616—1673). The Rich family was seated at Leez near Felstead, the home of John Child. In 1641 Rich married Mary Boyle (1625—1678), daughter of the Earl of Cork, "the pious Countess" whose home at "delicious Leez" was the resort of all the Puritan divines of the county.

Smith, *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick*, 1901.

103 3 Sir John Birkenhead, Knight, D.C.L., F.R.S. (1616—1679), M.P. for Wilton, 1661, writer of satirical poems including, according to Smith (*Adv. Cata.*), *The Four-legged Quaker, a Ballad to the Tune of the Dog and Elder's Maid.* He was Master of the Court of Requests and also "Surveyor to the imprimery" or printing presses, till succeeded by Sir Roger L'Estrange, in 1663.

*The Diary of Pepys*, Wheatley ed. 1893; *D. N. B.*

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103 4 William Warwick was a printer and publisher of Friends' books and also a sufferer for the Truth. He was imprisoned in London in 1660, 1661 and 1662. Ellis Hookes writes to M. Fell in 1664, anent some books sent for, "W^m^ Warwick is so hard to be mett w^th^ being under restraint, that I could not speak w^th^ him" (Swarth. MSS. i. 45). This imprisonment in 1664 had probably to do with his typographical work, as "Mr. L'Estrange" (*i.e.* Sir Roger L'Estrange, 1616—1704, "Surveyor to the imprimery" and licencer of the press) is mentioned in connection therewith (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, p. 634). In 1670, Warwick was arrested at Gracechurch Street meeting (Swarth. MSS. iv. 122). Bugg has Warwick in his "cage of unclean birds"; Ell. edd. suppress his name (p. 156); the date of his death is not found in the Registers.

*Antiquarian Researches among Early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books*, 1844, p. 14; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 243, 244, 246.

103 5 Two books by Margaret Fell were issued in 1667—one, *The Standard of the Lord Revealed*, written in Lancaster Castle, in January 1665/6, ran to 17½ sheets or 132 pages, and the other, *A Touchstone*, had 14½ sheets or 94 pages. Neither has the name of the printer. These two are much longer than her other pieces.

103 6 Richard Farnsworth's paper referred to was probably *A Testimony from the Brethren who were met together at London in the Third Month, 1666*, relating to the spirit of separation and suggesting the means to be employed to obtain unity in speaking, writing, etc. It is signed by R. Farnsworth (first) and by ten other Friends. It is printed in Bowden's *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting*, 1858, i. xxxviii. R. F. died 29. iv. 1666.

103 7 Ellis Hookes (c. 1630—1681) was the salaried secretary of the early Friends, the first of a long line of "Recording Clerks," fourteen in number, from 1653 to the present time. He appears to have had a delicate constitution but a determined spirit. His principal work, the value of which increases as time goes on, was the collection and recording of accounts of the sufferings (see 305. 2). He also wrote in defence of Truth and edited several journals of Friends. As many as thirty of his letters to George Fox or Margaret Fell are extant at Devonshire House, the Public Record Office and elsewhere. He had a difficult post to fill and had to encounter strong opposition from some of those who employed him. In 1662, in a letter to M. Fell which was intercepted in the post (see i. 388. 2) and is now in the Public Record Office (*S. P. D.* Car. II. 63. 70; *Cal.* 1661—2, p. 570), he says, "Some of them gave me such ill Carriage, and spoke soe hardly of me that I am and was ashamed to be amongst them; but I keep quiett...and goe on w^th^ my worke." The principal Friends, however, including Fox and Margaret Fell, were warmly attached to him. Shortly before his decease, Hookes wrote a beautiful letter to Friends in the London district, commencing, "I have near finished my Course in this World In y^e^ blessed ffaith of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to my Measure." He died at the house of Anne Travers, described as "of Newington Butts, Scrivener." He was succeeded in the clerkship by Richard Richardson (c. 1623—1689). For a list of his printed works see Smith, *Cata.*, 1869, i. 969 ff.

Bugg, *Painted Harlot*, 1683, pp. 11, 28, 47, 79; Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725; *British Friend*, 1860; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. ii. v.; *F. P. T.*; MSS. in D.

104 1 John Joblin (Jopling) is mentioned in the *Records of the Hexham Church*, published by the Hanserd Knollys Society. He was baptized

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in 1653 by Thomas Tillam, a "messenger" from the Church in Coleman Street, London. He was, presumably, the same as the father-in-law of William Coatsworth, of South Shields, mentioned in Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 126—130, who, while on his death-bed at Jopling's house in Durham, 1657, had to confess, "Father Joplin and Mother Joplin, I feasted and rioted with you, and when you were Light, I was Light...and so betrayed the Simplicity of God in me." Joblin was one of the "Militant Baptists" of this period (see *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* i. 151). Treasonable correspondence was intercepted in 1662 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661—2, p. 564). He is called "a most uncontrollable rebel and the centre of the plot" (*ibid.* 1664—5). The warrant which committed Joplin to Scarborough Castle is dated from Whitehall, 30 Nov. 1664 (*ibid.* 1664—5). The date of his death does not appear, but there are notices of him for several years subsequent to 1666.

Information from Rev. W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D., of Preston. Other references occur among State Papers.

105 1 An interesting history is attached to this leaf of the Spence MSS. It appears that, for some unknown reason, this leaf was detached and presented in 1820 by Robert Foster, the then owner of the MS. *Journal*, to John Thompson of Kendal (d. 1865).

In 1908 the leaf was presented to the Friends' Reference Library, London, by the grandchildren of John Thompson, per Richard Thompson of York. This generous gift makes it possible to add here the contents of "this followinge list."

A glance at the printed page will give some idea of the condition of the original. The first three lines of the MS. in its original form were written by Fox; the insertions were made by Lower; and then most of the Fox writing was crossed through. The remainder of the page, including corrections and interlineations, is the work of Lower, except the insertion "13 or" which is in another hand. The first two lines of p. 106 were added later by Lower.

Endorsed on the back of the sheet, in the handwriting of John Thompson of Kendal, are the words "2 mo 1820. A leaf from the MSS. journall of George Fox in the possession of Robert Foster of Newcastle—it contains some specimens of G. F.'s handwriting—Two other leaves from said MS. sent to T. T.: Liverpool, 5 mo 11. 1820."

Repeated efforts to trace these two leaves have proved fruitless. A cross denotes the place of insertion in the narrative.

105 2 In Sir Daniel Fleming's account book, under date of 1662/3, is the following entry, which may refer to the same man, "Paid the other day unto Dick Dodgson for a danceing book 2*s.* 6*d.* and given him towards his fidle 2*s.*"

105 3 This statement receives interesting confirmation from the State Papers. Sir Daniel Fleming, when writing to Secretary Williamson respecting the 13th of April, 1675, says, "That day was one of very much sorrow to me, for then it pleased God to call my dearly beloved wife out of this miserable world and to leave me and 14 hopeful children to bemoan such an extraordinary loss" (*Cal.* 1675—6, p. 75). The Fleming MSS. state that Barbara Fleming, wife of Sir Daniel, gave birth to a boy on the 3rd of April, ten days before her death. She died at Rydal and was buried at Grasmere. See 37. 4.

105 4 Thomas Fleming, here described as "servant" to Col. Kirkby, is, on p. 39, designated "officer." Further respecting him does not appear, or confirmation of the Ell. addition given in note 105 *a*.

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105 5 The death of Samuel Sandys is noted by Besse under date 1663 (*Suff.* i. 311).

105 6 "One Parkamoore" is not identified.

106 1 This paragraph was written by Thomas Lower on an oblong scrap of paper, and has * to denote its place of insertion, but a corresponding * does not appear in the numbered pages.

106 2 Peter Hodgson, Senr. ( —1692), was a leading Friend of Scarborough Meeting. He suffered imprisonment in York Castle for five years and a half, ending c. 1671. This is probably the same person who was Junior Bailiff in 1653 (Hinderwell, *Scarborough*, 1832, pp. 161—166). He was chiefly instrumental in the erection of the first meeting-house in Scarborough. His wife, Eleanor, died in 1675. There was also a Peter Hodgson, Junr.

*Suff.*; Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses*, 1905; *Whitby and Scarborough Register*, MS. in D.

106 3 This incident forms the subject of one of Robert Spence's etchings. In 1666, Timothy Foord was Senior Bailiff of Scarborough and William Robinson Junior Bailiff (Hinderwell, *Scarborough*, 1832, pp. 161—166). The name Foord does not appear among the local Quaker records, but that of Robinson is to be found therein. When the first meeting-house was built in 1676 (Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses*, 1905, p. 45), Jonathan Robinson gave £5, and it is thought that this Friend may have been the son of William Robinson abovementioned. He died in 1680. The Bailiffs of this period were the head officials of the Corporation, and were also Justices of the Peace within the Borough.

Information from E. Mary Hart, of Scalby, 1910.

106 4 Perhaps the same book mentioned on p. 348. It will be seen that the reference to this collection of "miracles" was inserted in the MS. at a later date and omitted from Ell. edd. See i. 140. 1.

107 1 Grace Barwick, of Kelk, was the widow of Robert Barwick, who died in gaol in 1660. In 1655, she wrote to Fox "consering John horwod [Harwood, 314. 7], who is hie in his comprihentions that thou may chardg him to keepe Silince in the chruch of god" etc. (Swarth. MSS. iv. 174).

*Suff.*; *F. P. T.*

107 2 Richard Shipton was Steward and Alum-agent to John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1648—1721). He built Lythe Hall, near Whitby, in 1660, and his initials and those of his wife, Ellinor, may still be seen above the porch of the house which is now Lythe Vicarage. His wife died in 1692 and was buried at Lythe. The Registers do not contain any record of his decease.

Information from J. Gilbert Baker, F.R.S., of Kew, 1910.

108 1 This was Fox's tract, *A Word in the behalf of the King, that he may see who they are...that Fear God, and Honour the King*, printed 1660. Surely never were so many words, describing wicked or worldly men, and their deeds, brought together as in the sixteen pages of this tract, *e.g.* "ye Couzeners, Cheaters, Defrauders, Dissemblers, Lyars, Back-biters, Slanderers, False Accusers, Envious and Malitious persons, Murtherers, Plotters, Fighters, Quarrellers, Brawlers, Scoulders, Tumultuous ones, Ryoters, Ambitious, Proud, Heady, High-minded, Vain-glorious, Perverse, Wicked and Wilful-men" (p. 6); "Unsober, Untemperate, Unmodest, Ungratious" (p. 7). No wonder that it "did mightily affect ye souldyers & people"!

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109 1 Ellen Fretwell ( —1693), of Stainsby, was "a prisoner for tyth & remained a prisoner about 2 years & then dyed [in Derby Gaol] in y^e^ year 1693" (*Derbyshire Friends' Sufferings*, MS. preserved at Fritchley). She was "instrumentall & serviceable in apearing before the Magistrates for y^e^ relife ease & liberty of Friends in y^e^ time of persecution" (Minutes of Breach Monthly Meeting). Three of her children emigrated to Pennsylvania.

109 2 Susanna Frith ( —1686) was the wife of John Frith, of Chesterfield. Both husband and wife appear in Besse's record of sufferings in Derbyshire. Some correspondence took place between S. Frith and Lodowicke Muggleton; the latter writes from London in 1662, "You have sinned against the Holy Ghost. Therefore, in obedience to my commission, I do pronounce Susannah Frith cursed, and damned, soul and body, from the presence of God, elect men, and angels, to eternity" (Muggleton, *Spiritual Epistles*, reprint of 1820, p. 80). This Friend was ancestress of Frith of Reigate and Wilson of Tunbridge Wells.

109 3 "Justice Godfrey Clarke in Darbyshire near Chesterfield, who spoiled y^e^ goods of friends, & threatened to send Ellen ffretwell to prison, & she told him she should stand at y^e^ Sessions there when he should not. And Susannah ffrith told him that y^e^ hand of y^e^ Lord should be upon him, & that he should be cutt off, if he did not repent of his plundering. And within a few days after he went stark mad & was tyed in chaines & they was fain to put an instrum^t^ to free his maid out of his Jaws, & he dyed" (MS. *Sufferings*, i. 329, in D.). The name Justice Clarke (or Justices' Clerk) lingered in the indexes to several editions long after the name was removed from the text by order of the Morning Meeting; see next note.

109 4 Shortly after the appearance in 1694 of the first printed edition of the *Journal*, prepared by Thomas Ellwood and revised by the Morning Meeting in London, a letter was received "from severall ffriends in Derbyshire, Signifyeing that they think the Relation in G. ffox's Journal folio 309 should be left out, for they suspect the verity of part of the Relation, and request it may be left out" (Morning Meeting Minutes, MS. in D.). It was decided to reprint the leaf without the passage to which objection was taken, and reprinted leaves were sent down "to every County, to a Couple of discreet ffaithfull ffr^ds^, to take out the old Leaves and put in the New as carefully and neatly as they can" (*ibid.*). Many copies of this first edition bear evidence of the neat way in which this work was carried out, but the existence of some unexpurgated copies makes it clear that it was not fully accomplished. The original reading was as follows, the words omitted later being enclosed in brackets:—"Soon after which, this Justice [whose Name was Clark] fell distracted [and was bound with Ropes; but he gnawed the Ropes in pieces, and had like to have spoiled his Maid: for he fell upon her, and bit her; so that they were fain to put an Iron Instrument into his Mouth, to wrest his Teeth out of her Flesh:] and [afterwards he] died [distracted]." A few other alterations were made in the revised leaf. *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1902, p. 67.

109 5 When in Mansfield Fox usually lodged at the Queen's Head, kept by a Friend, Elizabeth Heath. An original drawing of this Inn is in D. (Gibson MSS. vi. 219).

110 1 John Reckless ( —1679) was the Sheriff of Nottingham convinced by Fox in 1649 (see Ell. edd.). He carried on the business of a maltster, perhaps also that of ironmonger. He had a large family;

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Hannah, his wife, died in 1675 and was buried in his garden. There is some record of Reckless and his descendants in England and America in *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi. vii. Several members of the Reckless family appended their signatures to *A Real Demonstration of True Order*, 1663, and to an address *To the King and both Houses of Parliament*, 1670.

Smith, *Balm from Gilead*, 1675; *Suff.*; Cropper, *Sufferings of Quakers in Notts. 1649—1689*, 1892, p. x; MS. records in Nottingham Meeting House.

110 2 John Penford resided at Kirby Muxloe, near Leicester. In 1670, "a Meeting was held for Church-Affairs, and to relieve the Necessities of the Poor, at the House of John Penford. Thither came the Informers, and found them consulting together about Works of Charity. John Penford desired them to look into the Books of Account, then lying open, that so they might not misrepresent the Cause of their Meeting," but all to no purpose, they were charged with being at a seditious Conventicle. "They fined John Penford 20*l.* for his House, and 10*l.* for a Preacher, though no Preacher was there." The Friends' appeal to the Quarter Sessions was disallowed, and because they would not take the oaths "the Court awarded treble Damages against the Plaintiffs." Lord Beaumont told Penford, "whom he knew to have a considerable estate, that he would bring him to Poverty" (*Suff.* i. 335). In 1680, Penford was again fined heavily. The date of his death does not appear.

111 1 "It was a wonderful proof of legislative constructive power, as well as of the general soundmindedness of the community, that in spite of violent external persecution, and of strenuous opposition from within, the fabric of the Society should have been so firmly established" (*John Stephenson Rowntree*, 1908, p. 150).

The gradation of Meetings for Church Affairs, set up by the early Friends—Yearly, Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings—has continued to the present day, although the names of some of these Meetings have ceased to describe accurately the periods at which they are held.

112 1 Thomas Dry ( —1669). This visit to Norfolk is alluded to in a letter from T. Salthouse to Sarah Fell, dated 30th of Seventh Month (Sept.), year not given. "G ff is now in Norfolke as wee here and one Tho: dry a good friend is with him and Jo. Moone also" (Swarth. MSS. i. 104). A MS. in D., in the autograph of Fox, reads :—"thomas dry a feath[ful] witnes for god who was suefered for the testimony of iesus his saueuer & was inpresened & traveled up & douen the sarves of the trouth of god in wales & ingland who was a valant for the lords trouth up on the earth & whoes life & conversbon did preach to the last & he fineshed his testemony in 1669."

112 2 William Smith, of Besthorpe, Co. Nottingham ( —1672), was convinced in 1658. "The son of a yeoman he was a man of good estate and education, had served in the office of chief constable, and was a pastor among the Independents. His was the most important conversion that had occurred in the county" (Cropper, *Sufferings of Quakers in Notts. 1649—1689*, 1892, p. xiii). He was a prolific writer. A collection of his works, named *Balm from Gilead*, at the end of which are several lively Testimonies by the widow, Elizabeth Smith, and others, appeared in 1675. In the burial register he is described as "of Nottingham, formerly of Besthorpe, A Minister." He was buried in his garden at Besthorpe.

*John Gratton*, 1720, pp. 51, 52; *D. N. B.*

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113 1 Ell. edd. add "But my Spirit being earnestly engaged in the Work, the Lord had concerned me in, and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the Weakness of my Body ; having Confidence in the Lord, that he would carry me through : as he did by his Power."

113 2 Captain William Barnes ( —1681), yeoman, lived at Great Sankey, near Warrington. Meetings were held at his house until a meeting-house was built in 1681 (Hodgson, *Penketh School*, 1907). A water-colour painting of the Sankey homestead is in D.—well-kept, substantial premises, not now standing. Margaret, wife of William, died in 1672. William Barnes, the younger, married a daughter of Richard Cubham (Waterhouse, *Families of Cropper, Cubham*, etc., 1864). Numerous other members of the family lived in and around Warrington.

*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.—v. ; MS. by J. Spence Hodgson, 1911, in D.

114 1 "Jane Milner a virtuous woman, travaild into America in y^e^ service of truth, & was very serviceable And when she had finished her service in those p^ts^ shee was very serviceable in Cheshire, where shee finished her testimony" (MS. in D. written by Richard Richardson, d. 1689). But little is known of Jane Milner's visit to America, though she was several years in Barbados, Rhode Island, Maryland, and elsewhere (1661 ff.). (Bowden, *Hist.*, 1850 ; Swarth. MSS. iv. 155, 192, 223, 225, given as *Miller* and *Millard.*)

Jane Milner may have been the daughter of Richard and Jane Milner, of Helsby, in Frodsham parish (Burial Registers ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii. 29). If so, she was probably the same as Jane (Jean) (Miller) Simcock, by whom, dated 1672, a letter was written to M. Fox (Swarth. MSS. i. 365).

Swarth. MSS. i. 134.

114 2 Charles Lloyd "the second" (1637—1698) was born at Dolobran, Montgomeryshire, the seat of the family for many generations. He received his education at Jesus College, Oxford. Later he was placed on the Commission of the Peace. In 1661, he married Elizabeth Lort, of Pembrokeshire. He was convinced at a meeting held by Richard Davies at the house of one of the tenants at Dolobran, and he opened his own house for religious services. Lloyd soon suffered for his new faith, being imprisoned in Welshpool by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, for refusal of oaths. Charles Lloyd, the third, was born while his mother was a voluntary prisoner with her husband, 1662. Lloyd suffered under a praemunire for some years until liberated by the "pardon" of 1672. He died in Birmingham, while on a visit to his son-in-law, John Pemberton. He was the ancestor of a long line of Quaker worthies, past and present. His brother, Thomas Lloyd, emigrated to America in 1683 and became one of Penn's valued helpers in his new Province. The Lloyds are of Royal descent.

*An Account of Richard Davies*, 1710, and later edd. ; *Suff.* ; Lowe, *Farm and its Inhabitants*, 1883 ; Lucas, *Charles Lamb and the Lloyds*, 1898 ; *The Friend* (London), 1899, p. 475 ; Southall, *Prichards of Almeley*, 1901 ; Norris, *John ap John*, 1907 ; Lloyd, *The Lloyds of Birmingham*, 1907 ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iv. ; *Biog. Memoirs*, iv. 123 ; MSS. in D.

114 3 These two paragraphs were written by Lower on a separate sheet, unnumbered and of smaller size than usual. Their place of insertion is denoted by ※. See 168. 1.

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114 4 Henry Gibbs, of Pershore, is mentioned in Besse's *Sufferings* and in Brown's *Evesham Friends*, 1885, pp. 141, 205. Little else is known of him.

114 5 Major Wild was a zealous persecutor of Friends, whose doings may be read in Besse's book of *Sufferings*, under Worcestershire, also in Noake's *Worcester Sects*, 1861, and Brown's *Evesham Friends*, 1885.

114 &c. 6 John Cartwright ( —1683). A time-worn, tattered manuscript in D., recently calendared, endorsed "6 7m 86. J. Bowaters testimony ...of J. Cartwright" supplies the information hitherto lacking respecting the life and work of John Cartwright, apart from notices in the *Journal*. He "lived preti many years neare stowrbridge in worristershere belonging to dudly meting and was very serviceable amongst friends a bout worristershere stafortshere and other places." The writer adds to his manuscript a copy of a letter from James Harding, of Jamaica, dated "Jamaick 7ber ye 3 1683," in which, after announcing the death of Cartwright, he writes, "He hath not left many of his felowes behind him on our Ilsland for his good life & conversation I have had perfit knolidge of him ever sence he came on our Island which is now a bout or neare 12 years."

Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715; *Suff.*; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; MSS. in D.

115 1 Dr Richard Moore ( —1668) was a well-known and valued Friend of Shrewsbury. Joseph Smith states that he had formerly resided at Worle, in Somersetshire (*Cata.* 1867, ii. 183). He accompanied Fox on several missionary journeys. Ellis Hookes says that Dr Moore "laboured and travailed in the Work of this Ministry, both in England and beyond Sea" (Testimony, prefixed to Moore's *Redemption of the Seed of God*, written in Barbados, printed in 1677). Moore was taken ill when on a visit to London, and he died there (Swarth. MSS. i. 108).

Mordecai Moore, son of Richard Moore, emigrated, and settled at South River, in Maryland (Norris, *John ap John*, 1907, p. 17).

[Ball], *Premonitory Extracts*, 1819, p. 191; Swarth. MSS. i. 134.

116 1 James Merrick ( —1678), tanner, and Constable of Ross, was convinced in 1655/6, holding meetings at his house until about 1676, when a meeting-house was built (*F. P. T.*).

MSS. in D.

117 1 Peter Young, of Luston, near Leominster ( —1691), held a meeting at his house for about seven years (*F. P. T.*). Of his great-grandson, William Young, of Leominster (c. 1718—1808), some *Memoirs* were published in 1810.

117 2 Further definite information is not at hand respecting "one Pococke." A Mr Pocock living in the Strand, London, is mentioned in the State Papers (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 281).

A list of the names of the thirty-eight Triers appointed 1653/4 (117. 4) is in D., but it does *not* contain the name Pocock.

117 3 Abigail *Darcy*, according to Ell. edd. In 1650, a pass was granted to Abigail Darcy to travel beyond seas (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1650, p. 550). In 1655, Nayler "had a meeting att a house Called Lady darcys" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 80).

117 4 On March 20, 1653/4, "an Ordinance was issued appointing thirty-eight Commissioners [usually named Triers] to examine and approve all who, after 25 March are appointed to any benefice with cure of souls or lectureship, as to holy conversation, knowledge, and utterance" etc. (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 40). Fox wrote an address to

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the Triers as soon as they were appointed (i. 178. 1). According to a Baptist tract, *Declaration by several of the Churches of Christ*, 1654, the Commissioners were called "the graven image of the worldly power, creating a worldly clergy for worldly ends" (Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, p. 271). A list of the thirty-eight names is in D. *Com. and Prot.* iii. 21; Shaw, *Church under the Commonwealth*, 1900.

118 1 The constancy with which the early Friends held their Meetings, often under the most untoward circumstances, is worthy of note, as also is the absence from their assemblies of such subterfuges as were frequently adopted by other bodies of persecuted nonconformists. Ellwood says, "They stood more fair, steady and open, as a But to receive all the Shot that came, while some others found means and freedom to retire to Coverts for Shelter" (*Hist.* 1714, p. 284, see Crump ed. 1900, pp. 74—80, 171, 186). But this apparently was not true of certain Separatist Quakers (Camm, *Line of Truth*, 1684, pp. 14, 26). Prof. Masson writes of the early Quakers, "You may break in upon them, hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about; the meeting, if it is of any size, essentially still goes on....Throw them out of the doors in twos and threes and they but re-enter at the window, and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they re-assemble next day most punctually amid the broken walls and rafters....They held their meetings...without the least concealment, keeping the doors of their meeting-houses purposely open, that all might enter, informers, constables, or soldiers, and do whatever they chose. In fact, the Quakers behaved magnificently" (*Life of John Milton*, 1880, vi. 587 f.).

Burnet, *Hist. of His Own Time*, 1724—34, i. 271; *John Gratton*, 1720, pp. 30, 39, 88; Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 371; Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, 1796, iv. 450; Evans, *Friends in the Seventeenth Century*, 1876, p. 298; *Transactions Cong. Hist. Soc.* ii. 387 ff.; *Echoes from the Scarborough Summer School, 1897*, pp. 45—47.

118 2 Several epistles concerning marriage are included in Fox's volume of *Epistles*, 1698, under early dates, but an epistle answering to the description here given has not been found.

119 1 The Society of Friends has ever been to the fore in the work of education, especially in the education of the children of Friends. "In 1671, there appear to have been fifteen boarding-schools, at least, in the country, kept by Friends" (Tuke, *Five Papers...in Connection with the Education of Youth*, 1843, p. 12; Y. M. Minutes, i. 269, MS. in D.). Further research has increased this number. There was a school at the Friary, Ilchester, in 1662, during the time that this ancient monastic building was used as a prison for Friends (*Somerset Sufferings*, MS. in D. printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* viii.). Schoolmasters frequently suffered from ecclesiastical prosecution, until a noted decision was given in the case of Richard Claridge in 1708 (*Richard Claridge*, 1726; for some previous prosecutions see *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. 98, iii. 28, iv. 30, 131, v. 63, 77, 78, vi. 169). There are at present fifteen boarding-schools in Great Britain and Ireland managed by committees of Friends, and also a number of Quaker schools and colleges in America, Australia and elsewhere. What Fox and his learned companions thought of the school-books of the period may be gathered from the appendix to *The Battle-Door*, 1660. With the assistance of Ellis Hookes, Fox set about the preparation of more suitable books, such as *An Instruction for Right Spelling, Reading and Writing*, 1673 and later edd., which was enlarged and turned into Latin by Christopher Taylor, under the title *Institutiones Pietatis*,

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1676; for Fox's instructions as to education, see reproduction in *Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 2, 66.

Miller, *Memorials of Hope Park*, 1886, and art. in *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii.; *Souvenir of Friends' Schools* [in America], 1906; *John Stephenson Rowntree*, 1908, chap. x.; *Directory of Boarding Schools*, compiled by the Central Education Committee of London Yearly Meeting, 1910.

119 2 Nathanael Ball lived at North Newington, near Banbury.
Besse, *Suff.*

119 3 John Brown ( —1684) resided at Weston Turville, Bucks. When, in Oct., 1658, Henry Scobell, the Clerk to the Council of State, sent down to the jailers of various prisons a request for the causes of commitment of Quaker prisoners under their care, John Brown's name was given as detained in Aylesbury Gaol, but the jailer replied, "I have noe such person in my Custodie as John Browne" (*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910). But Besse states that Brown was in Aylesbury Gaol twelve weeks, in 1658, for refusing to swear when summoned to serve on a jury (*Suff.* i. 75).

120 1 The expression "over ye hills" has been said to denote the district in Glamorganshire in which Quakers' Yard is situated (*The Friend* (London), 1891, p. 64). "There never was a Friends' Meeting House within very many miles of Quakers' Yard, but meetings were held in the graveyard occasionally, when a raised mound inside the fence formed the only seat" (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vii.). Funerals still take place here. The property has belonged to the Society of Friends from 1667, when Mary Chapman, widow, of St Mellons, Mon., leased it for one thousand years for a burial ground.
*Quakeriana*, 1895; Evans, *Antiquarian Notes*, 1905, p. 136.

121 1 Shipton is probably the same place as Chepstow, which town was in the line of route taken by the travellers.

121 2 William Yeamans (1639—1674) was a son of Robert and Anne Yeamans, of Bristol (i. 360. 3) and a merchant of that city. In 1664, he married Isabel, third daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall. According to Maria Webb (*Fells*, 1865, p. 276, for other reff. see index to Phila. ed. of 1896), he "was an anxious delicate man, who did not like his wife on any occasion to be away from him." W. and I. Yeamans had several children. Rachel was one of these, whose headed copy-book was used by the transcribers of Fox's epistles (MS. in D.), on one page of which is written the touching memorandum: "R: y: deccased about y^e^ 5^th^ houre in y^e^ morneing upon y^e^ 21: day of y^e^ 4: Month being y^e^ 4^th^ day of y^e^ weeke: 1676." She died at Swarthmoor. Another daughter, Margaret, died in 1674, and a son, William, in 1666. For the second William, see 308. 2. See 360. 2.
There was a Quaker family of Yeamans living at Ilminster, Som.
Registers of All Saints, Corn Street, Bristol.

122 1 Ell. edd. insert here a letter to Friends, dated from Minehead, "22^th^ of the 4^th^ Month, 1668," written after a night of "Exercise from a Sense of a Dark Spirit, that was working, and striving to get up, and to disturb the Church of Christ."

122 2 John Archer (1598—1682) became Justice of the Common Bench in 1663, and was Knighted in the same year.
*D. N. B.*

123 1 Richard Browne is not known save as a sufferer in Co. Devon (*Suff.*).

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123 2 This was, doubtless, Elizabeth Phillips ( —1695) of Batten or Baston in the parish of West Alvington. On Sunday, 11 Sept. 1670, a meeting was held at her house, of which Informers gave notice to a J.P., who issued warrants against various Friends present, and "£20 charged for a pretended Preacher though the meeting was held in Silence." Besse (*Suff.* i. 155 ff.) gives a full account of the trial at the Sessions—one witness stated, "They have their Fifth-day Meeting, which is their silent Meeting-day, and their First-day Meeting, which is their Preaching-day, and then they do all preach," but on this particular Sunday this statement did not hold good. At this time, Elizabeth Phillips had four small children and several servants. Her husband, Jacob Phillips, died in 1666, and in 1679 "Elizabeth Phillips widow daughter of Nicholas Tripe" married Isaac Brookings, of Malborough, Co. Devon.

124 1 George Harris, according to Ell. edd. The Dorset Registers record the decease, in 1687, of "George Harris, Sen^r., of Ryme Meeting." Besse, *Suff.*

124 2 Captain Reeves is not yet identified. Besse mentions a Robert Reeves of Swanmore and Droxford, 1653, 1678 (*Suff.* i. 228, 237).

124 3 The name, Rose Atkins, occurs among those of the Women Friends who were sentenced to banishment to Jamaica in 1664, but who were taken by the Dutch soon after embarkation and returned to England (*Suff.* i. 402, 406).

A MS. in D., endorsed "El Hooton to some spirits who were gone out from y^e^ trueth," signed by Elizabeth Hooton, and dated in Sixth Month (Aug.), 1667, closes as follows: "You are all one (w^ch^ has denyed y^e^ Lord) w^th^ Eliza: Barnes, & Rose Atkinson, with all y^e^ wicked Generation that is turned out from y^e^ Lord." See 315. 1, 2.

125 1 Richard Bax, the elder ( —1665), of Capel, was one of the first to receive Friends travelling in Surrey; he held "a Monthly meeting at his house...above twenty yeares" (*F. P. T.*) but this must refer also to the house (probably the same) of Richard the younger ( —1687). Fox's visits recorded here, anno 1668, and later, p. 164, anno 1670, must have been to Richard Bax, the younger; in the first reference Ell. edd. omit the name. The name of Bax is one of the earliest in the register of the parish of Ockley. Richard, of Pleystowe in Capel, was the head of one branch of the family and Edward Bax, of Ockley Court, of the other (*Jnl. F. H. S.* v.).

Works by Alfred R. Bax; Marsh, *Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex*, 1886; *Gleanings after Time*, 1908.

126 1 Many visits to Holland were paid by early Quaker preachers, and adherents to Quakerism soon became very numerous. There were regularly constituted Church Meetings in 1677, some of the records of which are still extant in D. (see *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1907, 1908). Numerous epistles passed between Friends in England and Holland (many in D.). Fox visited Holland in 1677 and 1684. A school was established by certain Friends in Amsterdam in 1830 which is still flourishing (*The Friend* (London), 1844, 1864, 1891). William Sewel (1654—1720), the historian of Quakerism, was born at Amsterdam, and wrote his *History* in Dutch in 1717. A large amount of Quaker literature was either written in, or translated into Dutch, see Smith, *Cata.*, *s.v.* Ames, Caton, Crisp, Fox, Higgins, Hendericks, etc. There is now no organized Quakerism in Holland.

MSS. in the possession of William I. Hull, Ph.D. of Swarthmore College, Pa.; also numerous MSS. in D.

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126 2 "In the early days of Quakerism, Friends in Barbadoes were a numerous and wealthy body. This is proved by the fact that the 'sufferings' in the seven years from 1658 to 1665 amounted to no less a sum than £11,805, and that in the year 1689, £100 was sent over for the relief of Friends in Ireland" (C. Dickinson Sturge in *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.). There were five meeting-houses in the Island and several burial grounds. Besse devotes seventy-three pages of his *Sufferings* to affairs on the Island between 1660 and 1695. George Rofe calls Barbados "the nursery of the Truth" (Smith, *Steven Crisp*, 1892, p. 31).

Despite the large number of visits paid by Quaker travelling preachers (about eighty are on record between 1655 and 1786), the number of Friends gradually diminished and at the present day there is not any organized Quakerism on the Island.

In a bundle of letters, preserved in D., belonging to the Box Meeting of London (342. 2), and endorsed—"65 Epistles and other Papers dating from 1671 to 1753:—viz. from the Yearly Meetings of Women Friends in America and the Island of Barbadoes" etc., there is one letter of special interest, addressed to Rebecca Travers in London, from Barbados, in 1677. It is signed by Ralph Frettwell and gives the names of many women Friends living on the Island. Under "Plantation Meeting," there are 40 names, under "Thicketts and Clift" 21, under "Windward" 31, under "Bridge" 40, under "Spring" 30, and under "Champion Ground" 23 names.

*A Short Account of the Manifest Hand of God That hath Fallen upon Several Marshals and their Deputies, Who have made Great Spoil and Havock of the Goods of the People of God called Quakers, in the Island of Barbadoes, For their Testimony against Going or Sending to the Militia. With a Remarkable Account of some others of the Persecutors of the same People in the same Island. Together with an Abstract of their Sufferings*, 1696; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; *The Friend* (Phila.), 1887, 1898, 1902, 1906; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1892; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. iii. iv. v.; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911.

130 1 This portion is unnumbered. The place of its insertion is clearly marked thus * ¶.

134 1 This letter is not now among Spence MSS., but it has been inserted in Ell. edd. It was from Isaac Lindley, of Yarm (1624—1705).

135 1 This account, received from William Gandy, was suppressed for some reason and does not appear in Ell. edd. Various doings of Sir Geoffrey Shakerley appear in Besse (*Suff.* i. 105), but this particular evidence of his attitude towards Friends has not been found elsewhere. Sir Geoffrey was Governor of Chester Castle (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671—2, p. 330, see also 1670, 1671, 1671—2, 1675—6).

There was a Friend named Jeffery Shackerly living in Lancashire in 1687 (*Suff.* i. 330).

136 1 See 113. 2.

136 2 Robert Lodge (1636—1690). There are numerous records extant in print and in MS. respecting this Friend. He lived at Masham, Yorks., "by Traid a Butcher" (*F. P. T.*). Before his convincement he was a Seeker. Peter Hardcastle, Senr., writes of him, "This our Friend and Brother, I was acquainted with before we were gathered to be a Meeting, to sit down in silence to wait upon God in his Light ...we had much discourse about Religious matters, and he saw the Errors of the Priests more clearly than I did" (*Several Living Testimonies*, 1691). He travelled extensively in the three kingdoms. A

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Friend who met Lodge in Ireland saw him in a vision "sitting in a great meeting, watered with a heavenly fountain" (Smith, *Crisp*, 1892).

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; Gough, *Hist.* 1789; *Biog. Memoirs*, iv. 149; *First Days Meetings, London* (MS. in D.).

137 1 The portion of the narrative of the Irish journey from this point to the subscription "G: ff:" on p. 149 was written by Sarah Fell, in her well-known, neat hand. It occupies six very full pages. Some of the few alterations are in another hand in blacker ink. An ancient copy of this MS., with the slight variations referred to in the foot-notes, forms part of a bound volume of manuscript, in D., entitled, *Epistles & Queryes of G. F.'s together with some of his Journalls into Ireland & America.* It commences on p. 209 and ends on p. 216. A marginal note reads:—"G: ff's Journall in Ireland 1669—who went in the third Month & came out in the seaventh Month" (May to September). The copyist is unknown.

The first paragraph on p. 149 was written at the end of the Fell MS. in another hand. The heading of the whole was written by S. Fell. Fox's brief endorsement reads "g f travells in to ierland & out 1669."

139 1 The following extracts from the "Great Book of the Sufferings," a MS. preserved at the Central Offices of Friends in Ireland, Eustace Street, Dublin, probably refer to Paul Morris. His death took place before 1675. His name does not occur in the Cork Registers.

"1664. William and Paule Morris Inhabitants neare Ross in Carberry being sued for tithe by one Archdeacon Roberts who haveing obtained judgement against them boasted he would have them taken up and they should rott in prison, And the time for their takeing up by him being appointed on a day when a great number of the priesthood was to meet at Ross that they might be lead as his prisoners and his triumph before them all, But the Lord beheld his wickedness and prevented his glory by sudden cutting him off for he came well out of his house the day before in order to come thither to Ross (for he lived about twenty miles off) and had not rode above a Mile or two but was struck so ill that he was faine to light and gott into a Barne and not being able to returne home sent for his wife but ere she came was speechless and died presently and so the lord delivered them that feared him from the snares of the wicked.

"1675. It is recorded in this booke that...William Morris and his now deceased brother Paule Morris were sued in the Eclesiasticall court for tithes in the year 1663 by Thomas Roberts Archdeacon of Ross whome the lord by the signall Strok of his hand cutt off, which when tidings thereof came to Ross—where an Assembly of the clergy were mett together and he and his brother ready to be taken up only waiting the Archdeacons comeing—great feare ffell on both clergy and others and no man laid a hand on them After which time by the Space of six years the said William did not loose to his knowledg the worth of Six Shillings upon the account of tithes neither was sued nor troubled in any court about it."

141 1 On a seal, once belonging to George Fox, now in the possession of the Alexander family, of London, late of Ireland, is this inscription: "This watch-seal was given by George Fox when in Ireland to a young man named Richard Pearce, who held his horse's bridle as he was mounting on leaving Limerick." See illustration of this seal in *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.

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141 2 Perhaps, Richard Abell, of Co. Clare, referred to in the following extract from the "Great Book of the Sufferings" (139. 1):—

"1676. Richard Abell [of Co. Clare] had taken from him for tithe by Thomas Stibe one thousand one hundred and thirty five sheaves of severall sorts of corne who threw a childe of about seavon years of age upon the ground for taking hold of a sheafe and saying he could not see his fathers corne goe with tithemongers for nothing (all worth 4 pound)."

141 3 "At which time," says Fox, according to Ell. edd., "I was moved to declare to Friends there in the Ministry, as followeth." This lively address commences, "Sound, Sound abroad, you faithful Servants of the Lord." Later comes the exhortation "Awaken the Dead, Awaken the Slumberers, Awaken the Dreamers...out of their Graves, out of their Tombs, out of their Sepulchres, out of the Seas!" This may have been taken from the collection of sermons, mentioned on p. 313. It was reprinted in *The Irish Friend*, 1837, p. 111.

141 4 Nothing further is to hand respecting Fox's Irish relatives.

146 1 Tories consisted of "little bands of Irish soldiers who had refused to submit or emigrate, or had been dispossessed of their holdings, who murdered any of the new colonists they could surprise, and stole their cattle" (Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, 1909). As late as 1675, they were still giving trouble (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1675—6, p. 160).

*Com. and Prot.* ii. 107, 116, iv. 108, 109.

149 1 James Hutchinson, the elder (c. 1613—1689), was born at Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, and went to Ireland in Cromwell's army in 1649. He first married Mary Godfrey of Kingswalton, Herefordshire, in 1651, and secondly, Mary Sanford, in 1653. He lived, apparently, in Co. Wexford. He was buried at Rosenallis, Queen's Co.

James Hutchinson, the younger (1652—1718), was born in Co. Wexford, but he removed to Knockballymaher near Cloncourse, in Co. Tipperary (Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715; Rutty, *Hist.* 1751). He married Mary Bennett in 1681, and Sarah Pearse (?) in 1694. He had a son of the same name (1685—1738). (Information from Central Offices of Friends in Ireland, Eustace Street, Dublin.)

This discourse at James Hutchinson's is in the handwriting of Thomas Lower, and immediately follows the matter printed on p. 136. It was perhaps copied from the "booke of thinges declared," mentioned on pp. 313 and 348.

151 1 Richard Johnson (1630—1686), husbandman, lived at Ormskirk, Lancs. He was born in the village of Lunt, near Sefton, S. W. Lancs. and was convinced c. 1654. He travelled in the ministry in England and Ireland. "He was a man comely both inwardly and outwardly of a cheerful Countenance, of a loving disposition and of a good understanding...not usually very large in verbal testimony, but sound and savoury" (scrap of MS. in D.).

Wigan, *Antichrist*, 1665; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.; Robson MSS. (taken from a Testimony of Hardshaw Monthly Meeting).

152 1 John Fox, Presbyterian, of Marshfield, Glos., received a general licence to preach, under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, 1672 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671—2, p. 356; Bate, *Declaration*, 1908, p. xxviii).

*Noncon. Mem.* ii. 253.

152 2 For more than two and a half centuries Friends as a body have objected to a forced maintenance for ministers of religion, which they consider to be out of harmony with the spirit of the New Testament. They could not see why they should be called upon to pay for religious

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exercises which they never attended and from which they received no benefit. Early Friends were not alone in objecting to tithes. Cromwell was at one time opposed to them (Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, p. 197; *Com. and Prot.* ii. 290, iii. 20), so was John Milton—"Under the Law God gave Church Ministers Tithes; under the Gospel having left all Things in his Church to Charity and Christian Freedom, he hath given them only what is justly given them" (*Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church...and Whether any Maintenance of Ministers can be settl'd by Law*, reprint of 1723, p. 5). See also Pearson, *The Great Case of Tithes*, ed. of 1730, p. 24.

The present position of Friends on this subject is best expressed by official record:—"For many years after the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act (Statute 6 and 7 William IV. c. 71, A.D. 1836) our members, as a body, declined the payment of what in its commuted form was, at the time, believed by them to be, both in its root and nature, the same as tithe. But there were some in various parts of the country who considered that the character of the impost had been materially changed. This conviction gradually spread; and as the practical working of the Act came to be more and more understood, it became apparent that, in the opinion of many of our members, the Tithe Rent-charge had, by the alteration in the law, assumed the character of a charge upon the land, for the application of which the payer could not be held responsible; and which, in the purchase or hiring of land, was necessarily taken into account in estimating its value. Impressed with the views, a large proportion of our members were brought to the conclusion that they could no longer conscientiously refuse the payment" (*Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1906, pt. ii. chap. x. sect. 6).

The Toleration Act expressly did not exempt Dissenters from tithes and other parochial dues, though some relief was afforded by the Act of 1696 (*F. P. T.*). After the Toleration Act, tithes were one of the chief remaining openings for persecution. (See Besse, *A Brief Account of many of the Prosecutions of the People call'd Quakers in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other Courts for Demands recoverable by the Acts made in the 7th and 8th years of the reign of King William the Third, for the more easie Recovery of Tithes, Church-Rates, &c.*, 1736, which contains particulars of several hundred cases, 1696—1734.)

*The Right of Tithes Asserted and Proved*, by Thomas Comber, 1677, answered by Ellwood in *The Foundation of Tythes Shaken*, 1678; Fry, *A Concise History of Tithes, with an Inquiry how far a forced maintenance for the Ministers of Religion is warranted by the Examples and Precepts of Jesus Christ and his Apostles*, 1819 and later edd.; Rowntree, *Quakerism Past and Present*, 1859, pp. 21 ff.; *Payment by the Society of Friends and others, of Rent Charge in lieu of Tithes*, a brief historical résumé of the history of Tithes prepared by Alderman George Tatham, of Leeds, in 1875.

152 3 Thomas Atkins, and his wife Mary (d. 1671), were members of Dursley Meeting, in Gloucestershire. The incident here recorded is omitted from Ell. edd.

153 1 This letter from John Stubbs is not now among Spence MSS. It does not appear to be among other MSS. in D.

153 2 The marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell is more fully narrated in Ell. edd. It took place at a special meeting in the meeting-house, Broadmead, Bristol, on the 27th of Eighth Month (Oct.) 1669. "Then was a Certificate, relating both the Proceedings and

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the Marriage, openly read, and Signed by the Relations, and by most of the Ancient Friends of that City; besides many other Friends from divers parts of the Nation." This certificate (copy, made by Sarah Fell, among Thirnbeck MSS.; printed *Irish Friend*, 1841; Webb, *Fells*, pp. 254 n., 429) was signed by ninety Friends, of whom nine were relations—Margaret Rous, Isabel Yeamans, Mary Lower, Sarah, Susanna and Rachel Fell, John Rous, William Yeamans and Thomas Lower.

153 3 This paper is probably the document beginning "Friends fellowship must be in the spirit, and all Friends must know one another in the Spirit and power of God," and consisting of nineteen sections, with concluding paragraph. It relates to marriages, care of the poor, wearing of the hat during prayer, disagreements, training of children, provision of burial places, registration, tithes, etc. It became a standard pronouncement and was copied into the official record-books of many Meetings. It was printed in octavo shortly after it was written, viz. "about January $166\frac{8}{9}$" (MS. note in copy in D.), and was reprinted by an adversary, in 1669, with the title, *Canons and Institutions Drawn up and Agreed upon by the General Assembly or Meeting of the Heads of the Quakers; From all Parts of the Kingdom, at their New-Theatre in Grace-church-street, in or about January last: George Fox being their President*, and with an Introduction intended to shew up to ridicule and worse the procedure in regard to marriage, by a construction put upon certain words. A reply to this construction and a charge of wilful falsification may be found in *The Innocent Assemblies*, by Steven Crisp, 1669, p. 34. These "Canons and Institutions" were reprinted in the folio volume of Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, pp. 276—293, with some alteration in the paragraph relating to marriage. They are also to be found in Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 47—52.

Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, p. 395.

154 1 No record of these Testimonies is now to be found among Spence MSS., but in D., where it has probably rested for two centuries, there is a fragment of MS. once forming part of a thick quarto book, giving an account of the Fox-Fell marriage and extracts from the Testimonies of numerous Friends regarding it. This interesting survival is composed of fourteen pages, numbered 403 to 416, and has neither beginning nor ending. Several members of the family express their approval and then others do the same, as George Whitehead, William Penn, Thomas Salthouse, John Moon, and Dennis Hollister.

154 2 In her Testimony to her husband (Ell: edd.), Margaret Fox writes respecting this separation, "My concern for God, and his holy, Eternal Truth was then in the North, where God had placed and set me...so that we were very willing both of us, to live a-part some years upon God's Account and his Truth's Service, and to deny our selves of that Comfort, which we might have had in being together."

154 3 While in London Fox wrote a practical paper on "Putting out poor Children to Trades" (Ell. edd.). It is dated the first of the Eleventh Month (Jan.), 1669.

154 4 Walter Newton may have been one of the same family as Nathaniel Newton, of Hartshill, near Atherstone (died c. 1711). Nathaniel's father's name was Walter.

154 5 There are evidences in contemporary literature of this "Jumble in some minds," regarding the relations of George Fox with Margaret Fell. An extract from the *Perfect Proceedings* of 26 February, 1654/5, is quoted in *Com. and Prot.* (iii. 263 n.) and has also been given in

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*Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (1910, p. 521). In 1662 John Harwood wrote a pamphlet against Fox, entitled *To all People that profess the Eternal Truth of the Living God*, 1663, with the sub-title, "Why I deny the Authority of George Fox." In this tract Harwood makes serious charges against G. Fox and M. Fell, which charges Fox absolutely repudiates in his *Spirit of Envy*, 1663, in a paragraph commencing "As for M. F. thou art not worthy to take her name in thy mouth, a vertuous woman."

In her Testimony to her husband, Margaret Fox implies knowledge of this "Jumble" when she writes respecting their long separations, "And if any took Occasion, or Judged hard of us because of that, the Lord will Judge them; for we were innocent"; at which assertion the matter might well have rested, but Bugg raises the question again, repeats Harwood's charges, ignores Fox's denial, and adds some further "facts" (*Finishing Stroke*, 1712, pt. iii. pp. 207, 241).

The remembrance of this "Jumble" may have suggested the omission from the printed *Journal* of several references to the meeting of Fox with M. Fell or her daughters (i. 52, 150, 360, ii. 34, 133).

155 1 A declaration, "writt upon the occasion of a New Persecution stirred up" (Ell. edd.), is referred to in Fox's letter to his wife (163. 1). It was printed as a broadside, entitled *A Declaration from the People of God, called Quakers, against all Seditious Conventicles*, etc. One of the copies of this broadside in D. has at the foot the initials "gff" in Fox's own writing.

Fox connects closely the disturbances caused by the quarrelling priests and the confusion of the names John Fox and George Fox, with the passing of the second Conventicle Act, "but it seems clear from the Parliamentary history of the times that other and larger causes were at work to produce the fierce Conventicle Act of 1670" (Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896, p. 223).

155 2 "The Conventicle Act, 1664 (St. 16 Car. 2, cap. 4, 'an Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles'), was in force from 1st July, 1664, to 1st July, 1667. After declaring that the St. 35 Eliz. cap. 1 was still in force, it enacted that if any person sixteen years old should be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour of religion in other manner than allowed by the Liturgy, at which there should be five or more persons beyond the household, then two Justices, within three months, could convict and imprison on a first and second offence for three or six months, unless fines of £5 and £10 were paid down. For a third offence elaborate provisions for transportation were devised...,

"The Conventicle Act, not quite three years after its expiration, was renewed with milder penalties, but with encouragement to Informers, by St. 22 Car. 2, cap. 1, which came into force 10th May, 1670. A single Justice could convict, fines from 5/- up to £40 could be imposed, and distrained for, and one third of these fines went to the Informer" (W. C. Braithwaite, LL.B., in *F. P. T.*).

The trade of Informing became a lucrative one, but in the eyes of many the Informer was a base creature. Ellwood gives lively accounts of the work of Informers and its results (*Hist.* Graveson ed. 1906, pp. 235, 239, 246, 353). There is a curious 8-page tract in D., doubtless of non-Quaker origin, *The Character of an Informer. Wherein His Mischeivous Nature, and Leud Practises are Dected*, 1675. The language used is not choice. "An Informer of the baser sort Is one of the Devils *Nut hooks*; A Priviledg'd *Trapan*, or a Common

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*Barretor* under pretence of Authority: A *Petty-fogging* Catterpillar.... He *Ferrets* a *Conventicle* just as a *Poll-cat* does Rabbets in their Burroughs, and the Rich men there *skulke* down in their Pews when they see him come in, dreading him more than a Partridge does a Hawke, or a City *Crack* a *Marshal's Man*."

*A Rebuke to the Informers*, 1675, a discourse designed to convert them; *Oliver Sansom*, 1710, pp. 289, 298, 383; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 127; Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725.

156 1 Whilst giving due weight to individual sense of duty, early Friends believed in collective action and arrangement. They realised the importance of a systematic visitation of meetings by "publick Friends," or preachers, and it was usual for Friends in the Ministry in London to meet at some central place each Sunday morning ready to proceed on horseback or on foot to such meetings as it appeared desirable for them to visit. Records of thousands of visits are still extant in the MS. "Books of Ministering Friends" (twenty-two folio volumes for the years 1699 to 1793 are in D., and one volume of the series, 1682—4, is in Friends' Library, Philadelphia, copy in D.). Why was this reference omitted from Ell. edd.?

*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1897, pp. 254 ff.; *Friend* (London), 1901, pp. 442, 719; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i.; *John Stephenson Rowntree*, 1908.

156 2 The Lord Mayor of 1669—70 was Sir Samuel Starling (Sterling). Among State Papers (see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1670, p. 221) under date May 15, 1670, are notes of persons convicted by Starling for preaching and assembling at conventicles within the City, 15 and 22 May, including the events recorded here by Fox, "George Fox and William Warwick for preaching in Whitehorse Yard, Gracechurch Street and John Burnett, for preaching in Devonshire House without Bishopsgate." Starling was on the Bench at the famous trial of Penn and Meade. William Bayly addressed a letter to Starling from Newgate, in Eighth Month (Oct.), 1670, which was printed.

158 1 John Burnyeat (1631—1690) was born at Crabtreebeck in the parish of Loweswater, Cumberland. (There is a drawing of his house in D.) He was convinced about 1653 and received a gift in the ministry a few years later. His first ministerial visit was to Scotland, 1658, and in the following year he was in Ireland. Returning home he followed his usual business occupations till again called to other service. In 1664, he sailed for America, where, on this visit, he spent some three years. In the winter of 1669—70, he was again in Ireland, where he met William Penn (MS. Diary of William Penn, in possession of Mrs Charles Roberts, of Haverford, Pennsylvania). "Beyonde seas" (p. 158) can, in this case, have been only Ireland, unless his face still bore evidence of his travels in the New World. (Omitted from Ell. edd.) During his next visit to the Western Hemisphere, he had William Sympson as companion till the latter's death on the Island of Barbados, 1670/1, and later he met and travelled with Fox. In 1683, Burnyeat married Elizabeth Maine, widow of William Maine and daughter of Peter and Jane Mason, of Cumberland, and he settled in Dublin. In 1688 his wife died. His various writings were collected and published in 1691, under the title *The Truth Exalted*; they contain much of interest. He had one son, Jonathan, who died in 1709 at the early age of twenty-three, having been a minister eleven years (life by Chalk, 1857).

Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Gough, *Hist.* 1789, iii. 291; Leadbeater, *Biog. Notices*, 1823; *British Friend*, 1847; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 279 ff.; Janney, *Hist.* 1860, i. 152; lives by

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Barclay (1839), Evans (1847), Budge (1877); *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 439; many MSS. in D.

159 1 The first three lines of the separate document ("On ... convetcles") are in the handwriting of Fox, the remainder, occupying three pages, was written by Ellis Hookes. The endorsement, as printed, is in Fox's writing. Hookes has endorsed "Gff discourse before y^e^ Mayor of London" to which Fox has added "1670." Another scribe has followed with "write this in a single sheet." Its place of insertion is marked with ☞ *.

162 1 William Penn (1644—1718) was the eldest son of Sir William Penn (1621—1670), the noted Admiral, and Margaret Jasper. His mother has been usually described as daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam (Jenkins, *Family of William Penn*, 1899, pp. 17, 46, quoting *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Aug. 19, 1664), but according to records which have recently come to light, she was a daughter of John Jasper, of Ballycase, Co. Clare, Ireland, and widow of Nicasius Van der Schuren, of Co. Clare (*Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 118). During Penn's travels on the European Continent in 1677 (*Travails*, 1694, p. 181), he described, at a meeting, his early spiritual experiences, including his College life and banishment from Christ Church, Oxford (which banishment does not appear to have been entered on the records of his College).

The famous trial of Penn and Meade took place at the Old Bailey, London, in 1670. In the building recently erected on the site of the Old Bailey a tablet has been placed containing the following inscription: "Near this Site William Penn and William Mead were tried in 1670 for preaching to an unlawful assembly in Grace Church Street. This tablet Commemorates the courage and endurance of the Jury, Thos. Vere, Edward Bushell and ten others who refused to give a verdict against them, although locked up without food for two nights, and were fined for their final Verdict of Not Guilty. The case of these Jurymen was reviewed on a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Chief Justice Vaughan delivered the opinion of the Court which established 'The Right of Juries' to give their Verdict according to their Convictions" (*The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted*, etc., 1670, reprinted by the "Penn, Mead, and Jury Commemoration Committee," 1908). Penn's account of the trial was replied to by S[amuel] S[tarling], late Lord Mayor, in *An Answer to the Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlet, entituled The Tryal of W. Penn and W. Mead*, etc., 1670, and to this Penn wrote a reply in *Truth Rescued from Imposture*, 1670/1, in which he deals with the Author's "base Reflections" on Sir William Penn (pp. 17, 23—29). For the trial, see also *The Case of Edward Bushel*, contemporary broadside; Vaughan, *Reports*, 1706, p. 135; *The Phœnix*, 1707; Howell, *State Trials*, 1809—26, vi.; Broom, *Constitutional Law*, 1866, pp. 120—144; Birrell, *Andrew Marvell*, 1905, p. 190.

In 1672 Penn married Gulielma Maria Springett (176. 2), and in 1696, Hannah Callowhill (20. 5). The second marriage appears to have met with the disapproval of some Friends (Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, pp. 62, 127). Hannah Penn died in 1726.

The principal events of Penn's life in England and his founding of Pennsylvania are so well known that they need not be recorded here.

*A Collection of the Works of William Penn*, edited, with biography, by Joseph Besse, was published in 1726. Other edd. followed. A complete edition is in course of preparation by Albert Cook Myers, M.L., of Philadelphia, Pa.

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Biographies of Penn have been written by Clarkson (1813), Wakefield (1816), Hughes (1822), Weems (1822), Draper (n. d.), Lawton (1836), Frost (1839), Barker (1847), Post (1850), Dixon (1851), Janney (1852), Stoughton (1882), Burdette (1882), Budge (1884), Buck (1888), Thomas (1895), Fisher (1900), Hodges (1901), Hotchkin (1903), Buell (1904), Grant (1907), Roberts (1910); and in French by Marsillac (1791) and Vulliemin (1855).

*D. N. B.*; *Cambridge Modern Hist.* 1908, v. 234 ff., where Penn's influence on James II is handled far more sympathetically than by Macaulay; Penn MSS. and other MSS. in D.

162 2 William Meade (1628—1713) belonged to an Essex family of considerable landed property and local influence. He was a "citizen and merchant tailor" of London, which description does not imply any acquaintance with tailoring; he was also a linen draper. In 1675, he married Mary Lawrence, at the Bull and Mouth. She died at his house at Highgate in 1679. They had two children, one of whom died in 1676, and Jonathan, the younger, in 1680.

In 1670, about the time he joined the Friends, he purchased Gooseyes (Gooses), a house near Romford in Essex, part of which still stands, and he had a town house at the Ship in Fenchurch Street (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1676—7, p. 564). He was known in his early Quaker days as Captain Meade, but it seems hardly likely that the following refers to him:—"On Oct. 16, 1671, Sir John Robinson and two others were invited to dinner by Captain Mead, the great Quaker, to his house at Clapham, where they had ten or twelve dishes of meat, but no butcher's meat, and most abominable Christmas pies, and were all served in silver and made half drunk, though the Quaker never drank to them" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 527). Meade shared with William Penn the honours of the world-famed trial in the Old Bailey in August, 1670 (see 162. 1). At Devonshire House in 1681, Meade was united in marriage with Sarah Fell, fourth daughter of Judge Fell of Swarthmoor. There was only one son, Nathaniel (355. 2). Meade's name occurs occasionally in connection with Friends' work in London but he is said to have lost his early love for Friends (Smith, *Cata.* 1867, ii. 162). William and Sarah Meade were buried in Barking Friends' Burial Ground, the headstone, still standing, being erected by their son.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, *Penns*, 1867; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1670; *D.N.B.*; MSS. in D.

162 3 Thomas Rudyard, "a Man skilful in the Law of the Land, and zealous for the Liberties of the People" (*Suff.* i. 426), lived in Lombard Street, London (*ibid.* i. 439). Rudyard entered vigorously into the pamphlet warfare of the time and he also suffered persecution and imprisonment (*Suff.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1670, p. 254). It will be noticed that his name has been omitted from Ell. edd. Smith implies that Rudyard left Friends (*Cata.* 1867, ii. 516). Bugg describes Rudyard as Friends' "Oracle of Law" (*Painted Harlot*, 1682, p. 28), and "Lying Lawyer" (*ibid.* p. 46), and has him in his "cage of unclean birds." He became one of the New Jersey proprietors, and in 1682 went over as Deputy Governor of East Jersey. In 1685 he left for Barbados.

*Character of a Quaker*, 1672, p. 8; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.; MSS. in D.

162 4 If this was Nathaniel Vincent (c. 1644—1697), M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, we may see him in another and more favourable light in *Noncon. Mem.*:—"He came to London soon after the Fire in 1666, and preached to large multitudes...he met with much disturb-

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ance...The soldiers would sometimes come...and hinder him from preaching....One time they planted four muskets round his pulpit, with which he seemed not terrified, and pulled him out by his hair" (i. 304). On the other hand we read, "One Vincent, and one or two other preachers, having, notwithstanding the order, held meetings in Bishopsgate Street...the constables were sent to apprehend them, but they retired in time" (Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.* 1890, p. 125).

Nathaniel Vincent had a brother, Thomas Vincent (1634—1678), who was also a preacher and who was in London during the awful times of the Plague and Fire (*Noncon. Mem.* i. 304). He wrote an answer to Penn's *Sandy Foundation Shaken*, in 1668.

*D. N. B.*

162 5 So named because once the property of the Cavendish family, the Earls of Devonshire, situated outside the walls of the city of London near the Bishop's Gate. Muggleton was born "in Bishopgate Street, near the Earl of Devonshire's house at the Corner House call'd Walnut-Tree-Yard" (*Acts of the Witnesses*, 1699). The mansion was built by Jasper Fisher, c. 1570, who, having greatly exceeded his means in its erection and maintenance, gained for it the name of "Fisher's Folly." After the Great Fire of 1666 had destroyed Friends' meeting place in the City (the Bull and Mouth), rooms were taken in this mansion. Other religious bodies also used parts of the same estate for their meetings (cp. Butler, *Hudibras*, 1664, pt. iii. canto ii., "Fisher's Folly congregation"). As time went on, other portions of the estate were purchased, until now Friends' property known as Devonshire House occupies about 1800 square yards with extensive frontages on Bishopsgate, Houndsditch, and Devonshire Street.

*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1660—70, 1671, 1676—7; Beck, *Devonshire House*, 1908; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1911.

162 6 Mary Lower (c. 1644—1719), second wife of Thomas Lower (i. 241. 3), was the fifth daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall. As she occasionally visited her sister, Margaret Rous, in London, it is probable that she met her future husband while in town. It appears from a letter written by Lower to his fiancée (original in D., printed in *Fells*, 1865, pp. 248—252) that neither of them was, at first, fully appreciated by the prospective relatives—"thee (my deare) wert renderd lesse exact [than "sister Yeamans"] & with a more pale countenans...thou was painted with naked neck & in costly aray"—"I Cannott butt take notice of thy mothers slights off mee & unfreindly deportment towards mee." But things being put straight on both sides, they were united in marriage in 1668.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865.

162 7 Margaret, wife of John Rous, of Kingston on Thames (c. 1633—1706), was the eldest daughter of Judge and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor. See i. 140. 2. She married John Rous in 1661. They had twelve children; the four eldest died in infancy and only four of the remaining eight were living at the time, 1692, when their father made his will (*Jnl. F. H. S.* iv.). Maria Webb thinks that Margaret Rous visited her father-in-law in Barbados in 1678 (*Fells*, 1865, p. 295). There is a possible hint of an earlier visit beyond seas, in Fox's *Spirit of Envy*, 1663, p. 11.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865; Dix MSS.; Spence MSS.; Swarth. MSS.

162 8 Lord Mayor of London in 1669/70. See 156. 2.

163 1 There is not any such letter now among the *Journal* MSS. One from George to Margaret Fox, conveying the news of the latter's release, is printed in Ell. edd

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163 2 That is *Baughurst*, six miles N.W. from Basingstoke. Ell. edd. have *Baghurst*, except the Bi-cent. which corrupts it to *Banghurst*. Friends held property here for many years, but it is said that all right of ownership is now lost (*Trust Properties within Sussex, etc., Quarterly Meeting*, 1886, special ed. in D.).

164 1 This was probably a son of the Richard Bax mentioned 125. 1.

165 1 No further information is to hand respecting ex-Captain Williams, of Stratford.

166 1 Margaret Rous (1667— ) was the third daughter of John and Margaret Rous, of Kingston on Thames. She was a scholar at Christopher Taylor's school at Waltham Abbey, anno 1680, aet. 12 (*Testimony...John Matern*, 1680, p. 30). In 1683 she was visited by Fox as she "lay very sick" at home (Ell. edd.). She fell into disgrace in some way, as is evident from her father's will, dated 1692 "...My daughter Margaret who hath severall wayes disobliged me. If after my decease she shall by her obedient and dutifull carriage oblige my now wife..." (*Jnl. F. H. S.* iv.). The will, dated 1698, of Margaret Fox, her grandmother (*ibid.* ii.), contains a bequest of one guinea to Margaret Manwaring, and the context makes it probable that this was the married name of Margaret Rous, and that the trouble and disgrace were connected with her marriage. There was according to Besse, a family of Manwaring, resident in Barbados, her father's native Island. But if Fox's reference is to this Margaret Rous, and if it belongs to the date under which it is given, "younge Margarett" was only about three years old (omitted from Ell. edd.).

166 2 Edward Mann was a prominent London Friend, a hosier at the Sign of the Golden Lyon, near Bishopsgate, and he had also a country house at Ford Green near Winchmore Hill, N. Middlesex. He accompanied George Whitehead to the Eastern Counties on work connected with the liberation of prisoners in 1672 (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 360 ff.). Fox visited Mann at Ford Green several times towards the end of his life (Ell. edd.). Thomas Loe died at his house in 1668 (Webb, *Penns*, 1867, p. 181 ; MS. in D.). His first wife, Elizabeth, died in 1691, and he married Elizabeth Andrews, in 1696. Several of Mann's letters are among Swarth. MSS.
Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 296, 297.

167 1 Elizabeth Dry (c. 1619—1689), widow, perhaps, of Thomas Dry (112. 1), of Enfield, was one of a band of widowed Friends, living around London, who opened their houses for meetings and did valuable work for early Quakerism (see Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 301, 343). In 1683, E. Dry was convicted for being present at a conventicle held at Flamstead End, near Cheshunt (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vii.).
Fox's illness at Widow Dry's house is mentioned in a letter from Margaret Rous to her mother (Swarth. MSS. i. 110), in which she states, "He is weakly still, though much more at ease y$^{n}$ some time he was...his distemper hath been favour & ague but there is little apearance of ether not for some time...his body hath been under great suffering."

167 2 Samuel Newton, with other Friends, signed in 1665 *An Answer to a Letter sent from John Perrot out of Jamaica* (Smith, *Cata.* 1867, i. 592), and in 1672, he, with other "ffaithfull ffr$^{ds}$ & Brethren," wrote an epistle regarding a collection (MS. in D.). Soon after this we find him at a meeting held in the interests of suffering Friends

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where "he was against having a person to act in their behalf...whose Conversation preached not Righteousness; But G. F. opposed him with so much wrath and violence, that some there present thought he would have strucken him." So writes the author of *The Spirit of the Hat*, probably William Mucklow, 1673, p. 42. In Penn's *Judas and the Jews*, 1673, William Gosnell, a Friend in good esteem apparently, gives his Testimony against the hat spirit, but states that he really did think that Fox would have struck Newton, though he found afterwards that his fears were not shared by others (p. 87, see p. 113). Newton's name appears with those of other well-concerned Friends on the Minutes of the Morning Meeting in 1675, and in another document in 1678 (MSS. in D.). Bugg has caged Newton among other "unclean birds."

There was a Samuel Newton in Virginia in 1685—"care have bin taken about him, & freinds have Dealt w$^{th}$ him" (original letter in D., printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.).

168 1 This paragraph is written on two sides of an oblong piece of paper and it appears to be in Lower's later and smaller style of writing. It is curious that the other reference to Cartwright at Droitwich (114. 3) is also written on a scrap of paper.

The account of this event to be found in the MS. Sufferings in D. (iv. 477) under date 1670 differs somewhat and gives more names:—"John Cartwright for giving thanks before meat in the house of Jo$^{n}$ Watts was Imprisoned with John Stanley [*Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.], he being there at that Time, and for this the said John Watts was fined twenty pounds—for w$^{ch}$ they Seaized on his Team. And three other ffriends being at y$^{t}$ time in another Room by, were fined and had Goods taken....These Goods were taken by vertue of a Warrant from Bayliff Stainer...w$^{ch}$ Stainer was soon after found Dead with a fall from his Horse."

168 2 In their desire to prevent formality in matters of religion, Friends have ever avoided the repetition of certain words as "grace before meat," but their custom has been and is to have a short pause before their meals, in which to feel thankful and, if moved thereto, to express thanks, for outward food. Their action in this respect has been frequently misunderstood. Their *words* have been accounted preaching (see also imprisonment of Dewsbury and others, 1661, for giving thanks before supper, *Suff.* i. 764, and of Edward Burrough) and their *silence* has been accounted indifference (see *Character of a Quaker*, 1671, p. 10—"A Quaker...cannot endure Ceremonies... and therefore falls to all meat...without saying grace"; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910, p. 4).

168 3 Ell. edd. print a short paper from Fox to Friends "as an Encouraging Testimony," and another, written at Enfield, 14. i. 1670/1, under "a sense of an Hurt, that sometimes hap'ned, by Persons coming under the Profession of Truth out of one Country into another, to take an Husband or Wife among Friends," in which he recommended the use of "Certificates or Letters of Recommendation from one Men's-Meeting to another."

During this time of sharp persecution the enemies of Truth were so insistent "that they broake there pistolls pikes & carbines upon ffreinds: & att last gott broome stafes because they had spoiled soe many of there {other} weapons" ("Breviate," see 310. 3).

169 1 No such letter is now attached to the Spence MSS.

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169 2 Martha Fisher (c. 1631—1687) is mentioned in association with Jane Woodcock (299. 2) in an account of some building operations at the Savoy and in other ways (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 246, 257, 344). With Jane Woodcock, Anne Travers, and others she was on the appointment on behalf of Westminster Monthly Meeting "to see to the accomplishing of marriages in good order to the honour of the Truth" (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, p. 41, MS. in D.). She was in New Prison in 1687 (*Suff.* i. 478). The record of her burial describes her as "of Clements Danes, widow."

169 3 Hannah Stringer (Stanger, Stranger), the wife of John Stringer or Stranger, of London, combmaker, was, with her husband, actively associated with Nayler in his sad doings in Bristol. "One Reine of his Bridle, Mart. Sym$^{ds}$ led & Han. string: the other...& Hannah's husband went bare before him" (Swarth. MSS. i. 188). Fox wrote to Nayler in 1656, "Marth simonds & stringer & his wiffe is denyed for there lyes & slanders & soe Judged out with the truth" (*ibid.* iii. 195). But Hannah, then become Hannah Salter, by her marriage with Henry Salter of London, in 1666, repented of her former actions, gave forth a testimony of her repentance (Tanner, *Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire*, 1858, p. 101), and was received back among Friends. At the time of her appeal to Charles II she was Hannah *Salter* (Swarth. MSS. i. 152). See Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911.

*The Grand Impostor*, 1656; Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657; Grigge, *Quakers' Jesus*, 1658; Burton, *Diary*, 1828, i. 377 n.

169 4 The "womens schoole" was in the hamlet of Shacklewell, Hackney, north of London.

Ell. edd. give here (some of them in bold type) a prayer, which Fox was moved to pray and which "was writ the 17$^{th}$ Day at Night, of the 2$^{d}$ Month, 1671."

169 5 The discharge is dated 4 April 1671, and took effect at once. It reads, "A pardon unto Margarett Fell *alias* Fox for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and of the sentence or judgment of *premunire* passed upon her for the same, and of all pains, penalties and forfeitures incurred therby; and likewise His Majesty's Graunt of the Estate of the said Margarett Fell *alias* Fox unto Susan Fell and Rachell Fell, Daughters of the said Margarett, together with such other Clauses and *non obstantes* as are usuall in pardons of like nature. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney Generall by warrant under his Majesty's Signe Manuall and procured by the Lord Arlington. [signed] W. Trumbull."
(*S. P. D.* Docquets, vol. 25, no. 38, see *Cal.* 1671, p. 171.)

The statement that Margaret Fox "had beene 10 yeeres a prisoner" can hardly be correct (see i. 48. 1).

169 6, 170 1 Fox's letter, informing his wife of his proposed foreign travel, does not appear now among the *Journal* MSS.

170 2 This curious calculation was written by Richard Richardson on a scrap of paper measuring 8 ins. broad by 3¼ ins. deep. Its place of insertion is made evident by a ☞ ✳.

170 3 This "faithfull warning" occupies two pages in a large, untidy handwriting. Some of the insertions were made by T. Lower, who also wrote the endorsement.

172 1 This piece was copied on the same sheet as 170. 3 and by the same writer and occupies one page. One endorsement reads, "This

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paper was Given forth in the time of his great exercise & weaknesse 1670." The following sentence also appears on the last page of the sheet:—"O that wicked spirit, that cursed spirit, y^t^ would have divided & brought to naught, the blessed woemans meeting, that I was mov'd to set up by the power of God O what would they have the widdow & the fatherles doe. G. ff."

176 1 Mary Penington (c. 1625—1682), wife of Isaac Penington (i. 260. 3), was the only daughter and heiress of Sir John Proude (or Preva), of Ewell, Co. Kent. She married first, in 1642, Sir William Springett, of Ringmer, Sussex (c. 1622—1643/4), by whom she had two children, John, died young, and Gulielma Maria (see next note). Mary Penington wrote a lively account of various events in her life and in that of her husband and his forbears, which will shortly be re-issued as *Events in the Life of Mary Penington*. This account discloses a woman of much strength of character and business ability. It also "presents an unrivalled picture of an aspect of the times not very commonly appreciated—the life of a country gentleman of good degree, a soldier and sportsman...who was yet a Puritan of the strictest upbringing and practice" (Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex in the Great Civil War*, 1910).

Rogers, *Christian Quaker*, 1680, pt. v. p. 53; Webb, *Penns and Peningtons*, 1867; MSS. in D.

176 2 "Guly" was Gulielma Maria Springett (1644—1693/4), posthumous daughter of Sir William Springett, and his wife, Mary, afterwards wife of Isaac Penington. Guli lived in Buckinghamshire with her mother and step-father and was educated under the care of Thomas Ellwood (348. 3). In 1672, she was married to William Penn. It is said that for years she paid an annual visit to France to carry to the deposed King James and his Queen some tokens of continued friendship (see Fisher, *William Penn*, 1900, quoting Strickland's *Queens of England*). She willingly and heroically gave up her husband to his religious and public work, "saying often, 'O, go, my dearest! Don't hinder any Good for me'" (Penn, *Account of...Gulielma Maria Penn*, 1699).

In a letter to Sir John Rodes, Henry Gouldney writes on the occasion of the death of Gulielma Penn: "She was a virtuous woman, had a noble regard for truth...she have for a long time borne up above the ffrightfull apprehensions of the many dangers her dear husband has undergone" (Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, p. 55). She was buried in Jordans Burial Ground, in Buckinghamshire.

Webb, *Penns and Peningtons*, 1867.

176 3 At this point in the MS. *Journal* there is an elaborately made mark to indicate the insertion here of the "journall" and "severall letters" referred to; but there is no "journall" of the voyage to America now among the MSS. and only a few letters. Fortunately, however, the loss can be partly covered, as in the MS. volume of Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*, etc. (see 137. 1) there is a copy of John Hull's log of the voyage of the *Industry* (here printed), which is in the same handwriting as the Irish "Journall." This account occupies pp. 217—224 of the MS. volume. Several letters descriptive of "passages" in America have also been printed from the same volume.

It is to be noted that the numbered leaves of the narrative portion of the MS. *Journal* do not contain any account of the American journey (176. *d*). This was, apparently, left to be supplied from other sources and original letters. Ell. edd., however, carry forward, with considerable editorial licence, the story in the first person as before and

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after. The printed journals of John Burnyeat (1691), John Bowater (1705), John Taylor (1710), William Edmondson (1715), should be read in connection with Fox's *Journal*.

There are also several MSS. extant, which corroborate and slightly extend the narrative. In the Bodleian Library in Oxford there is a MS., described in Madan's *Summary Catalogue* thus:—"28961. In English, on paper, written in or soon after A.D. 1673. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $6\frac{1}{2}$in. 24 leaves—A Journal of George Fox the quaker's travels from London to the West Indies and New England, and back to Bristol, June 13, 1671—Apr. 28, 1673: beg. 'We sett out from London : apparently a shorter but independent form of the Journal printed in 1694. The volume is said to be the autograph of Elwood the friend of Milton. Fox's name only occurs in a later hand on the outside of the front cover. The cover is part of a parchment certificate of the marriage of William Wallis and Ann Amos, quakers, at Bristol in 1673. Bought from John Pearson, London bookseller, on Feb. 15, 1869, for £3. 13. 6. Now MS. Add. A. 95." But the writer of the above has fallen into the common error of computing the *name* of the month from the *number* according to modern reckoning (see Introduction). Fox's journey was begun on the 13th of August, 1671, and ended on the 28th of June, 1673. This MS. commences with the computation of "the nomber of miles of G. ffs travells in this Jornall accounteing them on a straight line : butt would be aboundanly more if they accounted their Due cource as tacquen and retachuen and circuits about to head rivers &[a]

| | miles |
|---|---|
| ffrom London to barbadoes by Sea | 4500 |
| ffrom Barbadoes to Jamaica per Sea | 1200 |
| In Jamaica per Land | 0300 |
| ffrom Jamaica to the Capes of Virginia | 1800 |
| ffrom the Capes to Potoxen | 0200 |
| in Mary land New England Virginia and the Iles and parts adjacient by land and watter | |
| ffrom Virginia per Sea to Bristoll | |
| The Nomber of miles by land & Sea | 16149" |

but some of the figures are manifestly incorrect. The MS. is printed, with notes, in *Jnl. F. H. S.* viii.

This MS. supplies but little additional information. One or two of the dates given are incorrect. (i) Major Banister is mentioned in connection with Jamaica. (ii) A further description of the ship-master mentioned on p. 209 is given:—"the master being a New England man of boston went on bord another ship belonging to New England in that River & when he came againe he was mad Drunck & threatned to Cutt doune the mast & to doe other Mischiefs yet I had power over him, but at the best he was a bad man & said he mattered noe more for throwing 20 men over bord then he did a dog." (iii) The meeting mentioned at the foot of p. 209 was held at "James Prestons house," but the dates do not agree. (iv) The "wee" near the foot of p. 210 is expanded to "on the 6$^{d}$ day of the 3$^{d}$ moneth I with R. W. J. Burnyeate & G. P. with severall other friends set forwards towards New England." (v) The accident to John Jay took place "at porback neare shrousbury," though Jay's name is not given (see 217. 1). (vi) See 228. 1, 233. 3, 238. 1, 239. 1, 240. 4. (vii) The subject mentioned by Governor Batts on p. 234 is omitted.

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The following chronological summary of the American Journey will probably prove useful :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Left England | 13. vi. | 1671 | p. 176 |
| Landed at Barbados | 3. viii. | 1671 | p. 186 |
| Left for Jamaica | 8. xi. | 1671/2 | p. 196 |
| Landed at Jamaica | 18. xi. | 1671/2 | |
| Left for Maryland | 8. i. | 1671/2 | p. 207 |
| Arrived in Maryland | 2. iii. | 1672 | p. 209 |
| Arrived on Rhode Island | [30] iii. | 1672 | p. 203 |
| Left Rhode Island | end of v. | 1672 | p. 224 |
| Arrived at Middletown Harbour, N. J. | 27. vi. | 1672 | p. 226 |
| Left for Maryland | 9. vii. | 1672 | p. 227 |
| Left for Virginia | 5. ix. | 1672 | p. 233 |
| Arrived in Carolina | 21. ix. | 1672 | p. 234 |
| Sailed from Virginia to Maryland | 30. x. | 1672 | p. 239 |
| Sailed for England | 21. iii. | 1673 | p. 247 |
| Arrived at Kings Road, Bristol | 28. iv. | 1673 | p. 250 |

The notes to R. M. Jones's *George Fox*, 1903, and *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, should be consulted for the modern names of places referred to in connection with the American journey; see also Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 1896; *American Friend*, 1902, p. 825.

176 4 William Edmondson (1627—1712) was the Quaker apostle of Ireland. He was born at Little Musgrave in Westmorland, and he served in the Parliamentary army, but on his marriage in 1652 with Margaret Stanford, of Bramley (? Brampton), Derbyshire (d. 1691), he went over to Ireland and settled in business at Antrim and later at Lurgan. On a visit to the North of England in 1653, he met some Friends and became convinced of Quaker principles. He accompanied various itinerant preachers, who visited his adopted land, and himself entered into the work of the ministry and consequent suffering. He was three times in America and the adjacent islands, 1671—2, 1675—7, 1683. Correspondence with G. and M. Fox, Samuel Waldenfield, Robert Haydock and others is extant in D.

Edmondson married, the second time, in 1697, his wife being Mary Strangman (d. 1732). One of his children was named Hindrance and another Trial. There are numerous descendants within and without the pale of Quakerism. His death took place at his residence at Rosenallis and his burial at the burial ground hard by.

The valuable *Journal* of his life, travels and sufferings was first published in 1715, and it was several times reprinted. John Wesley writes in his *Journal*, under date 17 July, 1765, "I met here [Edenderry] with the Journal of William Edmundson. If the original equalled the picture (which I see no reason to doubt) what an amiable man was this! What faith, love, gentleness, long-suffering!...I scruple not to say, 'Let my soul be with the soul of William Edmundson.'"

During the Home Rule controversy in 1893, a letter, written by Edmondson in 1704 (printed in *Friends' Magazine*, 1830, i. 154), was reproduced in facsimile and distributed to Friends and others.

[Ball] *Premonitory Extracts*, 1819, p. 220; Leadbeater, *Biog. Notices*, 1823, pp. 1—51; *British Friend*, 1847, p. 269; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; Budge, *Annals*, 1877; Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania*, 1902, pt. i. chap. iii.; *D. N. B.*; *Quaker Biographies*, 1909, vol. ii.

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176 5 Solomon Eccles (Eagles) (c. 1618—1683) came of a musical family of London, and he himself as a music-teacher was in receipt of from £150 to £200 a year, by means of which he did "maintain both himself and his Family very genteelly and plentifully" (Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 133). He was educated in Episcopalian doctrine, but, relinquishing that, he successively united himself to Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, before being attracted to Quakerism. It is said that on becoming a Friend, he "burnt and brake many good Instruments of Musick, and burnt Books of great price and value at Tower Hill" (*Musick Lector*, 1667, p. 7). Eccles's great zeal outran his discretion, and the various strange actions performed, such as his passing through Smithfield Fair naked with a pan of fire on his head, his denunciation of judgment on London during the Great Plague in 1665 and his taking possession of a pulpit and "communion-table" in one of the churches on which to act the part of a shoemaker, cannot be defended, though Eccles believed that he had a Divine commission to perform these things (*Signs are from the Lord*, 1663). Sewel writes, "What the benefit of this strange action, I leave," and again, "Though in some respect he might by his great zeal have been transported a little too far, yet he gave proofs of a sincere heart" (*Hist.* 1722). The records of his journeys in the New World do not contain notices of any eccentricities, but on his return to England he was led by his too hasty zeal into a denunciation of John Story and a prophecy of his death in 1677, an offence which he afterwards acknowledged and condemned (Thomas Crisp, *Babel's Builders*, 1681, p. 15; Steven Crisp, *Babylonish Opposer*, 1681, p. 7; Stillingfleet, *Seasonable Advice*, 1702, p. 82, and Phillips's answer). The apology of Eccles is dated in Barbados, in Third Month (May), 1681. His decease took place in London. Defoe states that the wife of Eccles was one of the first to be carried to the grave in the Quakers' dead-cart (*Journal of the Plague Year*).

Greenway, *Alarm*, 1662; Leslie, *Snake in the Grass*, 1698, and Wyeth's reply; Bury, *Messages and Warnings*, 1728; *Saul's Errand*, 1728, p. 31; Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; Ainsworth, *Old Saint Paul's*, 1841; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*

176 6 Little is known of George Pattison except that which relates to his visit to America. Whitehead and Besse mention his arrest at a meeting at Horslydown in 1664 (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 281; *Suff.* i. 692).

Pattison returned from America with John Burnyeat in 1673; they landed in Ireland and Pattison "took his journey for Dublin, and from thence to London" (*John Burnyeat*, 1691, p. 62, see pp. 44, 47, 52, 53, 60).

176 7 John Hull was, apparently, younger in the Truth than the other companions of Fox (p. 196). On the arrival of the *Industry* at Barbados, Thomas Hudson visited the ship, and reported that "most of them had beene sea sicke but were prittey well Tho: Brigges was one of y^e^ best & Jno Hull y^e^ puniest" (Swarth. MSS. i. 150). Hull seems to have acted as Fox's secretary while on the Island. His log of the voyage shews considerable knowledge of natural objects. He did not accompany Fox on his further travels, but returned to England early in 1672, with Elizabeth Miers (Swarth. MSS. i. 52; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 278). Ell. edd. do not mention him except in the passenger list.

Hull wrote, with Fox, *To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests...in Barbadoes*, 1672, signing himself, "From Him that was once of you;

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but now through Mercy is come out from amongst you." He mentions Arius Montanus and Junius and uses several Latin quotations. The London Registers contain the record of the death of a John Hull, of Peel Monthly Meeting in 1690/1, aged 80.

176 8 It is not certain whether there was any relationship between Elizabeth Miers (Mires, Myer) and other Friends of the same surname. She did not, apparently, proceed further than Barbados; her return with John Hull is foreshadowed in a letter from John Rous to Margaret Fox, in 1672 (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 278).

176 9 Thomas Yoakley (c. 1627—1677) was a prominent Friend of London, belonging to Ratcliff Meeting. He appears to have been learned in matters of law (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 275). The description in the Burial Registers is "of Love Lane, merchant in Billingsgate Ward."

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 92 267, 270.

177 1 James Strutt (c. 1619—1700), of Wapping and Ratcliff, Middlesex. In common with other Quaker shipmasters, he was affected by the order that all ships should carry guns and he suffered much in consequence of his peace principles (*Suff.* i. 462; Swarth. MSS. i. 56). He was the author of *A Declaration to the Whole World*, printed in 1659. Several letters are extant, written by James Strutt in 1682, respecting the sufferings of Daniel Baker, late of the ship *Old Concord* (MSS. in D.). His son, James Strutt, the younger, by his marriage with Mary Meakins in 1676, became the ancestor of several well-known Quaker families.

186 1 Richard Forstall, of Bridge Town, Barbados, is mentioned by Besse, anno 1661. William Sympson was buried in his garden, 1670/1 (1. 2).

186 2 Respecting Colonel Chamberlaine, a friend of the Rous family, of Barbados, nothing further appears at present.

186 3 Thomas Rous (d. before 1692), otherwise Lieutenant Colonel Rous, was a wealthy planter of the parish of St Philips in Barbados, having previously resided in the Colony of New England. It is said that it was under the preaching of his son, John, that he became convinced of Friends' principles. His re-marriage, c. 1671, caused some anxiety to his son (Miller MSS. quoted in *Fells*, 1865, p. 275).

*Suff.* under Barbados; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 113, 138; *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 1574—1660.

187 1 This copy of Fox's letter from Barbados was made by Edward Mann, except the superscription which was inserted by Lower and omitted from Ell. edd. The inserted date must be incorrect; it should probably read "1st of ye 9th mo. 71."

Another letter from Fox in Barbados, 31. viii. 1671, is in D. (Swarth. vii. 124).

189 1 This letter from John Stubbs to Margaret Fox is taken from a copy in the MS. volume of Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*, p. 257, but it is not in the same handwriting as the copies in the same volume of 137. 1 and 176. 3.

189 2 In his *Few Words of Truth*, 1673, William Dundas gives several pages of autobiography (interspersed with lines of very poor verse), from which Sewel has drawn for his account of Dundas (*Hist.* 1722). Only by slow stages did he definitely associate himself with Friends—*he* was a man of some account in the world and *they* such a despised people. For some time he was settled as a merchant at Dieppe and

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then wandered to Rouen, Alençon and Caen seeking peace but finding none, returning to England on the outbreak of war with France in 1666. A letter from Dundas to M. Fox, dated from London in 1671, is among Gibson MSS. in D. The date of his death does not appear.

189 3 Lewis Morris ( —1691) was a planter of Barbados, also a Colonel and Member of the Council. Captain and Colonel Lewis Morris are referred to in *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 1574—1660, in connection with Barbados, in 1633, 1639, 1651, and 1652. According to the *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 1908, ii. 79, the Lewis Morris of the *Journal* was born in Wales and emigrated to Barbados. Edmondson refers twice to "Colonel Morris" (*Journal*, 1715, pp. 53, 54). His name appears at the head of the list of the names of Friends subscribed to an address to Governor Atkins in 1677 and again in 1678. Between 1669 and 1678, he was fined 16,193 lbs. of sugar "for not paying a Claim of Church-dues so called"—"for not sending Horse and Men to the Militia," and "for not paying Church and Priest's Demands" (*Suff.* under Barbados). In Fifth Month (July) 1675, Morris wrote a letter when "allmost Redie to Goe on bord ffor New Yorke" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 108). He appears to have resided in New York during the later portion of his life. See *Documents Relative to the Col. Hist. of the State of New York*, 1858, ii. 619 ff., iii. 656 ff.; *Maryland Archives*, v. 375.

Three letters to Morris from Fox are given by Bugg in his *Finishing Stroke* (1712, pt. iii. sect. ix. p. 210 f.) to demonstrate the illiteracy of the writer.

Above facts probably refer however to more than one person of the name.

190 1 This was William Bayly (i. 201. 1), as on p. 197.

190 2 John Holder, J.P., of Barbados, has not been found elsewhere in Quaker literature.

191 1 Edward Mann's introductory letter, and the copy made by him of John Hull's letter (pp. 191—196), occupy three leaves. The last leaf has been misplaced in the binding.

On p. 192, the bracket at the commencement of l. 5 should have been placed before the words "Jn°. Hulls Letter"—the matter of Hull's letter to the middle of p. 194 is not in Ell. edd.

191 2 Thomas Hudson (Hutson) (c. 1624—1697) was a ship-master of London (Swarth. MSS. i. 56, 150), and he acted as letter-carrier for Friends between the Old World and the New. He was also useful when on shore, for in 1684 he arranged for "Canviss to putt Round y^e^ Greate Beed where friends Lodge y^t^ are prissoners in y^e^ Compter in Tooleys Streete & is to Remaine there for y^e^ Service of friends y^t^ are prissoners there hereafter" (Minute of Horslydown M. M.). The entry of burial states that Hudson was of the parish of All-hallows, Lombard Street.

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 220, 232.

192 1 Ralph Frettwell ( —1686) was "one of the chief Judges of the Court of Common-pleas" in Barbados (*Suff.* ii. 291) until his adoption of Quaker principles compelled his retirement. He suffered much in body and estate. Meetings were frequently held at his house (Bugg, *De Christiana Libertate*, 1682, pt. ii. p. 210; MSS. in D.). His wife and children are referred to in letters and also his "Kinsman," Thomas Frettwell. Letters from Frettwell to Fox, Penn and others, c. 1681, are still extant (in D.). Frettwell's recent decease is announced in a letter from Barbados in Twelfth Month (Feb.), 1686 (in D.).

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193 1 It is not evident which of Fox's papers were dictated at sea while he was *en route* for Barbados; the "more prepareing" would probably be his tract *To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests...in Barbadoes* (see 176. 7).

194 1 William Fuller is mentioned in a letter from Virginia in 1657—"Will ffuller abides Convinced" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 7). Besse states that he was a sufferer in Maryland in 1658. He had previously taken a considerable part in civil and military affairs (*Maryland Archives*, iii.).

194 2 This narration is to be found in Ell. edd. in much expanded form, probably taken from a MS. in D. (Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*), which reads as follows: "John Drakes [ —1671] of Barbados, that would have burned G: F: Because he would not suffer him to have Abia Trott: & he was a Cruell swearer, & a bad man; & was burned him selfe with a Cruell feaver: as Black as a Coole as y^e^ people said & so dyed 3: or 4: dayes before G. F came into Barbados:...Now G: F: being Concerned with Abia Trott & being intrusted with her; by y^e^ will of her mother, could not answer drakes his demand; made him in such a Rage against g: f:" In 1662, Elizabeth Trott writes to Fox, from Barbados, "Abatha is in health and doth often maike mention of thy kindness to her" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 120). The writer was presumably the Elizabeth Trott who frequently entertained Friends at her house in London (see i. 373. 2). Elizabeth Trott of London and "her maid" are mentioned in Swarth. MSS. iii. 164, anno 1657.

194 3 Perhaps the same as Christopher Lyne, Major, mentioned by Besse, under Barbados, anno 1669.

195 1 At the close of these meetings, "the Vessel that was bound for England, not being yet gone," Fox wrote an Epistle to Friends, which appears in Ell. edd.

196 1 Richard Pinder ( —1695) lived at Wath, in Ravenstonedale, Westmorland. He was convinced in 1652 and began to preach about 1657. He travelled in Great Britain and was twice in the West Indies, and "sevrall other plantations" (*F. P. T.*). There is a long account of Pinder's visit to Bermuda in 1660, in Swarth. MSS. iv. 39. During this visit he addressed a letter to King Charles II, giving an account of sufferings in that and adjacent Islands, which was certified by twelve Friends of Barbados (copy in D.). His published writings mostly concern the West Indies. Smith states that he died at Norwich (*Cata.* 1867, ii. 424).

Bugg, *Painted Harlot Stript and Whipt*, 1682, p. 11; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 361.

196 2 This is the original letter. It is addressed, "For the hands of Sarah Fell at Swarthmoore hall in ffurnace in Lancashir leave this for conveyance w^th^ the post master at Lancaster." It is endorsed by Fox as printed heading.

196 3 John Pennyman (1628—1706) was born at Ormesby, Co. York, and "at Fifteen Years of Age he accompanied his Eldest Brother, Sir James Pennyman, into the King's Service" (*Life of Mr John Pennyman*, 1696, p. 1). In 1654, he married, and commenced business in London as a woollen-draper. In 1658, he began to attend Friends' meetings, but he soon "perceived a great part of the Quakers to be Degenerated into meer Form, and setting up G. Fox instead of the Spirit of Christ, to be their Lord and Lawgiver" (*ibid.* p. 10). By degrees he became a bitter opponent of the general body of Friends and a writer of tracts against Fox and others (see next note).

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Pennyman's second wife was Mary Boreman, née Heron, his first wife's sister (c. 1630—1700/1). She is mentioned in the literature of the Mucklow-Penn controversy (273. 2). Of the proposed proceedings in connection with this marriage, E. Hookes writes to M. Fox, 21. viii. 1671, "Heere is like to be a madd frolick acted by our Apostatized Apostle John Penniman, who intends to wedd Mary Boreman...he has gott the Greatest Hall about London belonging to any Company vizt. Marchant Taylors Hall & has invited all or most of y^e^ Aldermen of the Citty as I heare...& all sorts of Ranters" etc. (Swarth. MSS. i. 57, see also Penn, *Judas and the Jews*, 1673, p. 62). Shortly after, Rebecca Travers wrote to M. Fox of this strange wedding, "of w^ch^ there Is by Ballott singers such like vereses made & sould In y^e^ streett Called y^e^ Quakers wedding...published In Court Citty & Countrys" (Swarth. MSS. i. 395).
*D. N. B.*

196 4 A letter to Margaret Fox from John Rous, written from Barbados about a month prior to Stubbs's letter, also mentions the distribution of Pennyman pamphlets. Pennyman made several collections of about a score of pieces of his, written against Friends (one collection, in D., has a note in his handwriting, "Some of y^e^ Pap^rs^ & Bookes are here bound together y^t^ I have bin concernd in Printing & Publishing from y^e^ year 1670 to 1680 in w^ch^ time few stood by me save Michael y^e^ great Prince—J.P."). Some of the broadsides are curiously printed in red ink with a black border. The paper mentioned by Stubbs was a broadside printed the 28th of August, 1671. The paragraph referred to contains the words correctly extracted from Eccles's *Quakers Challeng*, written in 1668—"It was said of Christ, That he was in the World, and the World was made by him; and the World knew him not: So it may be said of this true Prophet, whom John said he was not." It would be interesting to know how Fox explained the real meaning of these words. The sometime early owner of one of the copies now in D. of Eccles's tract evidently did not approve of them, judging by the way he marked certain words. Pennyman sent out copies of his broadside to Barbados, because Eccles had left without having "owned his Condemnation for his blasphemous Title," but see the view of the case, by Eccles himself, in Penn's *Judas and the Jews*, 1673, p. 73.

196 5 But before leaving Barbados, Fox wrote a brief note to his wife, "that she might understand, both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my Travels" (Ell. edd., where the note is printed).

197 1 This address was printed in 1672, in Fox's tract *To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests...in Barbadoes*, with an addition refuting other "Reproachful Speeches." It has been reprinted many times and has been adopted in official publications of the Society of Friends. In Janney's *George Fox*, it is given in parallel columns with selections of other passages from Fox's works (1853, p. 431 ff.).

197 2 Colonel Christopher Codrington was Lieutenant-Governor of Barbados in 1671 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671—2), and for several years before and after this date (*Suff.* ii. 284, 285).

200 1 The correct reference is 2 Tim. iii. 16. The Ell. ed. of 1765, "corrected," has 2 Tim. iii. *19*, and the Bicent. ed. has 2 *Titus* iii. 16, and the reprint of this last has 2 Tim. iii. *15*!

200 2 Ell. edd. have some additional lines on the subject of this slander, viz. "of our endeavouring to make the Negroes Rebell," which lines are placed at the end of the Epistle.

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202 1 Ell. edd. do not quote the words of the reference to the Second Epistle of Peter. This important letter, according to them, ends with a paragraph respecting a slander with regard to the negroes (see 200. 2).

202 2 This letter is printed from a copy in Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*, in which MS. it occupies pp. 251—254.

203 1 It is probable that in all the places in the *Journal* where the name John *Nelson* occurs the references are to John *Elson*, of the Peel (310. 5). The words are frequently interchangeable, as in one MS. in D., where John *Nelson* is one of the names, the original in the minute book from which the document was copied has John *Elson*. The Burial Registers make it clear, however, that there was also a John *Nelson*, a Friend in London at this time, but the name is not mentioned by Besse or by Beck and Ball.

203 2 The Governor of Jamaica, Sir Thomas Lynch, is probably here referred to.

205 1 Mary Fell ( —1708), second wife and widow of Leonard Fell, must not be mistaken for Mary Fell, afterwards Lower. Little is known of Mary (Leonard) Fell, but she seems to have been in hearty sympathy with the Quaker movement.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 257, 293; Swarth. MSS. i. 93.

206 1 The copy of this letter from Rhode Island in Spence MSS. occupies two sides of a large, closely written leaf and a portion of another leaf which has been mutilated. It has been through the post, addressed, "To Thomas Lower att Swarthmore in Lancashiere neare Lancaster. Post paid to London 3$^{d}$." The missing portions of this letter have been supplied from the two copies in Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*, pp. 199—203, 259—263 (see 213. 3, 215. 1).

Another copy of this letter, complete except for the paragraph 215. 1, is in the possession of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, of The Highlands, New Barnet. It occupies 9½ leaves (7½ ins. by 6 ins.) and is in a hand not unlike that of Fox, but, in the opinion of the Editor, not his. The sundry endorsements indicate that this MS. was used in the preparation of Ell. edd.

206 2 The Island of Jamaica has, from first to last, received a large amount of attention from Friends. The first Quaker preachers arrived on the Island early in 1658. John Taylor, Oswell Heritage and Ann Robinson were there in 1662 (List of Visits to West Indies in 17th and 18th Centuries, MS. in D.); the second named died there, as also Elizabeth Hooton in 1671/2, and Margaret Robertson somewhat later. In 1672 Meetings were established; in 1700 it was estimated that there were 9500 Friends on the Island (*American Friend*, 1909, p. 261). A tattered, brown, damp-stained, old document is in D. signed by some two dozen Friends, giving the names of the Friends who perished in the earthquake at Port Royal in 1692 (?) "On the 7$^{th}$ Instant Being our Monthly Meeting day almost all those friends that happned not to goe (of Port Royall) were lost in the dreadfull Desolaçon of that place." The number of Jamaican Friends declined somewhat rapidly. In 1749 the meeting house at Kingston was sold. Three burial grounds are all that is left of the early work of Friends. The efforts of Friends in connection with the abolition of the Slave Trade resulted, in 1837, in a visit to the West Indies by Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey (*West Indies in 1837*, 1838) and in 1866 in a visit by Thomas Harvey and William Brewin (*Jamaica in 1866*, 1867). In the latter half of last century some American

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Friends re-opened work on the Island and in 1908 the number of adherents to Quakerism was about one thousand (*American Friend*, 1909, p. 261).

Thurloe, *State Papers*, 1742, vi. 834 ; *F. P. T.*; MSS. in D.

207 1 Ell. edd. insert a letter to Margaret Fox, dated "Jamaica, 23d of the 12th Month, 1671," shortly before Fox quitted the Island.

207 2 Jane Stokes gave Friends a great amount of trouble—"heare is Jane Stoaks latly come after us she is a very bad spirit indeed," writes Joseph Nicholson from Barbados, in 1663 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 155). "As early as 1664, 'Jane Stoakes,' an Englishwoman, visited the island [Nantucket], and in a written record, accompanied by dates and believed to be authentic, Jane Stoakes is referred to as the first visiting Friend" (Hinchman, *Early Settlers of Nantucket*, 1901, pp. 130, 317—"tis thought was the first friend on this island from O. E.").

Rich, *Hidden Things*, 1678, pp. 10, 26.

209 1 "Though there are good reasons to believe that Elizabeth Harris was in Maryland during 1657, the first positively recorded visit was that of Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston in 1658" (Thomas, *Friends in America*, 1905, pp. 79 ff.). The meeting at West River referred to on p. 209 and in John Burnyeat's *Writings*, 1691, p. 43, "was the beginning of what was afterwards known as Baltimore Yearly Meeting and has been held regularly ever since" (Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 81). Another General Meeting for Maryland was held at Third Haven somewhat later in the year (p. 230) and a third, shortly before Fox's return to Europe (p. 246), at Betty's Cove on Miles River (*Two Hundredth Anniversary at Third Haven*, 1884). A list of Meetings in Maryland in 1697 is given in the *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1905, p. 330.

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. chap. xx.; Norris, *The Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland*, 1862; *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. v. vi.; Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910 ; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, bk. iii.

210 1 For other accounts of the preaching of early Friends to the Indians, see *John Burnyeat*, 1691, pp. 49, 60; *John Taylor*, 1710, pp. 6 ff. (in which (p. 6) there is a lively description of the antics of an Indian Pauwaw); *John Richardson*, 1757, pp. 133—138, re William Penn's treatment of the Indians.

Williams, *Key*, 1643 ; Brainerd, *Memoirs*, 1749 ; information from William I. Hull, Ph.D., Swarthmore, Pa., 1911.

211 1 Ell. edd. insert here: "Then we had that Wilderness-Country to pass through, which is since called West-Jersey, which was not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled a whole Day together, without seeing Man or Woman, House or Dwelling-place."

211 2 "With the downfall of the Dutch dominion in the New World, England had come into possession of two important rivers, the Hudson and the Delaware, and of the countries which they drained. Of these estates, the Duke of York had become owner of New Jersey. He, in turn, dividing it into two portions, west and east, had sold West Jersey to Lord Berkeley and East Jersey to Sir George Carteret. Berkeley had sold West Jersey to a Quaker, John Fenwick, in trust [?] for another Quaker, Edward Byllinge [i. 297. 1]. These Quakers, disagreeing, had asked Penn to arbitrate between them. Byllinge had fallen into bankruptcy, and his lands had been transferred to Penn as receiver for the benefit of the creditors. Presently, in 1679, East Jersey came also in the market, and Penn and eleven others bought it at auction. These twelve took in other twelve, and

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the twenty-four appointed a Quaker governor, Robert Barclay" (Hodges, *William Penn*, 1901, p. 63).

Allen C. Thomas states that the first Friends in N. J. "appear to have settled along the Raritan River in 1664" (*Hist.* quoting Bancroft and Bowden). Some accounts of the new country, written by Quaker and other immigrants, were published in 1681, in *An Abstract and Abbreviation of some few...Testimonies...concerning that place* (see *The Friend* (Phila.), 1903, p. 52); also *A Further Account of New Jersey*, 1676.

*Description of the Province of West Jersey*, c. 1676; Budd, *Good Order Established*, 1685, and Thomas, *Account*, 1698 (original edd. of both in D.); Fox and others, *The Case Put & Decided*, and Jennings's reply thereto, *Truth Rescued*, 1699; reff. to Edward Andrews (d. 1716) in print and MS.; Smith, *Hist.* 1765; Mulford, *Hist.*; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. chap. xxi.; Allinson, *Fragmentary History of New Jersey Indians*, 1875; Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, pp. 145 ff.; *Publications of Genealogical Soc. of Pa.* iv. 125; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911.

211 3 Richard Hartshorne (1641—1722) was born in Leicestershire; he emigrated to America, c. 1669, and made the first permanent settlement on the Navesink River, called Portland Point, still in possession of his descendants. He married, in 1670, Margaret Carr, of Rhode Island, daughter of Robert Carr and sister of Caleb Carr, Governor of Rhode Island in 1695. He was a member of the General Assembly from Middletown in 1683—5, and Speaker in 1686—98. He died at his home in the village of Middletown, Monmouth Co., N.J. According to Proud (*Hist.* 1797, i. 138), Hartshorne was "of good reputation public character and benevolent disposition." From "New Jersie, Midleton 12 of the 9th Month, 1675," he wrote an account of the country, to a friend in England (*A Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from thence*, 1676). According to Burnyeat (*Writings*, 1691, p. 45) Hartshorne's house was "near the Waterside."

Salter, *Geneal. Records of Monmouth County*; Smith, *New Jersey*; *New Jersey Archives*, i. 220, xiii. 78; information from Mrs C. Elwood Brown, San Francisco, Calif., 1911.

212 1 John Bowne (1627—1695), whose name was omitted from Ell. edd., was born at Matlock, Derbyshire, and emigrated to New England in 1649. He joined Friends c. 1656, and settled at Flushing, Long Island. He married Hannah Field in 1656. He was banished in 1662, and arrived home again after fifteen months' absence. After his visit and meeting under the noted Flushing oaks, Fox wrote a letter to Bowne, dated Maryland, 1st Jan., 1672. Hannah Bowne paid a religious visit to Great Britain in 1675, her husband joining her later. She died at the house of John Elson in London towards the end of 1676. John Bowne married again later in life.

*The Friend* (London), 1844, p. 265; Binns, *Walt Whitman*, 1905; and, especially, *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, ii. 1908; *Quaker Biographies*, 1909, ii. 123; MSS. in D.

212 2 "As early as 1666 Rhode Island Friends were of sufficient strength in the colony to cause the General Assembly to refuse a proposition for enforcing an oath of allegiance, and in 1667 their views were regarded still more. Many of the influential men embraced Quaker doctrines, three of whom, Nicholas Easton, William Coddington and Henry Bull, filled the office of governor. In 1672 the governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates were Friends, and the colony was largely if not wholly under their control. This circumstance was an

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extraordinary one not only in the history of the colonies but in the world, for it is doubtless the first example of any political community being ruled by men who believed strictly in the principles of peace. Nothing occurred to test their peace principles for some time" (Thomas, *Hist. of Friends in America*, 1905, p. 68).

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; *American Friend*, 1910, p. 229—"Rhode Island Friends: Past and Present"; *New England Magazine*, new series, xvi. 655—"Social Life of R. I. Quakers."

212 3 Nicholas Easton ( —1675) was one of the founders of Newport, R. I. "His house [the first built] was on the east side of Farewell street, Newport" (Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, p. 90). Before joining Friends he had been a Baptist Teacher. His present term as Governor lasted from May 1672 to May 1674; his son, John Easton, was Deputy Governor under Coddington in 1675 and Governor, 1690 to 1695. Easton had married Anne Clayton (p. 204). His widow married Henry Bull, sometime Governor of the Island (Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911). It is likely that Justice Jireh Bull, son of Henry Bull, was Fox's host at his home, "Garrison House," when the latter visited Narragansett in July, 1672 (p. 223). (See Hazard, *College Tom*, 1893, p. 9; Gummere, *op. cit.* p. 201; Jones, *op. cit.*)

The "Debuty Governour" here mentioned would be John Cranston (Jones, *op. cit.* chap. vi.), given in Bowden (*Hist.* 1850, i. 358 n.) as "Deputy-Governor Gransuck, in Rhode Island."

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; Swarth. MSS. iii. 101.

213 1 Oliver, son of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton, of Skegby, Notts (321. 2), was evidently in England at the time of his mother's death, but he has been identified by the late Mary Radley (MSS. in D.) as the Friend of that name living in Barbados (see *Short Relation... William Simpson*, 1671; *Alice Curwen*, 1680; *Suff.*; MSS. in D.). M. Radley suggests that Martha Hooton, of Barbados, mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 339, anno 1689) was his widow.

Nothing definite is known respecting a collection of Elizabeth Hooton's papers, but there are traces here and there among MSS. in D. of a writing entitled "Oliver Hutton's hystry." See Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism* (in the press).

213 2 Wenlock Christison lived at Salem, N.E. and suffered greatly for his adherence to Quakerism. While the trial of William Leddra was in progress, in 1661, Christison suddenly appeared in Court, causing consternation by his boldness. Sentence of death was subsequently passed upon him, but it was not carried into effect, doubtless because of the recent warning from England. He visited Virginia in 1663. He settled in Maryland c. 1670.

Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; *Suff.*; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; Norris, *Early Friends in Maryland*, 1862, p. 11; Harrison, *Wenlock Christison and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland*, 1878; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 509.

213 3 The Spence MS. of this letter, upon which the matter from this point to the break on p. 214 was doubtless written, has been cut from the sheet. The lacuna has been filled by an extract from the other copies of this letter (see 206. 1).

214 1 The copy in the Spence MSS. of the *Journal* is here taken up again and followed to the first break in p. 215. See next note.

215 1 This paragraph occurs at the close of both letters in the MS. volume of Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*, pp. 203, 263, but not in either the

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Spence MS. or the Braithwaite MS. (see 206. 1). It refers to the events recorded on pp. 181 f.

215 2 Sallee was a port on the coast of Morocco, whence Turkish pirate-ships sailed on maraudering expeditions. A number of Quaker seamen were taken captive to Algiers, Sallee, Mequinez and other parts of the Barbary States, and regular meetings for worship were held here and there.

Fox, *Epistles*, 1698, pp. 455, 471, 491, 502, 556; [Tuke] *Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States, towards the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, 1848; *Epistles from London Yearly Meeting, 1681 to 1857*, 1858, see index s.v. "Captive Friends"; many MSS. in D.

215 3 This letter is holograph. The endorsement is in Fox's hand.

215 4 The name of Robert Hoskins appears several times in Besse's record of Barbadian sufferings. The name of Richard Hoskins also appears.

215 5 This was the "pardon" or charter of release granted by Charles II in 1672, following the famous Declaration of Indulgence but not directly resulting therefrom. A full account of the means employed to obtain this release is given in Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 350—366, 577, and a list of those released, numbering 491 persons, pp. 696—712. The original document, signed by King Charles in Council and countersigned by Lord Arlington, is preserved in D., as also a copy of the same in Latin, giving a list of the names of those released, inserted eleven times, engrossed on eleven skins of vellum. A few non-Friends were released by the same Instrument, including John Bunyan, Francis Holcroft, M.A., and "other Dissenters, who were prisoners in Bedfordshire, Kent, and Wiltshire" (Whitehead, *op. cit.* p. 359). Ellis Hookes had a large share in the work of obtaining this charter of release.

Swarth. MSS.

216 1 This letter is extracted from Fox's *Epistles & Queryes* (pp. 254—256). It was written by the copyist of the Irish and American portions of this MS. volume.

217 1 "John Jay [Gey, p. 244], a tender man who lived in the fear of god, & sensible of the power of god who was a planter in Barbados, and he travelled from Barbados to New England, & to Boston with friends. And after travelled through the countryes by sea & land, to new Jersy, through shulter Jland & long Jland. And when he was to pass away from New country, new Jersy, hee went to try a horse. And before he was well got vp, the horse run away, & threw him downe that they went to take him vp, & he was dead. And so carrying him a pretty way, & laying him on a tree, G. ffox took him by the haire of y^e^ head, & saw his neck was all loose and that it was broken, as they call it. And so after hee had layen a while, G. ff. put one hand behinde his neck, & the other under his chin, & with three thrusts thrusted it in againe. And so then he began to rutle. And G. ff. bid them carry him in & get him to bed, & ty something about his neck, And the next day he travelled 16 miles to a meeting, & four after & was well. And then after travelled many hundred miles through new Jersy, Delaway, Marryland, virginia, carolina, and after he travelled to Barbados to his wife & plantation & family. And when they had been there a time, hee came over to visit England, & travelled many miles up & downe in it, and at last went into Jreland to visit friends there, A iust man & of an honest life and conversation. And when he had been there some time visiting

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friends hee finished his dayes at Dublin in the truth & rests with y^e^ lord. 1674." (From a MS. in D., written by Richard Richardson, Friends' Clerk.) The account of this adventure given in the Bodleian MS. (see 176. 3) states that the accident took place at "porback neare shrousbury" and that Jay was "a man of a greate Etate & a lardg ffamely." It closes with the words, "soe wee bound up his neck warme with a napkine."

In 1662, Jay sent an address to the King (MS. in D.).

217 2 This was, of course, Roger Williams (c. 1599?—1683), pioneer of religious liberty. He went to America in 1631, and being expelled from Massachusetts, he founded the Providence plantation, north of Rhode Island, 1636, on the principles of freedom in matters of conscience "provided it be not directly repugnant to the Government and Laws" (Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, pp. 86, 91). It is interesting that, by the printing for the first time of this Stubbs letter, accounts of the famous dispute between Williams and Stubbs, Burnyeat, and Edmondson, written by each of the disputants, are available—Williams, *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrovves*, 1676; Burnyeat, *Writings*, 1691, pp. 53 f.; Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715, pp. 64—66. Williams sent the challenge to Fox, but the latter had departed ere the former could reach Newport, a distance of thirty miles, rowing himself in an open boat.

Williams who states that he had "long heard of the great name of George Fox" charged him with "slily departing" to avoid the interview. The disputants freely called one another names—Williams called Edmondson "nothing but a bundle of Ignorance and Boisterousness" (*Fox Digg'd*, introduction), and, later in this book, "a flash of wit, a face of Brass, and a Tongue set on fire from the Hell of Lyes and Fury"; Edmondson styles Williams "an old Priest and an Enemy to Truth" (*Journal*, p. 64); Burnyeat states that Williams "could not make any proof of his Charges" (*Writings*, p. 54).

Fox and Burnyeat replied to Williams's report of the dispute, "a very envious and wicked book" (Ell. edd. sub anno 1677), in a volume of over 500 pages, entitled *A New-England Fire-Brand Quenched*, 1678, 1679. At the conclusion a letter from William Coddington is added, testifying against Williams's book.

Roger Williams also wrote *A Key into the Language of America... with Observations of the Customes... of the Natives*, etc., 1643.

Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703; Publications of the Narragansett Club, vol. v.; *American Friend*, 1902, p. 825; Thomas, *Hist. of Friends in America*, 1905; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, bk. i. chap. vi.; *D. N. B.*

218 1 This book "in folio" was *The Great Mistery of the Great Whore Unfolded: and Antichrists Kingdom Revealed unto Destruction In Answer to many False Doctrines and Principles* (the title apart from the Biblical references and imprint contains 215 words), 1659, with 26-page "Epistle to the Reader," by Edward Burrough. This volume of 375 pages contains "an Answer to many Principles held forth by some of those called Ministers, Teachers and Professors...taken out of their severall Books," etc. The Epistle by Burrough caused Williams to perpetrate a little joke in the title of his book, *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrovves.*

219 1 James Preston, of Patuxent River, Maryland, is mentioned also in *Burnyeat* (1691, p. 59). The disastrous fire at his house, where some part of the travellers' impedimenta was stored, is mentioned on p. 241

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220 1 The original letter. It is directed "ffor my deare & much esteamed frind m: f: att swarthmour—This."

220 2 Samuel Winthrop was son of John Winthrop (1588—1649), Governor of Massachusetts, and a brother of John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut (5. 8). A full account of this frustrated attempt to land on Nevis is given by Edmondson (*Journal*, 1715, pp. 54 ff.; cp. *Suff.* ii. 352). He states that "Coll. Wenthrop had been Governor of Antego... and having a Vessel of his own shipped us in it, with himself, Coll. Morris, their Waitingmen and Seamen....By the Order of the Governor [Wheeler] we were carried back to Antego, and returned to Barbadoes." Samuel Winthrop's vessel was useful on other occasions also. In an ancient MS. in D., endorsed "Antegos Sufferings," and dated "6th month 1676," the name of Winthrop occurs, with other Friends, as that of one who "Refused to take ye oth of alleageince to ye ffrench king."

Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1887, *Pioneer Quakers* 1887.

220 3 Besse gives a full account of the attempted, peaceful invasion of Nevis (Mevis), one of the smaller of the Leeward group of the West Indian Islands. One reason given for the refusal of permission to land was the report that since Friends appeared on the Caribbee Islands "seven Hundred of the Militia turned Quakers." (See 312. 13.)

Charles Wheeler was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands in Feb. 1671, and about two months later sailed for his new government. He appears to have held the position for a short time only (Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715; *Suff.* ii. 353; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, 1671—2).

221 1 This second portion of the American narrative appears in both the Spence MSS. and the volume of Fox's *Epistles & Queryes*. The former is mainly in the writing of Sarah Fell (see textual notes to pp. 238—255). It occupies about sixteen pages. Fox has written on the last sheet, "A the jornall of g f from jarlld & from Amaraca in grosed." The other copy of the narrative occupies pp. 224—250 and follows, in the same hand, the first portion.

222 1 This is, William Coddington, formerly (1666) *Deputy* Governor of Rhode Island (5. 6).

Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, p. 92.

224 1 Shelter Island lies off the East end of Long Island. It was purchased for sixteen hundred pounds of sugar by Thomas Rous and Constant and Nathaniel Sylvester of Barbados, and another. In 1662, it became entirely a Sylvester property. True to its name the island became a refuge for many persecuted Quakers. Sylvester "had a great many Indians lived on it, and they were Friendly and Sober, and made Serviceable to Friends for Guides, &c., when we travelled into the Countries" (*John Taylor*, 1710, pp. 5, 8). Sylvester married Grissel Brinley, and they had a large family. William Robinson writes of Sylvester as "a fyne noble man" (letter in D.). There is an informing article on Sylvester of Shelter Island in *The Friend* (London), 1908, p. 574. See also *William Edmundson*, 1715, p. 83; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 163, 331, 345; *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 1574—1660; *Bulletin of Friends' Hist. Soc. of Phila.* 1908, ii. 13; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911.

*Joseph* Sylvester is, perhaps, an error of writer or copyist. Was the sentence omitted from Ell. edd. because of the reference to reading the Scriptures in meeting?

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225 1 Ell. edd. insert here a paragraph, noting the arrival in Shelter Island of William Edmondson from Virginia, "after Seven Weeks Service in several Countries and Places."

225 2 Christopher Holder (1631—1688) was born in Gloucestershire. "He was among the young men of good family and wealth who early espoused the cause of the Friends. He was a man of refinement and culture, highly educated, and of independent fortune and of the established church....For thirty-three years he preached in England, America, and the West Indies. He was one of the first Friends to visit America, reaching Rhode Island in 1656, and is the ancestor of the Quaker Holders and many of the Slocums in America" (Holder, *The Holders of Holderness*, 1902, chapp. iii.—xv.). His first wife was Mary Scott, of Providence, R.I., whom he married in 1660, and who died in 1665, his second, Hope Clifton, of Newport, R.I., and his third, Grace Beaton (i. 255. 1). He was one of the passengers aboard Robert Fowler's *Noah's Ark*, which sailed for the New World, 1st June, 1657. The earliest written statement of the beliefs of the Quakers was prepared in Boston Gaol (N.E.) in 1657, by Holder and two fellow-prisoners; it is given in full by Bowden (*Hist.* 1850, i. 90 ff.) and Holder (*Holders*, 1902, chap. x.). By order of the Court at Boston, in 1658, Holder, John Rous, and John Copeland had each his right ear cut off. Holder's sufferings in his native land, after return from his last visit to America, are mentioned by Whiting (*Memoirs*, 1715, pp. 64, 65, 109).

Christopher's Hollow, Mass., was "a secluded place in the woods, named from Christopher Holder...who held meetings there" (*British Friend*, 1897, p. 8; *Holders of Holderness*, pp. 68—70).

Appendix to Gorton's *Antidote Against the Common Plague of the World*, 1657 (see *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.); Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703; *Biog. Memoirs*, iii. 609.

228 1 Of Robert Harwood (or, according to the Bodleian MS., see 176. 3, Horwood) little more has been discovered than a brief reference in Bowden's *Hist.* (i. 358 n.) to the effect that a copy of Burrough's works was to be left, under his care, for the Judge at Wye River. The name also occurs, anno 1657, in *Maryland Archives* (i. 365).

229 1 John Edmondson lived on his farm, Cedar Point, near Tredhaven (or Tred-Avon, now corrupted to Third Haven, situate near the present town of Easton, Talbot County, Md.). He was elected to represent Talbot County in the Assembly, but was long prevented from taking his seat because of the oath (Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, p. 160). He is frequently mentioned in the minutes of Maryland Yearly Meeting, preserved in Baltimore, Md.

Norris, *Early Friends in Maryland*, 1862, p. 15; *Two Hundredth Anniversary at Third Haven*, 1884; *Literary Era*, 1900, p. 50.

229 2 "The Judge that liveth near Henry Wilcox in Maryland" was to be presented by him with a copy of the works of Edward Burrough (Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 358 n.). Wilcox united with other Maryland Friends in writing Testimonies concerning William Coale, who died in 1678 (232. 1) (*A Testimony Concerning William Coale*, 1682). In his Testimony, Wilcox states that Coale and he were "fellow-prisoners together in a dirty nasty Prison in Virginia, for a considerable time." His name occurs in the minutes of Maryland Yearly Meeting preserved in Baltimore, Md., and in other records.

231 1 George Wilson, of Maryland, is mentioned in *Md. Archives*, vi. 100, anno 1678. The Editor of the Ell. ed. of 1852 has a note to this

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Friend (ii. 118), commencing "This George Wilson," and containing a sketch of the life of the George Wilson, who died in Va. in 1662, which is clearly an error. The note has been copied into the bi-cent. ed. of 1891, and later years.

The other George Wilson ( —c. 1662) mentioned in the *Journal* (pp. 331, 333, 334) was a Cumberland Friend, and appears to have been a soldier (Swarth. MSS. i. 293). He was imprisoned in Carlisle in 1659 (*Declaration of Present Sufferings*, 1659). In 1661 he was a sufferer in New England (Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703, pp. 340, 351, 353). Shortly afterwards he visited the Colony of Virginia (not for the first time, Swarth. MSS. iv. 39), and was soon thrown into a loathsome prison in James Town, where he departed this life, having been laid "in cruel Irons, which rotted his Flesh" (Bishop, *op. cit.* p. 351).

Bowden states (*Hist.* i. 345) of Wilson, "During his imprisonment in Virginia, he gave forth, it is said, 'many precious writings,' which were, after his death, forwarded to Friends in England." These writings are probably those preserved in D., in an old and time-worn MS. consisting of thirty-two quarto pages ($7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 6 ins.). On the outside leaf is written by Fox, "this man died a presener in vergane to wet gorg wilson a feath fvll sarvant of the lord." The writing of the MS. is so small as to be almost illegible. It is probably not in Wilson's hand. There are several letters to priests in New England, Seaborne Cotton and others. One subscription reads, "Written in Virgynia in James Citty soe called where I am aprisoner, & was chained to an Indian, w$^{ch}$ is in prison for murder; we had our Legs on one boolt made fast to apost with an ox chaine, but not now though in Irons the 20$^{th}$: of the 9$^{th}$: Month: : 1661: G: W:" The last date in the MS. appears to be the Third Month (May), 1662.

*William Coale*, 1682, p. 4; *Suff.* ii. 381; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 344; Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896, p. 20.

231 2 Justice Frisby's name is on Fox's list of Friends to receive copies of Burrough's works (Bowden, *Hist.* i. 358 n.). The name also occurs in *Maryland Archives*, ii. iii. v. ff.

232 1 Of William Coale ( —1678), of Maryland, we read, "Soon after his convincement which was about the year 1657 [Swarth. MSS. iii. 7], he came forth with a living Testimony for the Lord and his blessed Truth, and travelled abroad amongst Friends and people, both in Maryland and Virginia" (*A Testimony Concerning William Coale*, 1682). The tract contains Testimonies from his wife, Elizabeth, his son, William, and his son-in-law, Samuel Gallaway.

*Piety Promoted*; *Suff.* ii. 379; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 345.

232 2 Abraham Birkhead signed the Testimony to William Coale mentioned 232. 1, dated 1680. In 1661 he was "fined by Order of Court 500 lb. of Tobacco, for refusing to be trained as a Soldier" (*Suff.* ii. 380). He is mentioned several times in the minutes of Maryland Yearly Meeting preserved in Baltimore Md., as connected with Herring Creek. He is said to have emigrated from Bristol. (Information from Kirk Brown, of Baltimore, 1911.) MSS. in D.

232 3 Peter Sharpe was a physician or surgeon, of the Cliffs, Maryland. He was "a substantiall weighty man that feared god, & left a good testimony to be left among friends when he deceased about 1671" (MS. in D.). Another MS. in D. describes him as "that faithfull servant of the Lord." In his will, dated 1672, Dr Sharp bequeaths "to Friends in the ministry, viz: Alice Gary, William Cole [Coale] and

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Sarah Ma[r]sh, if then in being—Wenlock Christerson and his wife; John Burnett and Daniel Gould, in money or goods, forty shillings worth a piece; also for a perpetual standing, a horse, for the use of Friends in the ministry" (quoted in Norris's *Early Friends in Maryland*, 1862, pp. 10, 11). He was also prominent in public affairs. *Suff.* ii. 380; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. 97; *Maryland Archives*, v.

233 1 Nothing further has been found respecting Widow Wright, of Nansemond. Edmondson attended about the same time as Fox "the Mens-meeting at William Wright's house" (*Journal*, 1715, p. 61), which house was "probably at Nansemond" (Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896, p. 36).

233 2 "Colonel Thomas Dews, at Nansemum" was to receive, as a gift from Fox, a copy of Burrough's works (Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 358 n.). Bowden (*ibid.* i. 354), quoting Edmondson, mentions Col. Dewes, as one influenced by that Quaker traveller. Nowhere, however, in any edition of Edmondson's *Journal*, is there a reference to Dewes, but Bowden evidently considered that the name given in connection with Major-General Bennett—Colonel *Teve*—was a misprint for *Dewes*, and indeed Bennett and Dewes are mentioned together in connection with Fox's gift of books (see above) and in Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, p. 336. Bowden errs in attributing to Dewes Edmondson's reference to Bennett.

233 3 Nothing further appears respecting William Yarrow. In the Bodleian MS. (176. 3) the name is given as *Pardoe*, and some alteration of initial occurs in the Fell MS. (233 *b*). John Bowater gives the name, William *Yarite*, of Pagan Creek, in the list of persons and places in America, at the close of his *Christian Epistles, Travels*, etc., 1705.

233 4 Thomas Jordan (1634—1699) lived at Chuckatuck, Nansemond County, Virginia. He was led away by the Perrot influence in Virginia, but returned in 1678. He signed an Epistle to Friends in England, in 1696 (*Epistles Received*, i. 269, MS. in D.). The Quaker family of Jordan was a prominent one in the Colony and furnished several valuable ministers—Robert Jordan (1693—1742), his brother Joseph (1695—1735), and Richard Jordan (1756—1826), all travelled on both continents on Truth's account. Margaret Jordan is one of the signatories to an epistle to Women Friends in England, 1679, "From our womans meetting in the western Branch of Nancimond River in Virginia" (original among MSS. in D., belonging to Women Friends of London (Box Meeting); the signatures are not autograph). *Maryland Archives*, viii. 146; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 357; Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896; MSS. in D.

234 1 "Fox's journey has many perplexing problems. He evidently went down Bennett's Creek, which he calls Bonner's Creek, and got into Macocomocock River. This could only be the Chowan, for Bennett's Creek empties into the Chowan. Immediately on leaving Hugh Smith's they are in Maratick River, which is the name then applied to Roanoke River and Albemarle Sound" (Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896, p. 39 n.). "Smith's house was probably situate in the western part of the present county of Chowan" (*ibid.* p. 38).

234 2 "Captain Nathaniel Batts, formerly Governor of Roanoke" was also mentioned by Fox in an epistle to Virginian Friends from Worcester Gaol in 1673—"If you go over again to Carolina, you may enquire of Capt. Batts, the Old Governor, with whom I left a Paper to be read to the Emperor and his Thirty Kings under him of the Tusrowres [Tuscaroras], who were to come to Treat for Peace with the People

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of Carolina: Whether he did read it to them or no, remember me to Major General Benett, and Col. Dew" (*Epistles*, 1698, p. 336). Dr Stephen B. Weeks queries, "Is Nathaniel Batts one of the lost governors of Albemarle? Is he akin to the 'Nathaniel Battson' mentioned in Hening [*Statutes at Large of Virginia*, 1819—1823], i. 383, 385?" (*Southern Quakers*, 1896, p. 39 n.).

235 1 Joseph Scott (according to the fresh information given here) lived by Perquimans River, Carolina. At his house the "day of washinge & sweeping of those y^t^ had defiled themselves" took place (p. 236). The Governor of Carolina mentioned on this page was, probably, Peter Carteret.

Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896, pp. 38, 39 n.

235 2 The house of Henry Phillips (Phelps) was "situate on 'Albermarle' (Perquimans) River, where the town of Hertford now stands" (Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, p. 31, quoting Moore, quoting Martin). Edmondson visited this northern part of Carolina early in 1672. He writes, "Henry Phillips and his wife had been convinc'd of the Truth in New-England, and came there to live [1665], who having not seen a Friend for Seven Years before, they wept for Joy to see us" (*Journal*, 1715, p. 59). Phillips's widow married James Hall, an Irish immigrant (*ibid.* p. 99).

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 409 f.; "Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina" in *Friends' Review*, 1859, p. 532.

238 1 Nothing further is known respecting Widow Norton. In the Bodleian MS. (176. 3) the name is *Horton*. It is omitted from Ell. edd.

238 2 John Porter, Senr. ( —c. 1675) was the representative in the House of Burgesses for Lower Norfolk County, Va., but being reported "loving to the Quakers and [one who] stood well affected towards them, and had been at their meetings, and was so far an Anabaptist as to be against the baptizing of children" (quoted by Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896, p. 23), Porter had the oath tendered, which refusing, he was expelled from the House, in 1663. Weeks adds, "It is probable that he sympathized with but was not actually a member of the Society," whereas John Porter, Junr., *brother* of John Porter, Senr., High Sheriff, 1656, "was undoubtedly a Quaker," and the most prominent minister in Maryland.

239 1 The name Thomas Goade appears in the Bodleian MS. (176. 3) as Thomas *Goode*. It is omitted from Ell. edd. Weeks mentions a family of *Goode* resident in Va. (*Southern Quakers*, 1896, p. 77; see also *Our Quaker Friends*, 1905, a book which contains transcripts from the Minute Books of various Virginian Meetings).

240 1 Nothing further is known of Richard Long.

240 2 John Gary (Gearie, Garie) lived at the Cliffs, in Maryland. (Bowater, *Christian Epistles*, 1705, p. 56.) With others he signed a Testimony to William Coale from "the General half years Meeting at West River in Maryland, the 29^th^ of the 3^d^ Moneth, 1680" (*William Coale*, 1682, p. 4). His death appears to have taken place about First Month (March), 1683 (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. 131).

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 381 f.

240 3 Nothing further has been discovered respecting John Mayor.

240 4 John Veres and his journey to Jamaica is omitted from Ell. edd. In *F. P. T.* is a record of "Thomas Vears" of the North of England but nothing further respecting John has been discovered. The Bodleian MS. (176. 3) mentions John Veres.

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241 1 Nicholas Alexander was a Justice of the Peace on the Island of Jamaica. He paid a religious visit to New England, but was banished by order of the Governor, Richard Bellingham. The reason for the omission of his name from Ell. edd. is not apparent.
*John Burnyeat*, 1691; Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703; *Suff.*; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 285.

241 2 The name of John Baker has not been found elsewhere. Ell. edd. have "another Friend."

242 1 William Colebourne was a colonel of foot in Somerset Co., Md. and William Colebourne, Junr., a Captain-Lieutenant, 1688. In 1663, Colebourne had been appointed a Lieutenant of foot by "Charles Calvert Esqr. Capt. General of all forces within this province of Maryland" (*Maryland Archives*, ii. iii. v.).

242 2 In the Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, April 10th, 1673, it is recorded that "James Jones of Somerset Co., was appointed Commissioner of the Peace, of Somerset Co., Md." (*Maryland Archives*, xv. 69, cp. v. 47, 61).

243 1 Nothing more is known respecting Dr Winsmore.

243 2 Stephens was visited by Bowater, c. 1677, at Little Choptank, Maryland (*Christian Epistles*, 1705, p. 56). See *Maryland Archives*, ii. v.

245 1 Thomas Taylor belonged to West River Meeting, Maryland. He lived on Kent Island. He is described as "one of the Council and Speaker of the Assembly" in the list of persons to receive copies of Burrough's works (Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 358 n.). He was one of the signers of an Epistle to Fox from the Half-year's Meeting in Maryland, Fourth Month (June), 1683 (*ibid.* p. 385; MS. in D.). In 1676, he was the Clerk of Third Haven Meeting (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. 130, see also iii. 21 n.). Taylor and his wife were "boath taken away by death, to the greife of maney, a very Servicable man for the truth in his day" (MS. in D., dated "2$^{d}$ m$^{o}$ 1685," from Maryland, printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 99).

245 2 Little is known of Thomas Thurston (c. 1622— ) antecedent to his departure for America, in the *Speedwell* in 1656. He is described in the *Speedwell's* shipping list as a Quaker of London, aged 34 (*Holders*, 1902, p. 23). *F. P. T.* states that he was "a Gloucestershire man." After a short imprisonment he was sent back to England, but in 1657, in company with Josiah Coale, he again crossed the Atlantic on religious service. Thurston underwent persecution and suffering in several of the Colonies, but during his travels he received from the Indians "the most Courteous Entertainment, not only in Lodging and Provisions (such as they had)...but spared their own Provisions for him when he was Sick on the Way...and some of the Susquehano's came to visit him when they heard he was in Prison afterwards in Virginia" (Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 1703, p. 29). About 1665, Thurston fell away to the Perrot party in Maryland. Burnyeat says, "He was lost as to the Truth, and became a Vagabond and Fugitive as to his Spiritual Condition; and little otherwise as to the outward" (*Writings*, 1691, pp. 33, 34). Fox's interviews (p. 245) do not appear to have availed to reform him, for in 1683, he was still "a very wrong Spirited Man" with a "devouring Woulf-like Spirit that for some time lay hid from some simple hearted Friends under a Lamb-like Covering" (*Epistles Received*, i. 1, MS. in D., printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.). According to Bugg (*Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698, p. 139), and to the author of *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 1728, p. 31,

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Thurston was guilty of gross immorality. Mrs Gummere writes, "By 1688, so great is the change of feeling, that Thomas Thurston, expelled from the province [Maryland], takes his seat in the lower house of Assembly, and being a Quaker [?] is excused from taking the usual oath of fidelity" (*Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, p. 162).

Gorton, *Antidote Against the Common Plague of the World*, 1657 (see *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.); *Suff.* ii. 178, 180, 196, 379; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 42, 56, 122—124, 320, 342, 343, 366, 371; Norris, *Early Friends in Maryland*, 1862; Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896.

247 1 The name Richard Covell or Cowell has not been found elsewhere.

252 1 Hatchman is thus described by Solomon Eccles in Penn's *Judas and the Jews*, 1673, p. 74, "He [John Pennyman, see 196. 4] hath set the Baptists at Work at Barbadoes, Bloodthirsty Men, who sought my Life there, who read his Pamphlet before hundreds of People, and One of these was Tho: Hatchman Baptist Preacher, who is a Profest Enemy to the Light of Christ Jesus within; for there was one asked him, what that was in him which shewed him his Sin?... he said, it is the Devil for ought he knew."

252 2 Doubtless the same man who is referred to under the name, Ben Pearson, in a letter from John Rous to Margaret Fox, written in Barbados in Tenth Month (Dec.), 1671 (see 196. 4)—"Here hath been severall of John Pennimans papers spread abroad & a great promoter of y$^{m}$, is an old apostate from truth, on Ben Pearson a flax womans son in wood street, who hath been among the Ranters, & is an instum$^{t}$ fit for all manner of wickednes, being run away from his wife, whom he tooke among freinds, and this beast of aman, is much applauded by the preists & their followers, but loathed & abhorred by all sober people" (taken from the original among Miller MSS., see Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 274).

253 1 "And as we passed through y$^{e}$ Wilderness from Maryland to new England we were very hard put to itt for provisions, and one time J was siting on a tree a pritty way off where frīds lookt to their horses Lest they should get to y$^{e}$ Jndian Corn & our Guides went to y$^{e}$ Jndian houses to get some victualls, & there Came a Stragling Jndian to me, and after a while he begunn to grop me & handle me & said J was good blood; & Jtt was upon me to see w$^{t}$ he would doe for though J was alone J was out of all fear, and at Last J Lift up my hand up to y$^{e}$ heaven & downe to y$^{e}$ Earth & told him y$^{e}$ great God would Burn him & soe anoth$^{r}$ came to him & they whispered together & went away and after there Came an Jndian King to me and about 70 people & were very Civill as you may see more at Large in y$^{e}$ Jornall, and soe w$^{n}$ y$^{e}$ Guides Came J went to y$^{e}$ friends & told y$^{m}$ J had been among y$^{e}$ Men Eaters & they said they did believe me, the first of y$^{m}$ was a very wicked fellow but y$^{e}$ Lords power was over y$^{m}$ all." From a MS. in D., endorsed "An Account of G ff$^{s}$ Imprisonm$^{ts}$ and being before Magistrates & other officers with y$^{e}$ time & places where—With y$^{e}$ abuses afflicted upon him, many times to y$^{e}$ Endagering of his Life &c." This is probably a portion only of some MS. material for the *Journal*. It is not in Fox's handwriting.

255 1 This was Col. Christopher Codrington (197. 2). (See pp. 189, 190.)

256 1 This is probably the original letter. It is endorsed by Fox. A letter from Henry Fell to M. Fox, written in the previous year, is among Shackleton MSS., see Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 281.

259 1 The evening of Fox's arrival in Bristol, he wrote to his wife to announce his safe return (Ell. edd.). Of the twelve who left England

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with him, but two accompanied him on his return—James Lancaster and Robert Widders (Ell. edd.). Thomas Briggs and John Rous came back together in 1672 and shortly afterwards John Hull and Elizabeth Miers (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 277 f.). William Edmondson was back in Ireland in November of 1672. George Pattison returned with John Burnyeat shortly before Fox. John Stubbs did not return till later. Elizabeth Hooton died in Jamaica, as also did John Cartwright at a later period.

262 1 Nathaniel Coleman lived at Sutton Benger in Wiltshire. He was one of the leaders of the Separatists in this county and occasionally travelled about "making disturbance." Arthur Ismeade, another Wiltshireman, and he were in Westmorland in 1678, where Coleman was "verry large in his words and...Ayrie talke," Friends being "under exercise because of the wrongness of his spirit & Antipithye of his mind." (Letter from Robert Barrow to Richard Snead, copy in D.) In 1675, Coleman wrote *An Epistle to be read in the Assemblies of Gods People.* "The publication whereof was then stopt by some," he says in a Postscript written in 1682. (Official records of Quakerism in Wiltshire, deposited in D.) John Field replied to this in *A Few Words to Nath. Coleman's Late Epistle*, and in this tract he gives a "true coppy proved by the original of his own handwriting" of Coleman's "paper of Condemnation" (262 *c.*). But his opinions soon changed again. There is a striking account of Coleman's opposition in *John Banks*, 1712, pp. 83—87.

262 2 No paper giving a description of the vision concerning women's meetings is now to be found among the *Journal* MSS.

263 1 The home of Bartholomew Maylin ( —1680) was Lambourn Woodlands in Berkshire. From his house, Oliver Sansom and others were committed to Reading Gaol, in 1660 (Sansom, *Life*, 1710). His wife, Ann, died in 1671.

264 1 Stephen Smith (1623—1678) was of Pirbright and Worplesdon. In early life he was in the employ of the Chartered Levant Co. at Alexandria; in 1650 he was their "Marine Factor," with an office in London. He was convinced in 1665 at the house of his brother, John Smith (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 291, 319, 320). He suffered for his religious principles. He married Susanna Purse (c. 1623—1693). In 1675, Smith wrote "some account of the Turks behaviours unto the Christians and Jews," based on personal knowledge, in *Wholesome Advice and Information*, 1676; in which tract he records that it was "a Cause of Laughter unto them [the Turks] to see the Christians...Scraping with the Leg, and Daughing the Hat and Foolish Gestures" (p. 6). Another tract is entitled *A Trumpet Sounded in the Ears of Persecutors; with Lowing of Oxen and Cows; Bleating of Sheep; Neighing of Horses; Ratling of Pots, Kettles, Skillets, Dishes, and Pans. Taken from an Innocent People for confessing Christ Jesus*, etc., 1670.

Works, 1679; *Piety Promoted*; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; *D. N. B.*; Southall, *Prichards of Almeley*, 1901; art. by Josiah Newman, F. R. Hist. S., in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1907; *Biog. Memoirs*, v. 147, and other MSS. in D.

264 2 Bray D'Oyly (Doiley, Doyle) ( —1696) was son of John D'Oyly and was born before 1634. In 1656, he succeeded his father in the Manors of Brownes and St Amonds and took up his residence at the Manor House, Adderbury West, in North Oxfordshire (still standing). He came of a proud and ancient family, but renounced worldly

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advantages on acceptance of Quaker Truth, and became a great sufferer therefor. He engaged in a lengthy controversy with his neighbour, William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele (1582—1662). See *Folly and Madness made Manifest* [by the Lord Vic. Say and Sele], 1659, a tract of 140 pp. D'Oyly was one of the Friends who, in 1677, signed a letter against the Wilkinson and Story Controversy (Bullock, *A Testimony against the 66 Judges*, etc.). In 1688, he introduced into the Yearly Meeting the subject of "choosing Parliament men and accepting offices of Justice of the Peace" (Minutes, MS. in D.).

He presented the Friends of Adderbury with the meeting-house which is still standing and bears the date 1675. His widow, Anne, married John Toovey, of Henley-on-Thames, in 1698; his daughter, Dorothy (d. 1738), married Thomas Olliffe (Ollive) of Aylesbury (1654—1726).

Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 1841, p. 452; Bayley, *A Biographical, Historical, Genealogical, and Heraldic Account of the House of D'Oyley*, 1845; Smith, *Cata. Supplement*, 1893.

265 1 John Halford ( —1718/19?) is stated to have been "a lawyer an ancient acquaintance" (p. 274). His house still stands (see illustration in Emmott's *Story of Quakerism*, 1908, from a painting in D.). For a description of the Manor House at Armscott, see Fea, *Secret Chambers and Hiding Places*, 1901, p. 226, where the author gives the local tradition that "old Guy Fawkes, the first Quaker"[!] was hidden in a secret place in one of the gables, but adds, "Fox was not the sort of man to have recourse to concealments and owe his escape to a 'priest's hole.'"

265 2 Probably Henry Parker, Justice, and Recorder of Evesham (Metcalfe, *Visit. Worc.* 1883, p. 112). A letter which he wrote, at the request of Edward Pittway, to Jailer Harris, of Worcester, on 8 Oct. 1674, given in Ell. edd., is dated from Evesham.

265 3 Rowland Haines, priest of Honington, has not been identified.

265 4 Some additional facts are contained in a letter from Fox to Edward Mann (original in D.), undated, written by T. Lower. Hains "came to y^e^ doore & sett his sticke Crosse y^e^ parlor doore: whilst y^e^ Justice afores^d^ was talkeinge with some ffreinds in y^e^ Hall: & caled Come M^r^ Parker...Bray Doiley went with M: ff: to y^e^ Justice afores^d^ & offerd his body to aunswer for there apparans att y^e^ sessions: y^t^ soe they might not be interrupted in there journey but hee said hee woulde not accept of his suretishippe."

265 5 Two copies of this Mittimus are included in the *Journal* MSS. One was written by Thomas Lower and it is attested as a true copy by Thomas Bray, the copyist, and "W: C:" To the endorsement by Lower, Fox has added the date "17 d 10 m 1673."

The other copy is in an unknown handwriting. There are two endorsements by Fox—one as printed at head and the other thus, "parker mitesmvs of gff & thomas louer with ther anser."

266 1 The writers (one of the Latin portion and another of the English) of this copy of the Orders are not known. The endorsement is by Fox.

267 1 This copy was written in Lower's heavier handwriting, the insertions are in his smaller and more upright style. The endorsement is his.

267 2 Thomas Hickman, seventh Baron Windsor and first Earl of Plymouth (1627?—1687), Master of the Horse to the Duke of York,

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1676, Governor of Portsmouth in 1681 and of Hull in 1682. On his passage on a man-of-war to Jamaica, to take up the post of Governor, 1662, John Taylor of York and other Friends were his fellow passengers—"Lord Windsor was kind and Friendly to us" (*John Taylor*, 1710, p. 19).

Lady Penn, the mother of William Penn, wrote to Lord Windsor on behalf of the prisoners in Worcester (Swarth. MSS. i. 58).

Doyle, *Official Baronage of England*, 1886, iii. 46; *D. N. B.*; Pepys, *Diary*, Wheatley ed. 1893.

268 1 Ell. edd. have *Causal* here and *Cossel* later (see p. 310). Both references are probably to *Coleshill*, ten miles east of Birmingham, the old junction of the London and Chester roads.

268 2 This is the original letter, but written by Thomas Lower throughout and directed by him. A portion of the seal with an elaborate device still adheres. The letter bears the following endorsement of Fox "gf triall at Waster 11 mo 1673." The lines printed in italic are understruck in the original letter.

269 1 Of Colonel Sands no further information is available.

269 2 Richard Lower, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P. (1631—1690/1). For a time he practised in Oxford and afterwards became the most noted medical man of his time in London and physician to Charles II. He was of great assistance to Friends, though never one himself. "He hath improved his intrust of late in som lords of the Royall Society" (Swarth. MSS. i. 103).

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 245, 247, 261, 287, 289, 412; *D. N. B.*

269 3 Little is known of Leonard Simpson, J.P., beyond the statements recorded in the *Journal*.

270 1 Edmond Bonner (1500?—1569), Bishop of London, "joined in judicial capacity with great severity in Marian persecution" (*D. N. B.*).

272 1 This was written throughout by Ellis Hookes.

The two following paragraphs were written by Lower at the bottom of the same sheet. Fox added the endorsement.

273 1 This is an autograph letter. The endorsement is by Fox.

273 2 William Mucklow (1631—1713) lived at Mortlake, Surrey. In 1662, "one William Mucklow" was in gaol in London at the same time as Thomas Ellwood (Ellwood, *Hist.* 1714). But in 1671 he "runn out" (p. 315), and united with Perrot and others in the hat controversy. In 1673 appeared *The Spirit of the Hat: or the Government of the Quakers among themselves*, with Preface by G. J. A reply to this came from William Penn—*The Spirit of Alexander the Copper-Smith...Justly Rebuk'd*, 1673. The Hat-men then issued *Tyranny and Hypocrisy Detected: or, A Further Discovery of Tyrannical-Government, Popish-Principles, and Vile Practices of the now-Leading Quakers*, 1673. In the same year appeared *Judas and the Jews: A Re-joynder*, by Penn, of 130 quarto pages.

Mucklow wrote a pamphlet on *Liberty of Conscience*, which was answered by George Whitehead in *The Apostle Incendiary Rebuked*, 1673. The two first-named adverse pieces were issued anonymously, but their authorship is attributed in part at least to Mucklow by Whitehead (*op. cit.* p. 24). Fox's statement that Mucklow "came not in againe" (p. 315) did not prove to be finally true, as, according to Whitehead, anno 1704 (see Smith, *Cata.* 1867, ii. 190), "His Love

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was renewed toward ffrends, and their assemblyes." His wife, Priscilla Mucklow, died in 1679.

*D. N. B.*; Smith, *Cata. Supplement*, 1893, p. 253.

273 3 Nothing more is known respecting Elizabeth Moore.

274 1 This page was written by Richard Richardson, the Recording Clerk. The endorsement is in another hand. Fox added the date "1675," which is incorrect.

275 1 The matter commencing here and ending at the break on p. 277 was written by Lower on a separate unnumbered leaf. A × marks the place of insertion.

276 1 Joseph Crowther, B.D. ( —1689), became Principal of St Mary's Hall, Oxford, after leaving Tredington. He died in the Fleet Prison (Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714, pt. ii. p. 50). See *Suff.* ii. 76.

277 1 This draft of the answer to Dr Crowther was written by Lower in his later style of handwriting. It occupies four very full pages and darker ink was used than for the narrative portions of the *Journal*. There are numerous alterations.

284 1 There are not now any letters from Fox to his wife, at the time of the Worcester imprisonment, among the MSS. forming the *Journal*, but from other places a few of these can be brought back into their historical setting.

(i) One letter, dated in London, 6th of First Month (March), 1674/5, is printed in Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends*, 1841, p. 195. The Editor states that it was copied from the original in the autograph of Fox, but he omits to give the location of the original.

(ii) Another letter dated Worcester, 4th of Second Month, is given in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1894, but, judging from the portion reproduced in facsimile, there are several serious misreadings of the original. The Editor of the letter, William Fletcher, of Cockermouth, writes, "More than a dozen of George Fox's letters to his wife, which had been inherited by a relative of mine, were accidentally destroyed by fire, some years ago."

(iii) A holograph letter, dated "Adderberye pray diles [Bray D'Oyly's] mo: 3: dy 4 1674," is among Gibson MSS. (i. 123).

(iv) A modern copy of another letter, dated London, 9th of Fourth Month, is in D.

284 2 Sir Thomas Street (1626—1696) was M.P. for Worcester 1659—1681, and was Knighted in 1681.

Burton, *Diary*, 1828, iii. 70, 253, 254; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1659—60, 1660—1; *D. N. B.*

285 1 Sir Matthew Hale (1609—1676), Serjeant-at-law, 1654; Justice of Common Pleas, 1654; M.P. for Gloucestershire and later for Oxford University; Knighted, 1660; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1671 (*D. N. B.*). He was one of the few of his time who were against persecution. Richard Davies, of Welshpool (1635—1707/8), who gives a résumé of this trial in his *Account*, 1710, states that the result "put an end to all the Premunires in the Nation" (p. 194), cp. *F. P. T.*

Some of Sir Matthew's writings were approved by many Friends and reprinted at their instigation. His *Sum of Religion*, "found in his Closet amongst his other papers after his Decease," was printed as a broadside at the Bible in George Yard, circa 1730, again in 1796 and later at Bridgwater; also *An Epitome of Judge Hale's Contemplations in his Account of the Good Steward* was probably edited by a Friend, Bristol, 1766. John Kendall, of Colchester (1720—1815), and the Friends' Tract Association reprinted some of Hale's writings.

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Hale is characterized in one reprint of his *Sum* as "a man of Eminent Learning and Singular Piety, exactly Conscientious in all his Dealings, Diligent beyond Example in instructing his Children and Family in the Fear of God," etc.

Hale's decision in the question of the validity of Quaker marriages may be found in Burnet's *History of the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale*, 1682, pp. 138—140.

Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 247, 249, 363.

285 2 Thomas Corbett is mentioned several times in the *Account of Richard Davies*, of Welshpool, first published in 1710. He was "a Counsellour and a Justice of Peace in this County" (Montgomery), p. 124, and lived a few doors from Davies's house. "He was so moderate that one of the Neighbours said to him, 'Mr Corbet, we think you will be a Quaker too.' His answer was, 'I wish I were a Quaker, in my Life and Conversation'" (*ibid.* p. 131). It was Davies who introduced Corbett to the notice of Fox at the time of this trial. His opponent at the trial was Counsellor Walcott. On other occasions Friends availed themselves of the legal service of Corbett (*Westmorland Quaker Records*, 1902, p. 19; Gibson MSS. in D.; Kent MSS. in D.; *Book of Cases*, MS. in D.). At the end of a legal document in the Minute Book of Staffordshire Quarterly Meeting is the subscription "Thomas Corbett, Barge yarde, Buckers Berey, London, the 25th of Aprill, 1678."

Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896, p. 243.

285 3 Sir William Wilde, Bart. (1611?—1679), was at this time a Judge of the King's Bench. He was M.P. for the City of London in the Convention Parliament of 1660, having previously been appointed Recorder of London (*D. N. B.*).

286 1 This Latin and English indictment is written on one side only on three sheets of paper, in a bold, legal hand.

287 1 Nothing further appears regarding Justice John Winford, who held some military appointment in Worcestershire.

288 1 Several persons named Foley are mentioned in Noake's *Worcester Sects*, 1861, including Thomas Foley who was High Sheriff towards the end of the Interregnum, and Justice Foley of Stourbridge, c. 1683.

288 2 These five paragraphs are written on one side of the sheet in an unknown hand. The same matter has been written on another sheet by a different hand, with the following insertions made by Lower—"Inditement {tendred} to George Fox" and "Geo: ffox of Tredington {as much as to say liveinge or inhabitinge there}. And Geo: ffox of London."

288 3 George Fox's mother was Mary Fox (  —1673/4), formerly Lago (Ell. edd.), wife of Christopher Fox, of Drayton-in-the-Clay, Leicestershire. Though never uniting themselves with Friends, Fox's parents seem to have been always on affectionate terms with their son. In an itinerary given by Charles Marshall (1637—1698) in his *Journal*, under date 19th of Eleventh Month (Jan.), 1671, he notes, "I went to see G. F.'s Mother in Leicestershire." On her son's return from America he had tidings of her illness, and as soon as he could travel, he set off to see her, but was hindered by the Worcester imprisonment. He writes of her, "I did in verity love her as ever one could a mother, for she was a good honest virtuous & a right natured woman, & when I had read the letter of her death...sudden travail came upon me...& when my spirit had gotten through I saw her in the resurrection...&

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father in the flesh also" (from a modern MS. in D., said to have been taken from one in Fox's writing, but the spelling is not that of Fox, printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii.). Penn writes of her, "A Woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived" (Pref. to Ell. edd.).

The parish registers of Drayton state that "Mary ffox, widdow," was "buried January y^e^ 7^th^, 1673," i.e. 1673/4.

Fox's father was "by Profession a Weaver, an honest Man; and there was a Seed of God in him. The Neighbours called him Righteous Christer" (Ell. edd.). His presence is noted at the great dispute with priests at Drayton (i. 152—158, and also in Farnsworth's account of this dispute in *Spirituall Man*, 1655). He was Churchwarden at Drayton, and his good clear handwriting appears in the parish registers (*Jnl. F. H. S.* i. iii.). The date of his death is not known, but it took place, probably, prior to the visit of Charles Marshall in 1671. In the printed volume of Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, there is a short letter, dated 1652, commencing "Dear Father and Mother in the Flesh, but not of that Birth, which speaks to you."

288 4 These four paragraphs are written on the other side of the sheet on which those, 288. 2, appear. The same matter is given on another sheet written in a bold hand. To paragraph two Fox has added, on the latter sheet, "which is a great eror," to the next paragraph, "an other eror" and to the last "an eror."

289 1 This original letter occupies the upper portion only of the sheet on which it is written. Below appear the words in another hand "so farr Corrected." The letter is addressed "For Sarah Fell in Swarthmore—Leave this with Thomas Green in Lancaster." Fox added later the endorsement, as printed heading.

289 2 There appear to have been two Friends named Anne Travers, both widows, living near London. The Registers record the death of one, of Ratcliff, 1681, aged sixty, and of another, of Bermondsey, 1688/9, also aged sixty.

The latter was doubtless the Friend with whom Ellis Hookes lodged in Horslydown and at whose house he died in 1681. She was his executrix and residuary legatee (*Jnl. F. H. S.* i.; Swarth. MSS. iv. 121, etc.). This Friend had the charge, in 1671 and 1672, of Friends in Southwark prisons "to see that all the Prisoners...bee carefully provided for with such things as are necessary for them in case they stand in need" (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, pp. 40, 41, MS. in D.), and was probably also the Friend who acted in the same kind way towards prisoners in Bridewell (Ellwood, *Hist.* 1714).

Anne Travers, described by Smith (*Cata.* 1867, ii. 819) as "of Hackney," wrote in 1669, *The Harlot's Vail Rent*, in answer to *A Brief Discovery*, by Elizabeth Atkinson, afterwards Henn, who became a Muggletonian (Smith, *op. cit.* i. 144). There was an Anne Travers who had a school at Chiswick (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 354, anno 1684).

290 1 Susanna Fell (c. 1650— ) was the sixth daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor. In 1691, she became the second wife of William Ingram of the parish of St Margaret, New Fish Street, London. In 1698, Susanna Ingram presented, in person, an address to King William III, written by her mother. The address is printed in full in Maria Webb's *Fells*, 1865 (p. 394; see *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi. 81). William Ingram "appears to have been a man of good education, excellent understanding and devoted piety" (*Fells*, p. 379). He died in 1706, aged about sixty-six years. He left a legacy to Peel Monthly

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Meeting, in London (Minutes of Peel M. M., MS. in D.). The date of the death of Susanna is not known, but it is said that she survived her husband. She left no children, but there are descendants among Friends to-day, of William Ingram through his first marriage.

290 2 This was Rachel Fell (1653—1732), the youngest of the Swarthmoor family, and the only child born after her mother became a Friend. During the time that Margaret Fell spent in visiting all the jails in England, where Friends were imprisoned, Rachel was at school at Shacklewell, near London (Swarth. MSS. i. 108). Throughout her life she was in constant attendance on her mother, and continued to live at Swarthmoor with her husband, Daniel Abraham, after their marriage in 1682 (353. 4). See 353. 5.

290 3 This account was written in a small and cultured handwriting which appears here and there among the Spence MSS. It occupies 2½ sides of the sheet. The endorsement is in the same hand as the endorsement of 274. 1.

Two other copies of this account are included in the MSS., made by different scribes. See 294. 1.

293 1 In another contemporary account the first two initials are transposed and might then stand for Bray D'Oyly (see 264. 2). E. B. is probably Edward Bourne.

293 2 In the church of St Swithin's, Worcester, there is a monumental inscription as follows: "Here lieth interred the body of Thomas Twittey, gent, who departed this life 26 Jan. 1686, aged 64 years," etc., and in the church of All Saints, the following: "Underneath lies the body of Mrs. Margery Simmonds of this Parish, who after above 20 years of widowhood married Mr. Thomas Twittey of this city, and died at the end of eight months...greatly lamented by her husband...buried 29 March, 1683, aged 63."

It seems likely that the above, taken from Nash's *Worcestershire*, 1781, refers to the "Twittey" of the *Journal*, who was, according to Ell. edd., "the Clerk of the Peace" in Worcester, and according to the "breviate" (see 310. 3), "y^e^ Clarke of y^e^ sessions." Twittey's discourse with Fox in the coach *en route* for London is given only in Ell. edd.

293 3 Of John Ashley, Lawyer, further information is not at hand.

294 1 This communication from Hookes to M. Fox was written at the close of one of the copies of the account of the Worcester trial mentioned 290. 3. The address is similar to the one on the letter 289. 1.

294 2 Sarah Travers, probably the daughter of Anne Travers mentioned in Swarth. MSS. i. 58.

294 3 This was written by Lower in his smaller, later style. The paragraph after the signature (not autograph) is also by Lower, but is more hurriedly written.

296 1 This paragraph is by an unknown hand, and occupies five lines of a scrap of paper measuring 5¾ ins. long by 5¼ ins. wide. Apart from the subject-matter there is no indication of its position in relation to the other MSS. of the *Journal*.

296 2 Autograph letter, written with red ink. Thomas Moore wrote the hand of a man of education and character. The letter is addressed "ffor my dearly beloved friend Geo: ffox at Wos^tr^ These." A portion of the seal, with some heraldic device upon it, still adheres. Fox's endorsement is given as printed heading.

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297 1 Autograph letter, addressed "ffor my dearly beloved friend George ffox Hast Leave this w^th^ Edward Man whom I desire to hast it as directed." Fox has endorsed the letter.

298 1 Sir Henry Bennet, first Earl of Arlington (1618—1685), K.G., was Secretary of State, 1662—1674, and Lord Chamberlain, 1674. The "Pardon" of Charles II, 1672, liberating nearly five hundred Friends from prison, superscribed by the King, was countersigned by Lord Arlington (original document in D.). When M. Fox was released from prison in 1671, the grant was signed by the King in Council, "and Arlington also signed it but would take noe fees wheras his fees would have been 12^li^ or 20^li^" (Swarth. MSS. i. 83).

*Diary of John Evelyn*; *Diary of Samuel Pepys*; *D. N. B.*

298 2 Heneage Finch (1621—1682), appointed Attorney-General, 1670 (see Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 355, 495), Lord Keeper of the Seals, 1673, and Lord Chancellor, 1674; created Earl of Nottingham, 1681. As brother of Anne, Viscountess Conway, "Quaker lady" (see *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii.), he would be inclined to look more favourably upon the Quaker cause than some other of Charles's ministers.

*D. N. B.*

298 3 Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria, afterwards Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness (1619—1682), was third son of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and brother of the Princess Elizabeth visited at Herford by Penn and Barclay. The Prince was, generally speaking, favourable to Friends—George Whitehead says that he "appeared most compassionate and tender toward our suffering Friends" (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 504, anno 1681/2). He was frequently appealed to for help (*Suff.* ii. 279; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 215, 301, 314; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1908, p. 486).

Barclay, *Letters*, 1841; Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896; *D. N. B.*

298 4 John Maitland, second Earl and first Duke of Lauderdale (1616—1682).

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 318; *D. N. B.*

299 1 Original letter, occupying 2½ pages of bold but not clear handwriting. It is addressed "ffor his deare ffreind Edward Borne phisian To Be diliverd to G: ff: thes in Worcester" and endorsed by Fox.

299 2 Jane Woodcock (c. 1616—1686) was widow of William Woodcock, of the Savoy, London. She succeeded to her husband's property at his death in 1666, and she continued to place it at the disposal of Friends for a meeting-house. On obtaining a renewal of the lease of this property and of some surrounding houses, "lying between the two Savoy gates in the Strand" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1670, p. 324), she, in conjunction with Martha Fisher (169. 2), carried through an extensive building scheme (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 245, 257, 343).

According to Ralph Farmer, of Bristol, Jane Woodcock wrote a very lovingly expressed letter to Nayler, when he was in Exeter Gaol, in 1656 (*Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, p. 4). She was one of the Friends appointed to care for prisoners in the Gatehouse, Westminster, in 1671 and 1672 (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, p. 40, MS. in D.; *Extracts from Register Books*, p. 243, MS. in D.).

299 3 William Beech lived in the parish of "Margarets, Westminster" (*Suff.* i. 445). He was living in 1708 (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 253).

| PAGE | NOTE | |
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| 300 | 1 | James Scott, Duke of Monmouth (1649—1685), illegitimate son of Charles II, came into contact with Friends on various occasions and seemed to act kindly towards them. The Duke's insurrection and progress through the West in 1685 caused much anxiety to Fox (*Journal*, bi-cent. ed. ii. 409) and others. Whiting narrates several encounters with both sides in the struggle which followed (*Memoirs*, 1715, pp. 141 ff.). Among Bristol MSS., deposited in D. (i. 45, 46, ii. 48, 49, 53, 57, 68), are some very interesting papers with original signatures relating to above events. One aims at proving "frends Clearness in the Duke of Monmouths Insurrection 1685," and refers to "such as did appeare in James Scots Army," but who had been previously denied by Friends. |
| 301 | 1 | Hookes's letter occupies only the top third of the sheet. It is addressed "For my Lov: freind Edward Bourne Phisitian in Worcester for M ff." Endorsed by Lower. |
| 302 | 1 | Autograph letter without address; endorsement by Lower with addition of date by Fox. |
| 304 | 1 | This brief, autograph letter was written close to the head of the sheet and occupies about a third of a page. It is addressed "For my Lov: freind Edward Bourne Phisitian in Worcester. for M ff:" It was sent through the post. |
| 304 | 2 | This is the original letter. It is addressed "To Robert Smyth a Baker at his house in Worcester this deliver—Worcester ffor G. ff.," and endorsed by Fox "ap to gff 1 day 8 mo 1674." A perfect seal is still attached; its device is thus described by J. Guthlac Birch, who transcribed the *Journal* MSS. for the press:—"Quarterly: 1. 4. on a fesse within a bordure engrailed, three roundles; 2. 3. three crosses—crosslet fitchées. Crest: on a wreath a wolfs head couped & langued."<br>About a dozen seals to private letters, ranging in date from 1654 to 1810, have recently been noted among Quakeriana in D. |
| 305 | 1 | This probably refers to the Barbican dispute not concluded at the date of this letter. See 306. 1. |
| 305 | 2 | In the sketch of the life of Ellis Hookes (c. 1630—1681) in *Jnl. F. H. S.* i., it is stated, "As early as 1660 we find that he is at work collecting records of Friends' sufferings out of the different counties, and he enquires of George Fox 'whether they sh$^{d}$ be printed or wrote in a great book now I am not soe much imployed but y$^{t}$ I may setle to write them.'" Apparently, however, slow progress was made; but it was an immense work and it is a standing testimony to the writer's zeal and diligence. The first two of the forty-four MS. volumes of Sufferings were written by him; these two contain about 1300 pages including indexes, measuring 18 inches by 14 inches and are bound in full calf. See i. 194. 1. |
| 305 | 3 | This was, perhaps, Ralph Frettwell's *Epistle to the Behmenists*, which Friends declined to print, after having carefully considered it (Minutes of Morning Meeting, held 21. vii. 1674, i. 2, MS. in D.). Fox may have heard of the decision of the Morning Meeting and have expressed a wish to read the rejected manuscript. |
| 305 | 4 | This letter was doubtless written by Alexander Parker, as the handwriting is the same as 304. 2. The signature was probably on the missing portion of the foot of the sheet. The letter was addressed "To his loveing friend Robert Smyth a Baker at his house this deliver in Worcester," with the addition of the words printed at the head of the letter. |

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306 1 A meeting of the leading Baptists "to take Cognizance of Thomas Hick's Proceedings against the People called Quakers" was held at the Barbican on the 28th of Sixth Month (August), 1674. Because of insufficient notice William Penn and George Whitehead were unable to be present, though their opponents stated that their absence was due to intentional neglect. A full report of this meeting was printed in *The Quakers Appeal Answer'd*, 1674. In a printed broadside, dated "the 5th of 7th Month" headed *William Penn's Just Complaint*, Penn offers to meet Hicks "with the Bible in one Hand and his [Hicks's] Dialogue in the other." This offer was finally accepted and the debate which took place on the 9th Oct. was attended, it is said, by six thousand people, but no decision appears to have been reached (Plant, *A Contest for Christianity*, 1674).

306 2 The Wheeler Street meeting was held on the 16th of Eighth Month (Oct.), 1674 (Plant, *A Contest for Christianity*, 1674).

George Keith, M.A. (1638—1716) was one of the most prominent of those troublers of the Quaker Israel who had once been Quakers themselves. He was convinced about the year 1662, prior to which, according to Gerard Croese, Keith was a "Student of Philosophy and Divinity...a good Mathematician and afterwards a Chaplain in a certain Noble Family" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 150). Besse records various sufferings which befell Keith in Scotland from the year 1664, when he came from the South of Scotland to visit Friends in Aberdeen, to 1679, and during part of this period he was resident in this city. When Christopher Taylor (i. 55. 2) left his school at Edmonton on his emigration, c. 1682, Keith succeeded him (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 167). Later he had a school at Theobalds, Co. Herts., where Robert Barclay (1672—1747), son of the Apologist, was under tuition in 1683 (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. 188), and where Keith was prosecuted for "Preaching and teaching School without License" (*Suff.* i. 252). His pen was also active in the cause of Quakerism, 1664—1692. In 1677, he and his wife, Anna, accompanied Fox and others on a religious visit to Holland and Germany (Ell. edd.; Penn, *Travails*, 1694, and later edd.).

Partly under the influence of the speculative teaching of Francis Mercurius van Helmont ( —1699) Keith's religious views gradually changed (Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. pp. 34—40; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 232; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. 49—54). In 1689, he went to Pennsylvania in order to take charge of a Friends' school in Philadelphia, but he soon came into opposition to Friends in that and other colonies (*James Dickinson*, 1745, pp. 92, 93, 107, 126; *John Richardson*, 1757, pp. 103 ff.; *Publications of Geneal. Soc. of Pa.* iv.), other malcontents joining with him. Having been "disowned" by Philadelphia Y. M. in 1692, he returned to England to justify himself before English Friends, but in 1694, London Y. M., in like manner, "disowned" him (Y. M. Minutes, ii., MS. in D.; Keith, *A True Copy of the three Judgments*, 1692; *A True Account of the Proceedings*, 1694; Bristol MSS.), whereupon he set up a "separate" Meeting at Turners' Hall, Philpot Lane, London, described as of "Quakers, though differing from many that go under that Name in diverse weighty Things, relating to Christian Faith and Doctrine" (Keith, *Sermon*, 1696). A further step was taken in 1700, when he united himself with the Anglican Church; two years later he returned to America as the first travelling missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In his *Journal of Travels*, published in 1706, "the reader will find abundant evidence of the arduous character of the work which he had passed through, and of the faithful spirit which had invariably

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sustained him in it" (Anderson, *Hist. of the Colonial Church*, 1856, iii. 231, see pp. 222—234, ii. 433—435). He returned to England in 1704 and spent the remainder of his life as Rector of Edburton, Sussex. "He was lame, and rather helpless, for more than three years before his death...He lay bed-ridden more than half a year before his death" (*Irish Friend*, 1840, p. 67). It has been asserted and denied that on his death-bed he recanted his anti-Quaker principles (MSS. in D.).

Works of Edmund Elys, 1697, etc.; *John Gratton*, 1720, pp. 131, 334, 339, 415; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Pickworth, *Relation*, 1736; *Thomas Story*, 1747; Proud, *Hist.* 1797; *The Friend* (Phila.), 1855, p. 364, 1903, pp. 18, 171; Clement, *Settlers*, 1877; McClure, *Minutes of S. P. C. K.* 1888; Jenkins, *Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal*, 1903, i.; Gummere, *Witchcraft and Quakerism*, 1908, p. 17; Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, numerous reff. (MS. index in D.); Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911. Smith's list of writings connected with the Keithian controversy occupies 32 pages of his *Catalogue*.

307 1 The textual notes to this page will make it evident that this letter has undergone considerable alteration and addition since first written by Thomas Lower, but these changes were all made soon after the date of the letter. The address, written on a separate wrapper by Sarah Fell, is "To Susannah Fell at Edward Manns next doore to y^e^ Golden Lyon within Bishoppsgate. These ₫₫₫ in London."

308 1 The child written of so hopefully here, Margaret (1673—1674/5), eldest daughter of Thomas and Mary Lower, did not, however, live more than a few weeks after the date of this letter.

308 2 William Yeamans, the younger (c. 1669—1697), was the youngest son of William and Isabel Yeamans of Bristol. The family letters of the period give occasional glimpses of this lad—in 1678 he is provided with a pair of stockings knitted for him for 3½*d.*; somewhat later his old clothes are requisitioned for further use by others. His death, probably caused by consumption, took place at the house of his uncle, William Meade, at Gooseyes, Essex.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865.

309 1 This is in the autograph of the sender, Edward Bourne, of Worcester. The endorsement, as printed heading, was provided by Fox. The bare fact of the arrest of the son of Justice Simpson was incorporated in the narrative, after the manner of the later portions of Ell. edd., without any intimation of the source whence it came.

310 1 Of Elizabeth Baylies ( —1680) little is known. Her name appears in Besse (*Suff.* ii. 61).

310 2 Considerable search has been made for particulars respecting Thomas Bray. He was probably a Worcester Friend (see p. 447).

310 3 The binder of the MSS. has assigned a place here to six sheets, in the handwriting of Thomas Lower, described by another contemporary writer as "A breviate of G ffs Travells from 1655 to 1673." In vol. i. of the Spence MSS. there is another sheet in Lower's writing of this "breviate," which carries the résumé back to 1652, but which commences in the middle of a sentence. This "breviate" was written later than the fuller account, as it refers several times to "y^e^ Journall at large." The additional information given, which is very slight, is referred to in i. 209. 2, 297. 1, ii. 168. 3.

310 4 This refers to the close of some sessions of the Cavalier Parliament of 1661—79. There is a useful list of Parliaments, 1603—1715, in Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, 1904.

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310 5 John Elson (c. 1624—1701), sometimes called John *Nelson*, lived at the Sign of the (Baker's) Peel, in Clerkenwell, London. His trade was that of carpenter. "As early as 1656 Friends began to meet in that carpenter's yard, and ever since upon that spot have they maintained, often in the face of bitter persecution, the Meeting" known as the Peel (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, chap. xi.). His wife, Mary Elson, was a Wiltshire woman, and an approved minister of the Gospel; she died in 1706, aged eighty-three. In 1683, when Elson was from home, some Informers and others took possession of the house and spent the night making merry over "wine, brandy, ale, syrups, bread, and cheese" and in the morning carried away many valuable articles. Elson lodged an appeal and deposited the required £30 with Justice Peter Sabbs, but the Justice decamped with the money and Elson obtained no redress (*Suff.* i. 457).

311 1 The early home of John Simcock (c. 1639—1702/3) was at Stoke, in Cheshire. On one occasion he had taken from him eight cows and eleven heifers, worth £90, as a fine for preaching (*Suff.* i. 106—108). In 1675 he visited Ireland (Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; *Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland, 1664—1765*, MS. in D.). In or about the year 1682, Simcock emigrated to Pennsylvania and became one of Penn's commissioners of property, etc.

*The Friend* (Phila.), 1854, pp. 28, 36, 1903, p. 411, 1910, p. 362; Bowden, *Hist.* 1854, ii. 253; Swarth. MSS. i. 149, 365.

311 2 This public dispute at Aberdeen between Robert Barclay and George Keith and some students of divinity, resulting in the convincement of four of the students, took place on the 25th of Second Month, 1675 ("Record Book of Friends att Urie," MS. in D., see *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. 94). In *A True and Faithful Accompt of the most material Passages of a Dispute between some Students of Divinity (so called)... and the People called Quakers*, 1675, it is stated that this dispute took place, in a yard belonging to Alexander Harper, "on the *fourteenth* day of second Month called April 1675," on the one side being Robert Barclay and George Keith and on the other three Masters of Arts. This *brochure* provoked a rejoinder—*Quakerism Canvassed: Robin Barclay baffled in the defending of his Theses.* To this the Friends replied in *Quakerism Confirmed*, 1676. From this last piece it appears that the students who were convinced were Robert Sandilands, James Alexander, Alexander Seaton, and Alexander Patersone.

311 3 Robert Barclay (1648—1690) was son of Colonel David Barclay (1610—1686) of Ury, near Aberdeen, and "Descended of the Barclays of Mather...an Ancient and Honorable Family among Men, and of Katharine Gourdon of the House of the Duke of Gourdon" (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, pp. 204—207). After an education in France, he settled down at home, and about 1667, shortly after the convincement of his father, he united himself with Friends. His education and mental ability were of great use to the early Quaker community, and his writings, especially his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (Latin, 1676, English, 1678, and many subsequent edd.), systematized the principles of Quakerism, and opened them to the view of the world of learning. In 1669 he married Christian Molleson, who survived him thirty-three years, and he became the ancestor of a long line of sterling men and women, both within and without the Quaker fold. His travels and Gospel labours extended to Holland and Germany. His writings were collected and published in 1692, under the title of *Truth Triumphant.* In his treatise on *Universal Love*, 1677, he gives some account of his religious experiences.

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*John Gratton*, 1720, pp. 72, 74, 125, 127; *British Friend*, 1847; *Reliquiae Barclaianae*, 1870; Smith, *Steven Crisp*, 1892; *D. N. B.*; lives by Bevan (1802), Armistead (1850), Rhodes (n. d.), Budge (1881), Forsythe (1909); MSS. in D.

311 4 The Quaker literature written in prison was very considerable. It is surprising that this should be so, when the condition of the seventeenth century jail is remembered. Other writings than those here enumerated were prepared by Fox at Worcester.

311 5 *A Warning to England, and to all that profess themselves Christians, who have the Form, but deny the Power of Godliness...*" Let this be speedily dispersed. Written in Worcester Prison, this 1st of the 11th Moneth, 1674." Printed 1674, 26 pp. small octavo.

311 6 Printed in 1674, with the title *A Looking-Glass for the Jews: wherein they may clearly see that the Messiah is come*, etc. 78 pp. small octavo, with paper by George Whitehead. Reprinted in Philadelphia in 1784. Printed in Dutch 1678.

312 1 Printed in 1676 in quarto, 51 pp., entitled *Concerning Revelation, Prophecy, Measure and Rule, and the Inspiration and Sufficiency of the Spirit*, "Worcester Prison the 9th day of the 11th Moneth, 1674." This was issued in French in 1681.

312 2 Not identified.

312 3 Entitled *For all the Bishops and Priests in Christendom, to Measure themselves by the Scriptures of Truth*, from "Worcester Prison the 11th Moneth, 1664." The date should doubtless have been 1674; the title page is undated (save by hand (in one of the copies in D.)—1664 and then altered to 1674). 67 quarto pages. There is no information of the extent to which this tract with its comprehensive title was circulated.

312 4 Thomas Good, D.D. (1609—1678), Master of Balliol College, Oxford, wrote *Firmianus and Dubitantius, or certain Dialogues concerning Atheism...and other Heresies and Schismes*, 1674. Edward Bourne issued in 1675 *An Answer to Doctor Good (so called) his Dialogue against those called Quakers.*
*D. N. B.*

312 5 Dated "Worcester Prison, the 10th Day of the 11th Mon. 1674," but not printed, apparently, until 1676, entitled *The People of God in Scorn called Quakers Their Love to all Mankind.* The first sentence reads "It hath often been said, That the People of God in scorn called Quakers love none but themselves." See i. 245. 3.

312 6 *A Testimony, of what we believe of Christ...also the Testimony of the Apostles...*" with a Testimony against such by-names which are not found in the Scriptures;" dated Worcester Prison, 25th of Eleventh Month, 1674/5. The sub-heading reads "What we do believe of the birth, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Iesvs Christ." 87 pp. quarto. Printed in 1677.

312 7 A "litle booke Concerning swearinge," written during the Worcester imprisonment, has not been found. This may refer to the first of the books written at Swarthmoor (see next note). It would aptly describe it.

312 8 *A Small Treatise Concerning Swearing in the old time of the Law*, etc. was written at Swarthmoor, and dated "this 29th of the 8th Moneth, 1675." It consists of fifty-five small octavo pages.

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312 9 This tract is dated "Swarthmore the 10th of the 9th Month, 1675." Its printed title is *Primitive Ordination and Succession of Bishops, Deacons, Pastors and Teachers in the Church of Christ*, 1675. 50 pp. quarto. The words occur in p. 7, "To succeed the Apostles aright is to succeed them in the same power and holy Ghost they were in." It was issued in French in 1686.

312 10 This piece is dated "Swarthmoor, this 18th of the 8th Moneth, 1675," and has a three-page addition dated two days later. It was printed the same year and it ran to twenty-seven quarto pages.

312 11 This was dated "Swarthmore this 3. of the 9. Month, 1675," and printed in the same year with the heading *Christian Liberty Commended and Persecution Condemned.* 18 pp. quarto. There are not any historical allusions.

312 12 The date of this is "20th of 11th Moneth, 1675." Printed, same year, with the title *Cain Against Abel, Representing New-England's Church-Hirarchy, in Opposition to Her Christian Protestant Dissenters.* There is very little matter for the historian in the forty-eight quarto pages of this tract.

312 13 This was written at Swarthmoor, 5th of Ninth Month (Nov.), 1675, and addressed *To Friends in Nevis, and the Caribee Islands.* It is printed in Fox's *Epistles*, 1698. It is a reply to some who had "some Scruple concerning Watching, or sending forth Watch-Men in their own way."—"Friends have always profered the Magistrates, though they could not joyn with them in carrying Arms, Swords and Pistols, yet to watch in their own way against the Evil Doer." It is a very interesting and practical letter. Besse devotes fifteen pages of his *Sufferings* to the Island of Nevis (Mevis). Friends here were frequently apprehended for their refusal to bear arms, but were several times liberated by General William Stapleton, the Governor, who succeeded Wheeler (220. 3). Mary Fisher, Peter Head, John Taylor, Joan Vokins, Thomas Story and other Friends visited Nevis (*Visits of Ministers to West Indies, 1655—1786*, MS. in D.).

*William Edmundson*, 1715; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i.; *Friend* (Phila.), 1906, p. 285.

312 14 This was written at "Swarthmore in Lancashire the 12th of the 12th Moneth 1675," and printed, as a broadside, in two columns, under the heading *An Epistle to all my Dear Friends Elect and Precious in America.* The concluding exhortation is "Hold fast the hope which anchors the Soul, which is sure and stedfast, that you may float above the worlds Sea; for your Anchor holds sure and stedfast in the Bottom, let the Winds, Storms and raging Waves rise never so high: And your star is fixt, by which you may steer to the eternal Land of Rest, and Kingdom of God." This is also to be found in Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, p. 352.

312 15 A tract, *Caesar's Due Rendred unto Him...and God & Christs Due Rendred unto them*, dated "This 24th of the 3d Moneth, 1679," was printed in the same year. It is evident, however, from the date that this tract was not written in the same year as the others catalogued on this page but during Fox's next visit to Swarthmoor. If the tract of 1679 is the one referred to here, the date is later than any other alluded to in the MSS. of the *Journal* proper, but it is conceivable that Fox may have written something on this subject in 1676 and re-written it for publication when next at Swarthmoor.

312 16 This is entitled *Gospel Family-Order, being a Short Discourse Concerning the Ordering of Families, both of Whites, Blacks and*

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*Indians*, 1676. It consists of a "Discourse as it was taken from the Mouth of George Fox at a Mens Meeting at Tho. Rous his House in Barbadoes in the Year 1671," with addenda on the government of families, taken from letters from Maryland, 4th of Twelfth Month, 1672, from London, on the 14th of Seventh Month, 1673, and the 18th of Twelfth Month, 1673, and "at the last Quarterly Meeting at Thomas Rous's." 22 pp. quarto. This was published in French in 1684, and there was a reprint of the English edition by Reinier Jansen of Philadelphia in 1701.

312 17 In Seventh Month, 1676, Fox wrote *The Spiritual Man Christ Jesus, the Seed, Light, Purger, Healer and Restorer*, but the idea of judging is not apparent.

312 18 Not identified.

312 19 Ell. edd. add "Besides these, I writ several Epistles to Friends, both here in England and beyond the Seas" etc., and follow this with epistles to Friends in Westmorland, and to Friends at the Yearly Meeting, 1676.

313 1 This collection of Fox's addresses is mentioned again on p. 348, but it is not known to be extant. Some of Fox's sermons are printed in the previous pages of this *Journal*, see i. 317. 1, ii. 141. 3, 149. 1, and others are extant in MS., *e.g.* "A Coppy of some Doctrines spoaken by G: ff: In Mary lande [?] att a Meetinge," headed "At a Meeting in N: Engl: on 4th day ye 5th of 4: mo 72 at a place cald Ptsmoth at ffrd Bordens G: ff: being full of ye power of God spake...as followeth" (Swarth. MSS. vii. 147); also "A Testimony by Geo: Fox at the General Meeting at Wheeler Street the 1st of the 4th Month 1680" (Reynolds MSS. 93).

313 2 There is not now any list of the writings of George Fox to be found among the MSS. forming the Journal. See 349. 2.

314 1 The narration of events in the life of George Fox comes to an end with Fox's arrival at Swarthmoor Hall in June, 1675. This fact gives colour to the supposition that it was at Swarthmoor, during his stay of nearly two years, that most, if not all the narrative portions of the *Journal* were prepared. See Introduction.

Ell. edd. state that Fox quitted his northern home on the 26th of First Month (March), 1677.

314 2 This list of apostate brethren occupies rather more than a page in the MS. There is not any break at either the beginning or the end, and the numbering of the pages continues.

314 3 An unsuccessful search in London and Mansfield has been made for further particulars of John Trentam.

314 4 "Mildred." In a letter from Richard Hubberthorne in London, dated 1655/6, we read, "Wee had A meetinge at ye bull & mouth & mildred was there in all Impudencie...shee resolved soe to speake as that I should not speake any more to them, & when she had spokne untill her naturell brith was spent she againe still did strive to speake... she intended to speake as longe as they stayed [the meeting which had begun at three, lasted till midnight] untill all her naturall parts was spent and her sences distracted, yt she was even realy mad" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 12). At another meeting at the Bull and Mouth meeting place, "mildred & judy was in ye greatest rage yt ever they weare...& mildred said it was manifest in A vision & yt A voice Came to her from ye lord this morninge that I [Hubberthorne] should bee dume" (*ibid.* iv. 13). "Mildred" visited Reading in 1658, "and was ex-

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ceedinge unruly she said she found noan worthy in the towne & soe went for London" (*ibid.* iii. 87). George Whitehead connects the same woman with the Nayler troubles—"Of this turbulent Company was one Mildred, an impudent Woman, and Two or Three Rude Boysterous Fellows, who were Ranters" ("Epistle to the Reader," in Nayler's collected works, 1716).

314 5 Ann Blaykling (Blackley) was a sister of John Blaykling of Drawwell, near Sedbergh (i. 40. 2). Her home was Ladbridge (Sadbridge) near Sedbergh (*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910). She travelled into Cornwall in 1656 and suffered imprisonment there (*West Answering*, 1657, pp. 46 ff.; Swarth. MSS. i. 2, 166). When in London on one occasion she had an interview with the Protector (Swarth. MSS. i. 161). In 1659, she was a prisoner in Suffolk (*Declaration of Present Sufferings*, 1659). Of her defection *F. P. T.* states, "For want of watchfullness y^e^ enemie prevailled to lead her into singulerety & whimsies by w^ch^ she run out of unity w^th^ ffriends for sevrall years. Yet after came more neare to ffriends againe & married amongst ffriends of y^e^ meeting of Sedbergh, and kept to meetings & is yet liveing [c. 1708]." No record of this marriage has yet been discovered.

314 6 It is evident from this interesting statement, that Fox, at this time, did not approve in general of Sunday labour, but he carefully safeguarded the right of the individual to be guided by a tender conscience and not to come under compulsory observance of certain days (see i. 296, 310, and Fox's paper on observing days, printed in Ell. edd., sub anno 1677). There are records of the followers of Fox exercising individual liberty in this matter. Ellwood recounts, without any censure, the story of the poor Quaker, who, as he could not finish his work on Saturday night, continued it next day, for which he was cruelly whipped (*Hist.* Crump ed. 1900, p. 102). If Richard Blome may be trusted—"Many Friends at Colchester opened their shops on the Lords day and followed their handy-crafts calling for many weeks together, the like hath been done severall Lords dayes by them in London and Southwark" (*Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 112). Among Swarth. MSS. there is a letter from Cardiff, addressed to Fox, 1659, in which the writer, Francis Gawler, states that "Marey Cheepman and hear Sarvants did Winnow Coorne in the barane one the frist day of the weeke," very sapiently adding, "I thoate it best to aquante thee of it, not that I Judge the Ledings of the Sprite of truth in Aney, but I know the understandings of thes Sprits are not soe clear to deserne the movings of truth from Imaginations" (iv. 219). John Wigham and his wife, living near Edinburgh, c. 1800, were "wont to attend Edinburgh Meeting on First day mornings only, and the gudewife used to give great offence to her Presbyterian neighbours by occasionally actively carrying on family washing and other housewifely duties on the afternoon of the day called 'the Sabbath'" (Miller, *Memorials of Hope Park*, 1886, p. 26). Friends of to-day are regularly reminded of the following Advice, read in their meetings from time to time, "Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week, which are not occupied by our Meetings for Worship" (*Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1906, ii. 38, cp. i. 102 ff.). See 339. 2.

314 7 John Harwood was a Yorkshire man, according to George Whitehead, who was a companion with him in labour and suffering in East Anglia in 1655 and 1656. Of his apostacy, Whitehead writes, "Within three or four Years after we were released [from Bury Gaol] he came to

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Loss by proceeding disorderly with a Widow toward Marriage, but was disappointed: And what added to his Hurt, he conceived Prejudice against some of the Brethren, as G. Fox, Senior, and others, for disowning his irregular and unwarrantable Procedure" (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 98, cp. pp. 65—69). Several Friends living in the Holderness district of Yorkshire wrote, in 1663, a letter of warning respecting Harwood *To Friends of Truth in London or elsewhere.* They say that they never felt great satisfaction with his services but that then they looked upon him "to be desparately wicked," having seen his "deceitfull, false, and scandalous Paper," which was, doubtless, *To all People That profess the Eternal Truth of the Living God...cause why I...deny the authority of George Fox*, 1663 (copy in British Museum, with MS. notes). To this Fox replied in *The Spirit of Envy... made Manifest* (see 154. 5). In a letter dated 1664 (given in Smith's *Steven Crisp*, 1892), a report is noted that "J. H. [identified by the author of this book as John Harwood] is like to go back to the Church of England."

Swarth. MSS. i. 397, iv. 9, 94.

315 1 In a MS. quoted 124. 3, the name *Elizabeth* Barnes occurs in close association with that of "Rose Atkinson"; the same person is doubtless referred to in this paragraph. As a further proof of this see next note.

This paragraph in the MS. is written by Lower on a separate slip of paper, but its place of insertion is clearly marked.

315 2 Besse mentions a Michael Stancliffe, sufferer in Bucks. (*Suff.* i. 78). Among *Letters of Isaac Penington* is one addressed to "Miles Stanclif," sub anno 1688, which contains "Advice as to Self-deceit; On the Unity of the Spirit," and that "The Younger are to submit to the Elder" (3rd ed. 1844, p. 211).

In Penn's *Judas and the Jews*, 1673, p. 122, occurs the following paragraph: "At a Meeting after the Plague, E. Barnes...cryed out while R. F[arnsworth] was preaching, 'You have Whored from the Lord': R. F. said, 'Thou art Whored, or the Whore.' This (sayes Miles Stancliffe) was an Unsavory Word in R. Farnsworth, but not an Unsavory Word in E. Barnes...But was not this E. B. one of your Hat-mens Spirit? and did not she manifest her self to be in the Whorish Spirit in Hampshire, and Rose Atkins? and the Man they kept Company with?" (cp. *ibid.* pp. 40, 51, 52). See 124. 3, 315. 1. Stancliffe is mentioned, with other aggrieved Friends, 1661, in the *Life of Mr John Pennyman*, 1696, p. 10.

315 3 Perhaps intended as a proper name, *A. Cooke*, but an apostate of this name has not yet been discovered.

316 1 Ell. edd. amplify somewhat the results of not abiding in "the Light, and in the Spirit and Power of Christ Jesus."

318 1 The words of the last paragraph "departe from him" are the last written on the numbered sheets of the narrative portions of the *Journal.* These numbered sheets run to 411 pages; their contents have now all appeared in print, save the sheets containing pp. 1 to 16 and the two leaves referred to i. 312. 1, all of which do not now find a place among the MSS.

That which now follows, to the break on p. 321, represents two unnumbered sheets in the handwriting of Lower, the final insertion or addition being made at a later period by the same writer.

321 1 The following Accounts (pp. 321—338 except the letter on pp. 327—329) were written by Thomas Lower, save where indicated in foot-

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notes, but they were not committed to paper at the same time. Lower's insertions and corrections are in darker ink. The information given will not always stand the test of historical investigation (see 323. 1, 2, 325. 1, 331. 4, 334. 1, 335. 1).

321 2 Elizabeth Hooton (Hutton) (c. 1600—1671/2) was the wife of Oliver Hooton, of Skegby (d. 1657). It is probable that she was the first person to accept and preach the views promulgated by Fox. In a letter from Barbados, dated December, 1671 (preserved in D.), she writes of Fox, "I have knone him to be An upright honest harted man as was in England this twenty five Years," which would place the commencement of their acquaintance about the close of 1646. For preaching her new found faith, she soon suffered imprisonment—Derby in 1651, York 1652, Lincoln 1654, 1655. In company with Joan Brocksopp of Derbyshire, E. Hooton set sail for the New World with a message of warning to the rulers of Boston, which place was reached (1661) via Virginia, after many hardships. From Boston, shortly afterwards, she was returned to Virginia, from whence she found her way back to her native land. But not being free from her sense of duty towards the persecutors of New England, she again crossed the ocean, this time with her daughter, Elizabeth, and with the King's permission to purchase property in any Plantation. The terrible inhumanities heaped upon her by the authorities under the "Cart and Whip Act" of 1661, etc. are almost past belief, as also her physical endurance. Nothing could alter her determination, again and again she returned to Boston, till at last she saw her homeward way clear. "Since which return," writes Sewel, "I have several times seen her in England in a good condition" (*Hist.* 1722).

In 1671, as recorded in the *Journal*, this intrepid woman once more crossed the Atlantic, and met her death at Port Royal, Jamaica, in Twelfth Month (Feb.) 1671/2. James Lancaster has left a particular account of her last days (MS. in D.). Numerous letters and MSS. of hers are in D.

For Oliver, son of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton, see 213. 1. Another son was Samuel, who, following in his mother's footsteps, also visited Boston—"I had an old mother was here amongst you, & bore many of your stripes & much cruelty...& when shee came at the first I was against her coming, & now shee is returned" (MS. in D., printed in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1904, p. 204). Samuel married Elizabeth Smedley, in 1670 (*Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 12).

Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Muggleton, *Spiritual Epistles*, 1755; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i.; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1887; *British Friend*, 1893, pp. 118, 196; *D. N. B.*; *Quaker Biographies*, 1910, ii; Swarth. MSS. i. 374, iii. 52.

Throughout the two and a half centuries of their existence as a religious body, the Quakers have ever held that the Head of the Church may call women as well as men to preach the Gospel, but the public ministry of women did not originate with Quakerism; there were women-preachers in various parts earlier in the seventeenth century (Edwards, *Gangraena*, 1646, pt. i. p. 29; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, p. 155). Friends refer to such texts as Acts ii. 17, 18, xxi. 9; 1 Cor. xi. 5, in confirmation of their position. It is held that "those Scriptures [*e.g.* 1 Cor. xiv. 34] which enjoin silence upon women refer to local and temporary conditions which have now passed away" (Rowntree, *Faith and Practice*, 1908, p. 24).

It is interesting to notice that the first Quaker preacher after Fox was a woman, and that women were the first to preach the principles

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of Quakerism in London, in the English universities, and in the American Colonies.

Livingstone, *Truth Owned*, 1667; Keith, *The Woman-Preacher of Samaria*, 1674; Camm, *Testimony*, 1689; Mather, *Instrument*, 1694, and *Novelty*; Martin, *Vindication*, 1717; Rawes, *Gospel Ministry of Women*, 1801; Catherine Booth, *Practical Religion*, 1891; *British Friend*, 1902, p. 133; Hodgkin, *Woman's Place in the Church*, 1907.

321 3 "Thomas Richardson, taken by Constables at a Meeting on y^e^ 16^th^ of y^e^ Mo: call'd April, 1663, was committed to Ely Goal, and at the Assizes about five Months after, had the Oath of Allegiance tendred him, and for refusing it, was remanded to prison, where he, being above Sixty Years of Age, through want of firing and other Necessaries, and lodging upon Straw in the Winter Season, was taken sick and died on the 13^th^ of October 1665, after two Years and an half Confinement" (*The Memory of the Faithful revived*, MS. in D., in the writing of Joseph Besse (d. 1757)). From Wisbech Jail, Richardson sent out a paper, entitled *A True Catechisme Concerning the word of God*, dated Second Month (April), 1664, printed same year. This contains a description of a vision which he saw in February, 1663/4 (see *Jnl. F. H. S.* viii.), and an address to "Priest Brunsel and Priest Holder called Justices, and Priest Langhorn their Brother by Trade," all, apparently, of Ely.

321 4 This Account occupies the remaining space of the sheet on which the previous Account was written.

322 1 No Capt. *Philip* Pursloe has been found among Quakeriana. It is probable that Capt. *Richard* Pursloe (Pursglove) is intended (i. 16. 5).

322 2 Roger Hebden (c. 1620—1695) was a woollen draper, of New Malton, Yorkshire, and later lived at Appleton-le-Street in the same district. After his convincement he became a travelling preacher and a great sufferer for the Truth (*Suff.* under Yorkshire), having been imprisoned twice in York Castle and once at Aylesbury. He was with Samuel Watson in Scotland. From York Castle in 1654 he wrote a letter to Fox, which is among A. R. B. MSS. in D.

*A Plain Account of...Roger Hebden*, 1700; life by Budge, 1881; *F. P. T.*; Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses*, 1906; newscuttings and MSS. in D.

322 3 Perhaps, the Welsh priest mentioned i. 229, who "became a fine minister & stands to this day." In the Episcopal Returns of Conventicles, 1669, George White, of Llanfihangel, is mentioned as a "teacher" (Turner, *Orig. Records of Early Noncon.* 1911, pp. 45, 1224, 1227).

322 4 Thomas Budd, Senior ( —1670), was of Aish (Ash) in Martock parish, Somerset. Before joining Friends he was a Baptist Teacher (*F. P. T.*). Meetings were frequently held in his orchard at Ash (Wastfield, *True Testimony*, 1657, pp. 7—48). In 1663 he was praemunired, and he remained in prison till death. Thomas Budd, Junior, went to America.

*F. P. T.*; Besse, *Memory of Righteous Revived*; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 427; MS. in D.

322 5 This was William Piers, D.D. (1580—1670), translated to Bath and Wells from Peterborough in 1632, impeached, and committed to the Tower in 1641, restored to his bishopric 1660. The statement respecting him here made is corroborated by the account of Piers given in *D. N. B.*, "In the matter of Sunday diversions Piers set himself in direct opposition to the feelings of the more sober-minded of his diocese."

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323 1 James Jackson (c. 1637— ) was a parish priest and later an Independent minister of Nottinghamshire. In 1668, apparently, he was still in this latter position, in which case Fox's date for his convincement is incorrect. In 1674 he wrote *The Strong Man Armed, Cast Out, and his Goods spoiled, being a True Convert's Testimony of the Power of the Lord.* A rejoinder by Ralph Austen, *The Strong Man Armed not Cast Out*, 1676, brought out Jackson again with *The Malice of the Rebellious Husbandman*, 1676. A postscript, dated 1697, to Jackson's *Friendly Enquirer's Doubts and Objections Answered*, 1698, referring to the writer's "sinful Prevarications and publick Revolt," makes it evident that something had gone wrong with him, but even this recantation was followed ten years later by "An Appeal to Country Friends at this General Meeting...against the City Quakers unchristian Carriage."

From 1701 to 1708, Jackson was constantly in collision with the Morning Meeting (the committee of Friends who acted as supervisors of the Quaker press), which Meeting declined to print several of his MSS. He is cautioned to be "careful considering his former fall" (Minutes, iii. 40, anno 1701, MS. in D.), and, finally, Friends of this Meeting say "They Esteem not James Jackson nor his paper worth their Notice, he being denyed by Friends" (*ibid.* p. 308, anno 1708, and letter of Henry Pickworth of the same year, in D.). In 1708, Jackson wrote a long letter to some Friends in Nottingham (preserved in Nottingham Meeting House), expressive of gratitude to God for the restoration of his eyesight, he being then above seventy years old.

323 2 Lawrence Steel (c. 1644—1684) was born in London and brought up among the Independents. For some time he acted as a Chaplain and Tutor in Dorsetshire. After his convincement in 1673, he settled in Bristol and kept school at the meeting-house at the Friars (Knight, *Sidcot School*, 1908, pp. 4, 5). "He was a comely Person, but pale Complexioned, being inclined to a Dropsie, and infirm as to his Health...of a grave solid serious Deportment; of a sweet even Temper and Disposition; of a sedate retired Life" (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, pp. 115—119). In 1681, George Whitehead, Charles Jones, Jun., of Bristol, and L. Steel, appeared before Charles II to seek liberty for Friends imprisoned in Bristol, but with little success (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 504—513). Steel's death was accelerated by his sufferings in Newgate, Bristol. Some of his earlier spiritual experiences are detailed in his tract *Jacob the Plain Man wrestling with God...and prevailing...over Esau*, 1677.

Fox is hardly fair to Steel when he states that he "preacht for hire," as Steel was very tender-spirited on this subject. Whiting says distinctly that when Steel's yearly stipend came to be paid for services in Dorsetshire "he could not take for Preaching or Praying (which also he had refused in London)" (*Memoirs*, p. 117). No reference to "Wiltsheere" has been found in records of his early life.

*The Friend* (Phila.), 1843, pp. 101, 109, 118, 126.

323 3 This Account occupies about three-quarters of a page.

323 4 Thomas Killam ( —1690), of Balby, was a brother of John Killam (i. 353. 3). He married Joan, sister of Thomas Aldam. There are several of his letters to M. Fell extant (Swarth. MSS.), in one of which he reports the dispatch of Quaker-made penknives and inkhorns as presents to the Fell children (*ibid.* iv. 87). Notes of his ministerial engagements in various parts appear in *F. P. T.*

*Suff.*; MSS. in D.

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324 1 George Fox addressed remonstrances on several occasions to John III, that is John Sobieski (1624—1696), King of Poland (1674—1696), respecting the persecution of Friends within his dominions, which dominions apparently included the city of Danzig, where were suffering Quakers. The letter sent in 1677 was received and read by the King (Ell. edd.), and afterwards printed in German. This letter is interesting because of the quotations it contains; in other writings of Fox there is an almost entire absence of reference to general religious literature. The letter was no doubt prepared by one of his learned Friends, as Richard Richardson of London. William Penn wrote to this King, c. 1680 (*Suff.* ii. 439). The Epistle from London Yearly Meeting, dated 1685, reports that the King of Poland and the Magistrates of Dantzig had moderated their persecuting attitude. Fox states, "There is a Seed in Poland, that desires Friends" (*Epistles*, 1698, p. 151, anno 1660), but not much is known of Friends in Poland, apart from Danzig.

324 2 This Account occupies half a page of the same leaf as that upon which the previously printed Account is written. It looks as though the pages were transposed in the binding.

325 1 The description given seems to imply that this was the same Friend as *Thomas* Richardson (321. 3), but Thomas died in 1665. There was a *John* Richardson, of Sutton, Notts., who died in 1660, and was buried at "Scekbie" (Skegby).

325 2 John Banks (1637—1710) was born at Sunderland in the parish of Isell, Cumb., but his parents soon after removed to Brigham in Pardshaw Meeting. In 1664 he married Ann Littledale (d. 1691), and about 1668, he commenced to travel in the ministry, during which service, between the years 1668 and 1682, he visited Ireland six times, and in the intervals of his service, he "with all Diligence, Laboured with his hands, with honest Endeavours in Lawful Imployments, for the Maintenance of his Family" (*Journal*, 1712, p. 34), he being a glover and fellmonger by trade. In 1684, he was imprisoned in Carlisle by Sir George Fletcher, of Hutton Hall, and remained there for six years and nine months, for refusal to pay a tithe amounting to eight shillings and sixpence. The account in his *Journal* of the horrors of prison life is, perhaps, second only to that of Thomas Ellwood in his autobiography.

The following, under date 1677, is sufficiently striking to be given in full: "About this time, a Pain struck into my Shoulder, which gradually fell down into my Arm and Hand, so that the Use thereof I was wholly depriv'd of; and not only so, but my Pain greatly encreas'd both Day and Night; and for three Months I could neither put my Cloaths on nor off my self, and my Arm and Hand began to wither, so that I did seek to some Physicians for Cure, but no Cure could I get by any of them; until at last, as I was asleep upon my Bed, in the Night time, I saw in a Vision, that I was with dear George Fox; and I thought I said unto him, George, my Faith is such, that if thou seest it thy way to lay thy Hand upon my Shoulder, my Arm and Hand shall be whole throughout. Which remained with me after I Awaked, two Days and Nights (that the thing was a true Vision) and that I must go to G. F. until at last, through much Exercise of Mind, as a near and great Tryal of my Faith, I was made willing to go to him; he being then at Swarthmoore, in Lancashire, where there was a Meeting of Friends, being on the first day of the Week. And some time after the Meeting, I called him aside into the Hall, and gave him a Relation of my Concern as aforesaid, shewing

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him my Arm and Hand; and in a little time, we walking together Silent, he turned about, and looked upon me, lifting up his Hand, and laid it upon my Shoulder, and said, The Lord strengthen thee both within, and without. And so we parted, and I went to Thomas Lowers of Marsh Grange that Night; and when I was sate down to Supper in his House, immediately, before I was aware, my Hand was lifted up to do its Office, which it could not for so long as aforesaid; which struck me into a great Admiration, and my heart was broken into true tenderness before the Lord, and the next day I went home, with my Hand and Arm restor'd to its former use and strength, without any pain. And the next time that G. F. and I met, he readily said, John, thou mended, thou mended; I Answer'd, yes, very well, in a little time. Well, said he, give God the Glory."

In 1696, John Banks removed to Meare in Somersetshire and married Hannah Champion, widow, of that place. In 1708, he removed to Street in the same county, where he died. His writings were collected and published in 1712 as *A Journal of the Life...of... John Banks, with a Collection of his Epistles*, with a Preface by William Penn; reprinted in Allen's *Friends' Library*, 1834, and Evans's *Friends' Library*, 1838.

*Piety Promoted*; Armistead, *Select Miscellanies*, 1851, iii.; Ferguson, *Early Cumb. and Westm. Friends*, 1871; Walton, *Brief Biographies*, n. d.; Budge, *Annals*, 1877; Bristol MSS.; Robson MSS.

325 3 This Account was written with a finer quill than generally used by Lower.

326 1 Jane Waugh ( —1674) was of Hutton in Westmorland. She suffered several imprisonments at Banbury; on one occasion the jail was so damp that the floor was some inches under water. In 1664, she married Thomas Whitehead, of South Cadbury, and later of Bruton, in Somersetshire, "and in that County allso suffered Imprisonm$^{t}$ for her ffaithfull testemony bearing to truth" (*F. P. T.*). She left a husband and five children. Jane Waugh and her sister Dorothy (331. 3) were at one time servants in the Camm household, at Preston Patrick (*ibid.*).

*Saints' Testimony Finishing Through Sufferings*, 1655; Townsend, *Jane Whitehead*, 1676.

326 2 This paragraph is taken from Swarth. MSS. i. 391, see also iii. 9; *Saints' Testimony*, 1655.

The Robert Rich here mentioned is presumably the London merchant and shipowner of that name ( —1679), who was convinced c. 1654. He took an active part in the proceedings relating to Nayler's fall and punishment. Grigge, a Bristol opponent of Quakerism, says, "There was one Robert Rich, a monstrous wretch, having a Mairmaids head (such was the length of his hair) that did ride bare before, singing, Holy, holy &c." (*The Quakers' Jesus*, 1658, p. 21). Rich also boldly addressed members of Parliament in favour of Nayler (*ibid.* p. 62; *Copies of some few Papers*, c. 1656), and was with Nayler during his punishment in London and Bristol (Burton, *Diary*, 1820, i. 266, 346 n.; Swarth. MSS. i. 300). Shortly afterwards he was captured by the Perrot party and departed from the simplicity of Truth. Hookes, writing to Margaret Fox, 1672, likens Perrot's proposed marriage-feast to "such another feast as Robert Richs of the 7 churches" (Swarth. MSS. i. 57).

In 1659, Rich went over to Barbados, with which island and New England he had business relations (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1651, 1652—3; *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 29 Oct. 1652). Further disputes between the

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main body of Friends and Rich took place, partly resulting from a donation of £30, sent over by Rich for English Friends, but returned to the donor (*Letter to William Bayly*, 1669; *Letters upon the Quakers Prevarication*, 1669; *Epistle to the People called Quakers*, 1680).

Rich wrote several other pieces, including *Hidden Things brought to Light*, 1678 (to which a reply, *Something in Answer*, appeared in 1679); also *The Epistles of Mr Robert Rich to the Seven Churches (so called by Him), viz. Roman Catholick, Episcopal-Protestant, Presbyterian Independent and Anabaptist in one Ternary, Quaker, and Church of the First-Born*, in London, 1680, in which are recorded his gifts to each of "30*l* Sterling," anno 1667, per John Raynes (for contents, see Smith, *Cata.*; copy in D. is mutilated and incomplete). He arrived in London from Barbados in September, 1679, and died in the following November.

Taylor, *Loving and Friendly Invitation*, 1683; Whitehead, "Epistle to the Reader" in Nayler's *Collection of Books*, etc., 1716, p. xvi; *D. N. B.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1653—4, p. 331 (which, as it refers to the sufferings of Nayler, must be out of order among State Papers as now arranged).

326 3 No further account has been found of the visit of Anne Gargill to Portugal. Shortly after this time Anne appears to have gone off into Ranterism. The author of *The Snake in the Grass* asserts that when Fox first came to London Anne Gargill "threw her self upon her Knees, betwixt his Feet, and cryed out to him, 'Thou art the Son of the Living God'" (Leslie, *Snake*, 1697, p. 114).

Dr Daniel Phillips (*Vindiciae Veritatis*, 1703, p. 38) places this saying "amongst the rest of the Snake's Forgeries," but he adds, "We acknowledge that about the Year 1655, there were a Set of Women tinctured with the Spirit of Ranterism, who would give Honours to the Creature, more proper for their Creator: these our Friends unanimously rejected" (p. 40). Anne Gargill was publicly disowned, but in 1657, she was in Holland, where "shee did labour utterly toe destroy and toe scatter" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 28).

*Seasonable Advice concerning Quakerism*, by J. Stillingfleet, Rector of Beckingham in Lincolnshire, 1702, p. 17; Swarth. MSS. i. 6—A. G. to G. F. 1656.

General Montagu writes to Secretary Thurloe, from "Aboard the Nasebye, in the river of Lisbone," Sept. 16, 1656, "There is an English shipp come in here from Newfoundland. The master hath beene on board of us. There is not, they say, one person in the shipp, officer or mariner, but are all Quakers. I feare they will meet with affronts from these people, and I heare they have beene in danger alreadye for not putting off their hatts to the Portugueses, when they have saluted them in the streets" (Thurloe, *State Papers*, 1742, v. 422).

326 4 George Taylor ( —1696) was an ironmonger, of Kendal. He acted with Thomas Willan (329. 1) as financial agent to Margaret Fell (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 85); numerous cash-statements of his are preserved among Swarth. MSS. Thomas Lawson wrote to M. Fell (no date), "I saw George Taylour, but could not mention it [the purchase of a Hebrew lexicon] to him, for hee is ag$^{t}$ mee in his minde" (Swarth. MSS. i. 241), and Ambrose Rigge wrote also to M. Fell, 25th of Nov. 1658, "I was at Kendall & it laid much upon me to speake to Geo: Tailer concerning these severall accusations that hee is accused with all...but he would confess nothing but said hee was clear, w$^{ch}$ I did not beleeve...I had but 10$^{s}$ of G: T: for my Journey" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 80). Against these statements must be placed the fact that

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Taylor signed, with other Friends, several official documents, dated 1658 and 1659 (*Y. M. Epistles*, 1858, i. xxx, xxxi). Nothing later respecting him has been found save the date of his death, given in the Westmorland Registers—a hiatus of thirty-five years.

326 5 There are several references to letters from George Taylor to Justice Archer, of Kendal, in Swarth. MSS. (i. 209, 212, 256). Archer committed Christopher Taylor to Appleby Jail in 1654, whence Taylor wrote a letter to Archer complaining of the cruelty of the jailer, George Beck (Swarth. MSS. i. 14).

*Suff.* under Westmorland; *Westmorland Quaker Records*, 1902; Spence MSS. iii. 148.

326 6—10 This paragraph was doubtless taken from the Swarth. MS. i. 258, which is a letter sent to Swarthmoor by Thomas Willan and George Taylor, M. Fell's agents at Kendal. It concludes, "Wee shall send a Copie of the Mittimus upp to Ger. Benson."

James Wilson is not found elsewhere.

Matthew Robinson ( —1697) lived at Greysouthen, near Cockermouth. He is mentioned by Besse, 1655 and 1657 (*Suff.* i. 127, 128).

John Gill also lived at Greysouthen (*Suff.* i. 132).

John Fearon ( —1690) lived at Eaglesfield Cragg. "He freely gave up his house for many years for f$^{ds}$ to keep meet$^{s}$ in" (*F. P. T.*). His widow, Mary, died in 1699.

John Dixon died in the White Lyon Prison in Southwark, in 1662 (*Suff.* i. 690).

326 11 Sir George Fletcher ( —1700) was a member of the squirearchy, well-known persecutors of Friends, living in North Lancashire and adjoining counties. His seat was Hutton Hall, Cumberland, thus described in the Sandford MSS., quoted in Ferguson's *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871, p. 358—"The territories of prince-like pallace of Sir George Fletcher...called Hutton-inth-Forest. A very brave monsir, great housekeeper, hunter, and horse-courser." For eight shillings and sixpence, tithe, he imprisoned John Banks (325. 2) in Carlisle for six years and nine months (*John Banks*, 1712). He was Mayor of Carlisle on perhaps more than one occasion, and M.P. for Cumberland from 1661 to 1700, with one or two exceptions.

*Suff.*; Hist. MSS. Com. *Fleming MSS.* 1890; *F. P. T.*

326 12 James Harrison (c. 1628—1687) was born near Kendal. He was a shoemaker by trade. "He was Called into the Ministry, and a faithfull labourer therein...travelled in many parts of this Nation...& particularly in the lower part of Lancashire, where he Marryed, and he & his ffamelly sattled for sevrall years, untill he and his ffamelly removed into Pensilvania" (*F. P. T.*). Harrison and his family, including his son-in-law, Phineas Pemberton, emigrated from Bolton, Lancs., in 1682 (see the log of the vessel, the *Submission*, in *Publications of the Geneal. Soc. of Penna.* 1895, i. 7—13; Lippincott, *Mather Family*, 1910, p. 15). Harrison became Penn's first Steward at Pennsbury (Jenkins, *Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal*, 1903, i.). "Though he had great concerns in this world, yet he earnestly laboured to keep a conscience void of offence...and the Lord's power kept him a sweet savour to the end" (*Memorials...Penna.* 1787).

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Bowden, *Hist.* 1854, ii. 111.

The paragraph in which Harrison's name occurs is taken from Swarth. MSS. i. 260 b. The Swarthmoor fund provided Harrison with a pound for his journey (*ibid.* i. 267).

326 13 James Moore travelled also in Ireland, in 1657 (Swarth. MSS. iii. 132). Nothing further respecting him has been found.

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326 14 This letter is among Swarth. MSS. (i. 247). Thomas Willan writes, "Truely we are much refreshed by the voice and sound which the power of God did utter through them, & many can wittnes the life raysed & refreshed, for they were much exercised by the power of the lord in songs & himes and prayer that made mellodie & rejoyced the hart of some, but being not in wisedome of words alltogether made some scruple especially friends of under barow, but truly it was that preaching of the crosse, which will confound the enticeing words of mans wisedome."

There are some seventy letters among Swarth. MSS., written by Taylor and Willan to Margaret Fell, 1654 to 1658.

326 15 Rebecca Ward's name appears among the "7000 Hand-maids," under London and Southwark (*These Several Papers was sent to the Parliament*, 1659). "Becky Ward and another young woman came into this City...and Bec. ward passed through Cheapside and spake and was presently [*i.e.* immediately] compassed about with rude people and after a while she was sent to Bridewell" (Howgill to M. Fell, 1655, Swarth. MSS. i. 161). She was the daughter of Henry Ward (i. 42. 4), according to Swarth. MSS. i. 238.

326 16 There is a brief record of the life of Elizabeth Fletcher (c. 1638—1658) in *F. P. T.*, written by Thomas Camm. She was "a vertious maid, and of a Considrable ffamelly in the world...travelled with Elizebeth Levens to the City of Oxford [1654], where they Suffered by the black tribe of scholers...ffor they dragged them first through a dirty pooll, afterwards had them to a pumpe, and houlding their mouths to the pump, endeavred to pumpe water thereinto with other shamefull abusies" (*F. P. T.*). Camm states that E. Fletcher received a permanent injury by being thrown over a gravestone; Croese says she was thrown "into a Grave, that was opened for the burying of a dead Corps" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 109), giving as a reason for this treatment that "these women did first chatter and talk in their way of Cant to the Students in the Streets, and then in the Publick Churches, and last of all in the Universities." E. Fletcher, despite her weakened condition of body, visited Ireland in 1655 and two years later. She was the first Quaker preacher in the cities of Dublin and Cork (Rutty, *Hist.* 1751).

On one occasion she was provided from the Swarthmoor fund with a "hatt," which cost 2*s.* 4*d.*, and on another with "a paire of showes" for 3*s.* (Swarth. MSS. i. 208, 267).

*Declaration of Sufferings*, 1659; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; *Suff.*

326 17 The home of Lancelot Wardell was Sunderland, but in 1656, a letter from William Caton was addressed "For the hands of his Deare Brother Lancelote Wardell at Gatesyde [Gateshead, Co. Durham] or Elsewhere" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 257). Other Swarth. MSS. detail some financial disagreement between Wardell and Anthony Pearson, anno 1656; George Taylor wrote to M. Fell in August 1656, "If thou owne L: Wardell for a friend in the truth reprove him sharply that he may be found therein, for this thing is out of it," and Wardell wrote in August to M. Fell explaining his conduct (*ibid.* i. 280—282, 284). In 1659, Wardell signed, with others, epistles from Skipton and Durham (*Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1858, i. xxxi, xxxiv).

*Robert* Wardell, of Sunderland, was a well-known Quaker minister, who died in Jamaica in 1696.

326 18 Ambrose Rigge (c. 1635—1704/5) was born at "Banton" (Bampton) in Westmorland (*Piety Promoted*). He was a schoolmaster at Grayrigg, in the same county, until his removal into Surrey. He laboured in

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the Gospel in various parts of the country (see *F. P. T.*). Some account of his ten years' imprisonment in Horsham Gaol (1662—72) is given by R[ebecca] T[ravers] at the end of Rigge's tract, *The Good old Way and Truth*, 1669 (see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671). This tract makes mention of "a cloud of Witnesses out of the Ecclesiastical Histories of them that denied all Swearing in divers ages" (p. 14). In 1664, while still a prisoner, Rigge married Mary, daughter of Captain Thomas Luxford, of Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, his wife being also committed to the same place of detention. For a short time he resided at Horsham and later at Gatton and Reigate. There were five children—the name Ambrose Rigge came down to the nineteenth century.

Many of Rigge's writings are extant in print and manuscript. A collection of them was published in 1710, entitled *Constancy in the Truth*. In a copy in D. of his *Banner of Gods Love*, 1657, under his name, has been written by some ancient "adversary of Truth," "It had bin better for thee that thy Name had bin buried in oblivion." Some of the early Minutes of Horsham Monthly Meeting, 1668 ff., are in Rigge's beautiful handwriting.

Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Gough, *Hist.* 1789, iv. 9; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; *D. N. B.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, iv. 571; Robson MSS.; Swarth. MSS.

327 1 This narration was taken from a letter of George Taylor to Margaret Fell, written 1655 (Swarth. MSS. i. 220).

327 2 This is the original letter, written neatly on one side of the folio sheet. The figures of the endorsement were added to it by Fox.

328 1 William Steele ( —1680) was appointed Recorder of London in 1649. He was sent on circuit in March, 1655, and became Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the same year. In letters written on the 18th and 25th of the same month Taylor and Willan confirm the opinion of Steele's leniency (Swarth. MSS. i. 240, 250).

Thurloe, *State Papers*, 1742; *D. N. B.*

328 2 Probably John Parker, who was made a Baron of the Exchequer in 1655 but who lost his post at the Restoration. He is mentioned with Recorder Steele in Swarth. MSS. i. 240, 250, but he was not, apparently, so favourable as the Recorder.

Thomas Aldam came before "John Parker, Called A Judge," on several occasions in 1653 and 1655 (Swarth. MSS. i. 90, iii. 43, iv. 156). *D. N. B.*

329 1 Thomas Willan lived at or near Kendal and acted as M. Fell's financial agent in association with George Taylor (326. 4). Several of William Caton's letters to Willan in 1659, 1660, and 1663, are among Swarth. MSS. (iv. 261, 263; see *William Caton*, 1839, pp. 81, 87, 130). In 1663, Caton writes to him as "my dear and ancient Friend." There is a letter from Willan to M. Fell, 1654, relating to sufferings, imprisonments, and postal charges (Spence MSS. iii. 7).

329 2 This is taken from a letter from Willan and Taylor to M. Fell, 1655 (Swarth. MSS. i. 236).

329 3 Extracts from this letter, which is in "W. Caton's MSS. Collection," are given in Barclay's *Letters, etc. of Early Friends*, 1841, p. 35.

330 1 This letter is among Swarth. MSS. (i. 240).

330 2 According to *Piety Promoted*, Hugh Stamper (c. 1611—1676) lived at Lurgan, Co. Armagh, Ireland (see also Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pa.* 1902). The reference to him on this page is taken from Swarth. MSS. i. 257.

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330 3 The name is given in the Swarth. MS. (i. 250) from which this is an extract. John Musgrave was probably one of the county family of that name seated at Eden Hall, near Penrith, and elsewhere. The name, John, does not appear among Musgraves mentioned in Fleming MSS. printed by the Hist. MSS. Com. 1890.

331 1 Alice Birkett (Burkett) travelled as a preacher in various parts of England and Wales (Swarth. MSS. i. 194, iv. 244, 247). In 1654, she was in Ireland (*ibid.* iv. 244). She received several amounts from the Swarthmoor fund (*ibid.* i. 208, 215, 267)—"ffor Allice Birkett and severall other friends in the service & mending theire showes at severall times as much as came too 00. 04. 00." Her relationship with other Friends of the same surname, resident in and around Kendal, has not yet been discovered.

331 2 Among Swarth. MSS. (i. 238), in a letter from Willan and Taylor, dated 1655, occur the words "Dorathy Waugh is gone towards G: ff: with Agnes Wilson and never Accquainted us of her Jorney and hath taken six or 7$^{s}$ of a friend and Bidd him tell us of it." Margaret Fell's agents evidently held tight hands on the purse-strings. Besse notes an Agnes Wilson of Undermilbeck, Westmorland (*Suff.* ii. 26). There was an Agnes Wilson in Virginia in 1701 (Backhouse, *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849).

331 3 Dorothy Waugh (c. 1636— ) was a sister of Jane Waugh (326. 1). She "travelled in many parts of this nation, and Into America, where she suffered very much by whiping & Imprisonm$^{t}$ &c$^{t}$, espeshally in and aboute Boston in New England" (*F. P. T.*). She crossed the Atlantic in the *Speedwell* in 1656, aged twenty, but the Quaker passengers were compelled to return by the same vessel. Dorothy Waugh, with others, sailed again next year in the noted little vessel, the *Woodhouse*, Robert Fowler, Master. (Holder, *Holders of Holderness*, 1902; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 42, 56, 104, 128, 311.) Some time after her return she married William Lotherington of Whitby, Yorkshire (*F. P. T.*).

Bishop, *New England Judged*, 1660; Swarth. MSS.

331 4 Elizabeth Cowart (Coward, Court, Courten, Corte, Korte, Quorte) was in East Anglia, preaching, in 1654—5 (Swarth. MSS. i. 29, 30, 161, 344). In 1655, she was the companion of Margaret Newby in service and suffering in Worcestershire. Humphry Smith relates in his "Sufferings...of the Saints at Evesham," "Margerat Newby and Elizabeth Quorte came to this Town...and to the Prison to visit us. The mayor caused them to be put in the Stocks...and beastly words he used to them...and lockt the Prison-door, it being a freezing night, in which manner [as described by Smith in words which cannot be printed here] they were kept the space of 15 hours at least" (*Collection*, 1683). E. Cowart writes to M. Fell, "The maior charged us we should not singe, & if we did he would put both our hands in also, nevr The lese we did not forbeare being both moved eternaly by y$^{e}$ lord to sing in y$^{e}$ stocks, each of us both leggs in" (Swarth. MSS. i. 359). The visit to Venice, made in company with Elizabeth Harris, took place in 1657—8, not 1655 as given on p. 331; she received ten shillings from the funds "for veince," and there is another entry in the Swarthmoor accounts—"ffor y$^{e}$ freinds y$^{t}$ went to Venus[!] 47—1—00" (Swarth. MSS. i. 71, 233, 264, 397, iii. 7). Beyond these scattered notices, little is known respecting Elizabeth Cowart.

*Suff.*; *F. P. T.*

331 5 Little is known respecting Richard Waller save his visit to Ireland and imprisonment at Waterford in 1657 with Richard Roper (i. 107. 1),

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recorded by Besse and mentioned in A. R. B. MSS. The Account of 1657 (p. 336) states that he was a Lancashire man, and his home was probably at Cartmel. Letters to his wife, 1654, and to Margaret Fell, 1656 and 1657, are extant (in D.). The Burial Registers contain the entry of "Richard Waller of Quarrel flat, in Swarthmore M. M., 1657/8, buried at Height."

331 6 Anne Wilson's three months' imprisonment in Cambridge, for "openly testifying against the Corruption of the Times" is recorded by Besse (*Suff.* i. 85) and also in the Swarth. MSS. (i. 234, 269). Other Swarth. MSS. hint at religious visits in various parts of England, but nothing definite respecting Anne Wilson's place of residence or family life has been brought to light.

331 7 Richard Ismay (Ismead—the name takes other forms; the "Ihmaide" of this page may possibly imply that the letter *s* in this name was silent). According to Besse (*Suff.* ii. 62) Ismay was imprisoned in Worcester, in 1661. Reference to his visit to Scotland and to money supplied him appears among Swarth. MSS. He was one of the Friends who wrote *The Doctrines and Principles: The Persecution...by the Priests and Magistrates of Scotland*, 1659, in which some of his own sufferings are recorded.

The Ismay family was numerous in Cumberland. There was an Arthur Ismead (Ismay), a Separatist, resident in Wiltshire.

331 8 John Grave ( —1675) was a member of Isell Meeting in Cumberland; he "reced truth in the year 1654, being Invyted by a fr[d] to a sylent meet, in w[ch] gods Heavenly power broke in upon him" (*F. P. T.*). He "reproved the Priests at several Times and Places" (*Suff.* i. 128, see also p. 129, ii. 495) and suffered for so doing. His ministerial journeys covered many parts of England and Scotland. His death took place at Richard Wilson's house at Sunderland, Co. Durham. His wife, Frances, died the previous year. A brief memoir in MS. in D. refers to "his books & papers," but these do not appear to have been printed. There is one letter of his among Swarth. MSS. (iv. 232).

There was a John Grave, of Virginia, who wrote, in verse, *A Song of Sion*, printed 1662, and several MSS. in D.

*William Caton*, 1689; *John Burnyeat*, 1691, p. 64; *Extracts from Register Books*, MS. in D.

331 9 The residence of Reginald Holme was in the parish of Grasmere, Westmorland. From thence his friend, William Wilson, was, in 1665, taken to Kendal Prison (*Collection of Letters of William Wilson*, 1685, p. 35). With Wilson he wrote a paper, commencing "We desire you English men to read this Paper" (*ibid.* p. 35, pp. are incorrectly numbered).

*Suff.* i. 317, ii. 28—30; Swarth. MSS.

331 10 The portion of the Swarth. MSS. comprising sundry accounts of expenses of travelling ministers contains an entry of a payment for "Jane Wilkinson, when shee went for Holland—£2. 4*s*." anno 1655.

331 11 William Stockdale ( —1693) is said to have been a native of Scotland, but residing later at Charlemount in the North of Ireland. His gospel labours covered the British Isles. Stockdale was joint author of *The Doctrines and Principles: The Persecution...by the Priests and Magistrates of Scotland*, 1659, wherein are recorded some of his sufferings in the northern kingdom, and he also wrote *The Great Cry of Oppression*, 1680. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1684/5, and

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there came into opposition to George Keith and his erroneous views. "He was poor in this world in his old age, and if the kindly aid of his brethren had not interposed, his declining days would have been marked by privation" (*The Friend* (Phila.), 1854, p. 291). Letters to Fox, John Lynam, and others, are extant in D.

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 231; Proud, *Hist. Penna.* 1797, i. 340, 369; Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Penna.* 1903; MSS. in D.

331 12 Barbara Pattison is principally noted for her experiences in the West of England, which are related at the close of the tract, *The West Answering the North*, 1657. In 1656, in conjunction with Margaret Killam, she wrote *A Warning from the Lord to the Teachers and People of Plimouth.*

*F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS. i. 112, 248, iii. 94.

331 13 Margaret Bradley is perhaps the same as the Margaret Bradley, wife of Thomas Bradley of Knipe in the Parish of Bampton, Westmorland, who is described in Winder's *Spirit of Quakerism*, 1696, p. 1, as one "turned Quaker almost with the first in the North, and become very famous among them," but, in the view of this author, a very objectionable woman. For the controversy between Winder, Thomas Camm and others, see *Jnl. F. H. S.* v. 147 ff. and pamphlets by Winder, Camm and Rev. Samuel Audland.

Swarth. MSS. (financial statements).

332 1 George Bayly ( —c. 1657) of London was "bredd up a shopp keep$^{r}$ in the new Exchange in y$^{e}$ Strand. He was an upright hearted sinceere young man, & for his Zeale and faithfullnes to the Lord went thorrow great sufferings" (*F. P. T.*, see Swarth. MSS.). He "dyed in prisson in parisse" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 9).

*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910.

332 2 In the account of the moneys expended from the general stock managed at Swarthmoor, under date 1655, is the entry "to Ed. whitewell of hutton towards his horss beeing taken by Order from the Priest Greenhead for 6$^{d}$ formerly dew—1. 0. 0" (Swarth. MSS. i. 253).

The Whitwell family, of Kendal, etc., has been well known among Friends for generations (Foster, *Wilson of High Wray*, 1890, pp. 132 ff.).

332 3 Except for slight references in Swarth. MSS., no information regarding Margaret Clayton (Cleaton) is forthcoming.

There has been a long succession of Friends of the name of Clayton.

332 4 Anne Clayton (Cleaton) occupied some position in the Swarthmoor household (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 41, 174; M. Fox's Testimony to George Fox, in Ell. edd.). In addition to travels and imprisonments at home, Anne Clayton also passed over seas. According to Swarth. MSS. she was in Barbados in 1657 (i. 70) and 1659 (iv. 218), in England again in 1660 (i. 78) and beyond seas again in 1669 (i. 50).

It was probably the same Anne Clayton, who wrote a letter, n. d., to the King, whom she addressed as "dear heart" (printed broadside and early MS. in D.), and who married Nicholas Easton, of Rhode Island, prior to 1672 (p. 204).

332 5 James *Simonson* ( —1658), according to Besse and Swarth. MSS. "Jane Symonsoon Widdow of Rowesbecke" is mentioned on p. 68. Her death took place, apparently, in 1679.

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332 6, 13 Jane Ashburner and Richard Ashburner probably lived at Gleaston in the Furness district of N. Lancs. Of Richard it is recorded in the Minute Books of the Monthly Meeting of Lancaster: "Richard Ashburner of Gleaston in Fournece, because he could not with a good conscience pay Tythe to Tho: Shaw of Aldingham, Priest, was sent Prisoner to Lancaster where he laid down his life in his Testimony and was buried at Lancaster (Suppose 1655)" (*Extracts from Register Books*, MS. in D.).

Swarth. MSS. i. 311.

332 7 Walter Miers (Myers) (c. 1633—1723/4) was a son of Richard and Margaret Myers of Baycliff, Lancs., and brother of Richard Myers (i. 107. 3). By 1665 he had settled in London at Bridge House, in Southwark, and later in Pudding Lane, Billingsgate, where he was a cheesemonger, and by Company a citizen and shipwright. He soon became a prominent London Friend. In 1669, Miers married Ann Gauntlett, of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, and had issue.

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 183, 221, 235; *F. P. T.*; MS. account of the Myers family, by J. J. Green, in D.

332 8 Thomas Curwen (Curren), of Baycliff in Furness, was several times imprisoned in Lancaster Castle. In 1665, he was engaged in a controversy with John Wigan (63. 2, 3). He accompanied his wife, Alice Curwen (c. 1620—1679), whom he married, c. 1641, on a religious visit to the North American continent, lasting about two years (*Relation of the Labour, Travail and Suffering of...Alice Curwen*, 1680).

Curwen survived his wife and wrote a Testimony respecting her. A statement in a MS. in D. that "*they* finished *their* testimony in London ab$^{t}$ 1680," may be taken to imply that both died there, and the Registers give the death of a Thomas Curwen, of Blackfriars, in 1680, aged seventy years.

*Piety Promoted*; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; *D. N. B.*

332 9 In a letter from Anne Clayton to M. Fell, "account of the charges in preson 1654," we read (Swarth. MSS. i. 310), "A prity while since he [William West] sent John Driver six pence & desired that he would take as much of him every weeke as longe as he staid in the Castell [Lancaster] but John was not free to do soe (& the last weeke he sent him a great ganacke [*i.e. jannock*=a loaf of leavened bread (*N. E. Dict.*)], which she said his man brought from his owne house)."

332 10 William Adamson was a joint-author of *The Persecution of them People They call Quakers in several Places in Lancashire*, 1656. There are hints among Swarth. MSS. of his service up and down and of the need for a supply of money to defray the cost of his journeys (i. 1, 195, 307, iii. 32, iv. 103).

If the above Friend is the same as the Friend who wrote *An Answer to a Book, Titled, Quakers Principles Quaking*, by Ralph Hall and Zachariah Crofton (though Smith places this tract under a separate heading in his *Cata.*), he lived at Liverpool. Of this last-named tract, Thomas Holme, who opened the controversy, writes, "This is to lett thee know that willam Addamsons answer to the book is not yet gone to the presse...Raph Hall must be put down on the titell payge...hee is the arther of the booke, Zach Croften was but the arther of that to the reeder" (Swarth. MSS. i. 198).

332 11 Ellen Cumming's name appears among the financial statements in Swarth. MSS. (i. 311), but it is not given in Besse's list of the Lancashire prisoners of 1654—6 (*Suff.* i. 303).

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332 12 Thomas Hardy's name appears among recipients from the Swarthmoor fund (Swarth. MSS. i. 311—"To Thomas Hardy for fire 0—1—0"). He is not in Besse's list of Friends in Lancaster Castle in 1654—6 (*Suff.* i. 303).

332 14 John Bowron (1627—1704) was born at Cotherstone in the Tees valley, N.W. Yorkshire. After travelling extensively in the British Isles, crossing the ocean to the island of Barbados, travelling several hundred miles along the coast of Guiana and visiting Surinam, then an English possession, he returned to his village home, and departed this life in the house in which he was born.

*Piety Promoted*; Weare and others, *The Doctrines and Principles: The Persecution...by the Priests and Magistrates of Scotland*, 1659, p. 3; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; *F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS.

333 1 The 1656 Account occupies a sheet. There are numerous insertions and alterations which bear evidence of a later date, Lower's writing being more upright and the ink darker than the body of the MS.

333 2 John Hall (1637—1719) was born at Airton in Craven, Yorkshire, and educated as an Episcopalian. He was apprenticed to a tailor. Gervase Benson was instrumental in his convincement. "He kept an Inn at Skipton for the Space of thirteen years, and kept his Authority nobly in the Truth, while in that Place, not allowing Drunkenness, Singing, Dancing, Musick or Excess in his House, but bearing his Testimony faithfully against Intemperance, rul'd well his own House, and kept it for necessary Accommodation" (from "A Brief Recital," by his son, David Hall (1683—1756), Schoolmaster and Minister, of Skipton, in *Memoirs of David Hall*, 1758). In a letter from Paisley to M. Fell in 1656, Hall gives an account of his Scotch journey (Swarth. MSS. iv. 64, 65) and there are records extant of the provision of money for clothes, a horse, some books and general expenses (*ibid.* i. 276, 295).

*John Gratton*, 1720, p. 121; Thurloe, *State Papers*, 1742, vi.

333 3 John Westray ( —1708/9) belonged to Isell Meeting in Cumberland (*F. P. T.*). The record of his burial states that he was "of Sunderland," in that county.

333 4, 5 Save for the Swarth. MS. (i. 276) from which these entries are taken, nothing appears respecting George Reynolds and Ann Hargrove. The name Reynolds has been well known among Friends throughout their history.

333 6 In 1655, George Scaife accompanied Thomas Goodaire in religious service in Herefordshire (*F. P. T.*). The Swarth. MSS. do not refer to Scaife except in connection with money matters.

There was a *John* Scaife who also "run out from friends into the world" (*F. P. T.*).

333 7 William Ames ( —1662) was born at Frampton Cotterell in Gloucestershire, near Bristol (Smith, *Cata.* 1867; Whiting, *Cata. of Friends' Books*, 1708, says "of Somersetshire"). Croese, in a long account of his pre-Quaker life, states that Ames was "ill educated in his Infancy and Youth, having applied himself to nothing that could be useful to humane Life...He serv'd in the King's Army...then became a Marine Soldier under Prince Rupert" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. i. pp. 59—61). When serving in Ireland he attached himself to the Baptists, but became a convert to Quakerism in 1655 (Croese gives *Waterford* as the place, Smith, *Cork*, Sewel, *Dublin*). See his *Declaration of the Witnes of God Manifested in me from my Youth*, 1656, translated into

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Dutch, Swedish, and French. Ames's religious service was principally devoted to the peoples inhabiting Western Europe. In 1657, he was at Amsterdam with Humble Thatcher (Swarth. MSS. iii. 152) and in that and subsequent years he visited Germany, Poland, Bohemia, etc., in company with John Stubbs, William Caton, John Higgins and others. He was the means of the convincement of the parents of Sewel, the historian and lexicographer. A tract, *The Light upon the Candlestick*, Dutch, 1662, English, 1663, has been ascribed to Ames because his name appears on the title-page, but Sewel thinks it was written by Adam Boreel (*Hist.* 1722, Preface and Appendix). He wrote numerous tracts in Dutch. Letters written by Ames while in foreign parts are in D. He died at Amsterdam, being attended to the grave by William Caton who went direct to the funeral from the meeting at which he was married.

Tuke, *Biog. Notices*, 1815, ii.; *William Caton*, 1839, pp. 50, 55, 59, 64, 98, 100, 102, 115; Evans's *Friends' Library*, 1847, xi.; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 19.

333 8 George Harrison (c. 1630—1656/7) of Killington, Westmorland, "was of a ffamelly of Note, and suffered much for Truths sake, by his parents & Relaçons" (*F.P.T.*, where his travels in various parts are recorded). The sufferings at Haverhill which caused his death are mentioned in *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi. 171, see vii. 2). He died at Coggeshall and was buried at Stisted, Essex.

*Piety Promoted*; *Fruits of Piety*, 1824; *Suff.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854; Swarth. MSS.

333 9 Elizabeth Smith ( —1668) of Hazel, Gloucestershire, travelled as a minister among Friends in England and Ireland, being in Ireland in 1655 with Elizabeth Fletcher (326. 16), afterwards becoming the first wife of Miles Hubbersty (i. 46. 1). She was "ffirme in the ffaith, a ffaithful, serviceable woman to the end of her days...and bueryed at Kendall" (*F. P. T.*).

MSS. in D.

333 10 Of Thomas Clibborn little is known beyond that which is stated here and on p. 337, and in the corresponding financial statements among Swarth. MSS. The surname is common among Friends to-day.

333 11 This puzzling contraction is explained by the contents of a letter among Swarth. MSS. (i. 272), from Willan and Taylor to M. Fell in 1656—"There is much rage at E: Burroughes booke, they have ceased [seized] of the most of them, and carried them to Whitehall and one friend came and spooke to a priest before O: C: as they have it in the diurnall...they ceased of 94: bookes." The book referred to was perhaps *A Trumpet of the Lord Sounded*, which was reprinted the same year, 1656, the printing of which by or for Giles Calvert may have been the cause of the order that "Giles Calvert, stationer, who has lately had printed some books reflexive upon the present Government, appear before Council to-morrow" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655—6, p. 308).

334 1 This paragraph is an echo of words in a letter from William Caton to Lancelot Wardell, written in Edinburgh, 1656:—"Let Jo: Langstaff know y$^{t}$ I admire [am surprised] hee hath not been hear since I spoke w$^{th}$ him. If A. P. & hee had come ov$^{r}$ (according as I Expected & they once proposed)..." (Swarth. MSS. iv. 257). But the transcriber was probably incorrect when he expanded "A. P." to "Alex: Parker," for the name "Antho:" appears later in the same connection and it is evident from other MSS. that Anthony Pearson and John Langstaff

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were associated in other business matters (Swarth. MSS. i. 283, 297). It is difficult to see why this unimportant statement should have been repeated here.

John Langstaff ( —1694), of Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham, was convinced, according to *F. P. T.*, by James Nayler in 1653, at Rampshaw Hall, the residence of Justice Anthony Pearson. He soon became a prominent Friend, for in the same year, probably 1653/4, he signed with others a document, described by Fox as "the seting up the menes meeting in bishopricke 1653" (Swarth. MSS. ii. 17, printed in *Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1858, i. vi). He was appointed treasurer to this Meeting. He was a signatory to other official papers—Durham 1659, Kendal 1661, London 1673, etc.

In *The Langstaffs of Teesdale and Weardale*, by George Blundell Longstaff, M.A., M.D., F.S.A., 1906, there is a chapter on "The Quaker Contractor of Auckland" (pp. 52—95). This Friend, John Langstaff, was employed by Sir Arthur Haslerig (d. 1661), of Noseley, "to construct a mansion-house within the court of the Castle or Palace of the late Bishop of Durham, at Bishop Auckland," c. 1647, and, at the Restoration, by Bishop Cosin (1594—1672) to demolish the mansion he had built and restore the Palace. This John Langstaff was probably the same as the Friend mentioned in the *Journal*, for the letter referred to in the first paragraph has to do with "y^e^ takeing of a Large house...in behalfe of a place for a Meeting place," upon which the advice of Pearson and Langstaff was greatly needed. Langstaff's contribution to early Quakerism was more of a business than a ministerial character. His will is given in full by Dr Longstaff.

334 2 William Brend (Brand) ( —1676) was "a man fearing God, a sober man, known to many of the inhabitants of the city of London to be a just man in his generation" (quoted from Francis Howgill, in *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 343). With other Friends, being the second detachment of Quakers to cross the Atlantic, Brend went to New England in 1656 in the *Speedwell*, and although banished almost at once, he returned next year with Robert Fowler's passengers in the *Woodhouse*. Despite his advanced age (Bowden in his *Hist.* i. 129 states that "he attained the age of manhood about the time of Queen Elizabeth's death," but according to the *Speedwell's* passenger list he was only forty in 1656), Brend suffered greatly at the hands of the New England persecutors. The gaoler of the Boston prison laid him, on one occasion, "neck & heels as they call it in Irons as he confessed for 16 houres" and next day gave him "117 Stroaks w^th^ a pitcht rope" (Swarth. MSS. i. 82—John Rous to M. Fell, 1658). Brend visited Rhode Island and Barbados. By 1662, he had recrossed the Atlantic, for in that year and in 1664 he was in Newgate, whence he wrote several pieces. In the latter year he was sentenced to transportation to Jamaica, but the sentence was not carried out. The Register of his death reads, "William Brend of the liberty of Katherines near the Tower, a minister, died the 7th of the Seventh Month [Sept.], 1676, buried at Bunhill Fields."

Holder, *Holders of Holderness*, 1902; Swarth. MSS.

334 3 In the list of passengers aboard the *Speedwell*, 1656 (*Holders of Holderness*, 1902, p. 23) Mary Weatherhead (c. 1630—1658) is described as a Quaker, of Bristol, aged 26. Having been, with others, banished from New England, she joined the next band of trans-Atlantic Quaker preachers who were landed in the New World from the *Woodhouse*, in July, 1657. She first visited New Amsterdam

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(New York) and then Rhode Island and later New England. In 1658 took place the affecting event of the death by drowning of Mary Clark, Richard Doudney and Mary Weatherhead. Fox gives a fuller statement respecting her death (p. 336).

334 4 Sarah Gibbons, of Bristol (c. 1635—1659), left for the New World, with other Friends, in the *Speedwell*, anno 1656, she being then twenty-one years of age, according to the list of passengers given in *The Holders of Holderness*, 1902, p. 23. She was one of the six Friends, who, after their expulsion, returned in 1657 in the *Woodhouse*. She visited New Netherlands, Rhode Island, Boston, and Barbados, and when again arrived off Rhode Island, she was drowned under the following sad circumstances:—"she & anoth$^{r}$ freind, Who is Katerine Scotts daught$^{r}$ of a place Called providence:...did passe into a sloope to goe to Providence, & as they Came neare to y$^{e}$ shoare ...there Came aman in a Canow to fetch y$^{m}$ where into they went... & soone aft$^{r}$ they were in it y$^{e}$ Canow fylled w$^{th}$ wat$^{r}$ & did sinke... S: G: was drowned & was not found untill it was low water & then found her & y$^{e}$ next day buried her body in Rich: Scots Orchard... who hath left a good Savour behind her" (letter in D. from William Robinson to George Fox, dated from Boston Gaol, 12th of Fifth Month (July), 1659, shortly before the writer was hanged on Boston Common).

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850; MSS. in D.

334 5 It is evident from the Swarth. MS. (i. 397; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 59 n.) which details the expenditure caused by this visit to Turkey, that "Capt: Marshall" was the master of the vessel in which the voyage was made, as the passage-money (£25) and payment for food, bedding, etc. (£17. 16*s.*), were handed over to him. A full account of this visit to Turkey, taken from hitherto unpublished sources, will be given in William C. Braithwaite's forthcoming volume, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*.

334 6 The visit to the New World by Anne Austin and Mary Fisher had been better placed before references to other Friends who crossed the Atlantic Ocean. "The first Quakers to reach the American hemisphere were...Mary Fisher and Anne Austin. Their first place of landing and of missionary activity was the island of Barbadoes, where they arrived near the end of the year 1655" (Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, bk. i. chap. ii.).

Of Anne Austin ( —1665) little is known save relating to this visit to America, at which time she was probably in middle or later life. Croese states that she was "stricken in Years, Mother of some Children" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. p. 124). Henry Fell refers to her as "lately come from England," in his letter to M. Fell from Barbados, in Ninth Month (Nov.), 1656 (Swarth. MSS. i. 66). The two women reached Boston in Fifth Month (July), 1656, but they were not allowed to land until their luggage was searched and their Quaker literature removed and burnt. After removal to Boston Gaol, they were stripped naked and examined for marks of witchcraft. Simon Kempthorn, master of the *Swallow*, who had brought them to Boston, was compelled to take them back to Barbados and from thence they soon returned to Europe. Anne Austin died in London.

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 30—37, 41, 43, 48, 60 n., 244.

334 7 The early home of Mary Fisher (c. 1623—1698) was at Selby, Yorkshire, where she was "as servant with Richard Tomlingson" (Swarth. MSS. i. 373). Her convincement took place in 1652, and

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shortly afterwards she was imprisoned in York Castle (*F. P. T.*; A.R.B. MSS. 173). At the close of 1653, accompanied by Elizabeth Williams, Mary Fisher visited Cambridge and "fell into discourse with some Schollars of Sidney-Sessex-Colledg" and bluntly told them "that their Colledg was a Cage of unclean Birds" (using a phrase taken up later by Fox, and turned against erring brethren by Francis Bugg), for saying which they were "stripped naked to the waste... put into the Whipping Post and their bodies cut and slashed and torn" (*The First New Persecution, or A True Narrative of the Cruel Usage of two Christians, by the present Mayor of Cambridge, as it was certified from thence by an Eminent Hand*, 1654; *Suff.*). The first term of foreign service is noted under 334. 6. M. Fisher was in the West Indies again in 1657—8. In 1660, she undertook that hazardous journey to the Court of the Sultan Mahomet IV, a full description of which, from an outside point of view, is given by Croese (*Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. pp. 274 ff.). Mary Fisher became Mary Bayly by her marriage, in 1662, with William Bayly (i. 201. 1) and, later, Mary Cross by her marriage with John Cross ( —c. 1687), of London, in 1678. John and Mary Cross emigrated prior to 1685/6 to Charleston, (South) Carolina, with three children. Through the recent researches of George Vaux, of Philadelphia, further information respecting Mary Cross and the children of her first marriage has been obtained and published (*The Friend* (Phila.), 1909, pp. 403, 411, 1910, p. 261; *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi. 163; see also Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 30—41, 56 n. ff.; Budge, *Annals*, 1877; *Quaker Biographies*, 1909, ii.; MSS. in D.).

335 1 Thomas *Robertson* should probably read Thomas *Rawlinson*; there is no evidence that the former Friend was in Devonshire at this time, while the latter certainly was.

Thomas Rawlinson, writing to M. Fell from Exeter Gaol, in Sixth Month (Aug.), 1656, states "Here is a sort of high flowne Spirits in prison with us, here is Mary Howgill, & Jane Bland James Harrisons wife, divers other friends, 25 in all, wee have a little roome to meete together in every day, w$^{ch}$ the Gaoler hath 10$^{s}$ a weeke for; There is one bed of his in it & a nother of a friends, & all the rest of friends lyes among theeves & murtherers" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 12). Jane Bland's name is in the list of prisoners, 1656, given in *The West Answering the North*, p. 107. Among the signatures to a document issued by a meeting at the Bull and Mouth in 1685 occurs that of Jane Bland.

335 2 Walter Summers is several times mentioned in connection with Gloucestershire in Besse's *Sufferings* and in Swarth. MSS. His home was, probably, Tockington in the south-west of the county. From thence in 1658, he wrote a letter to Margaret Fell, which, for extravagance of language, can hardly be beaten, even in a time of freeness in the use of terms of endearment—"Deare deare dearly beloved... who art...the blessed off y$^{e}$ lord...let me speake ffor my life is open unto thee having been reffreshed in thy bowels & with thy travell I have ffownd deliverance & have as it were sate on thy knee & been suckled at thy brest & nurished by thy side & led as by the hand in green pastures" and much more of the same kind of adulatory language (Swarth. MSS. i. 186).

Nothing further has been found respecting the service of Walter Summers either at home or abroad. His wife, Mary, died in 1684.

336 1 The same remarks on 333. 1 apply equally to this sheet.

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336 2 The statement respecting the visit of William Shaw to Ireland receives confirmation from Rutty's *History* of Friends in that land (1751, p. 96) and the Swarth. MSS. In Eleventh Month (Jan.), 1656/7, he was in prison in Galway (Swarth. MSS. i. 392), and by the Second Month (April) he was again in England (*ibid.* i. 10). He appears to have departed this life shortly after his return home (*ibid.* iv. 99).

There was a William Shaw, of Hill, near Sheffield, who was visited by Fox in 1678 (Ell. edd.; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. ii.).

336 3 Christopher Birkhead was of Bristol: "a Shipwright and Mariner," says Croese, adding, "of a rude and rough disposition" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 115). He suffered imprisonment in Bristol in 1654 for addressing the minister of St Stephen's church as "Thou son of Pride" and speaking also to Ralph Farmer, when officiating in St Nicholas (see *The Cry of Blood*, 1656, pp. 116, 134 and contrast Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, pp. 220, 221, 224 and Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 115). But Birkhead will be remembered chiefly by the events recorded in this paragraph. Early in 1657, having been in prison at Rochelle in France, he found his way to Middelburg in Zeeland, where, entering the English church, he addressed the congregation after the minister, William Spanke, had preached for about three quarters of an hour. As a result he was confined for two years "in the Rasp-house, and there to rasp and work and afterwards to be banished" (*Suff.* ii. 395). While here he wrote a letter to G. Fox, dated Third Month (May), 1659, which is still preserved (Swarth. MSS. iv. 44). Full statements of his experiences in Holland may be read in his tract, in Dutch, the title of which may be Englished thus:—*The Entertainment of a Stranger in Holland. Being a True Relation of the cruel Treatment of Christopher Birkhead; wherein is shewn the manner of his Imprisonment, Examination, and Answer*, 1657; see also Croese, *Hist.* pt. ii. p. 178 (should be p. 208); Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 233; Robson MSS. Birkhead married, in 1666, Joan Day, who died, a widow, in 1721/2.

Besse mentions a Christopher *Birkett*, living near Kendal (d. 1674).

337 1 Of "E. Gybson" nothing further appears. Besse refers several times to a Friend, or Friends, of the name Elizabeth Gibson. The name has not been found among Swarth. MSS.

337 2 Probably, Robert Huntington, of Carlisle (2. 2). He married Mary Martin, of Kirkbride, in 1653. He died 1708.

338 1 *The Doctrines and Principles: The Persecution...by the Priests and Magistrates of Scotland*, 1659, subscribed by various Friends, Fox's name not being among them, though he included this paper in his *Great Mistery*, 1659. See i. 293. 1.

338 2 George Robinson, of London, a young man, is known only for his adventurous journey to Jerusalem. In his account of this, printed in *A Brief History of the Voyage of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers*, 1715, pp. 207 ad fin., he writes, "In the year, 1657, about the beginning of the Seventh Month [Sept.], as I was waiting upon the Lord...did command me to go unto Jerusalem: And further said unto me, Thy Sufferings shall be great, but I will bear thee over them all." How this was accomplished is told in much detail in his own account and by Croese (*Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. p. 272), Sewel (*Hist.* 1722), Besse (*Suff.* ii. 392), Hodgson (*Select Historical Memoirs of Friends*, 1868, chap. xiv.), and others.

There was a travelling preacher named George Robinson, who visited Oliver Sansom, c. 1660 (*Oliver Sansom*, 1710, p. 17).

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338 3 This rapid survey of the rise and progress of Truth—1644 to 1676—does not appear in the Ell. edd. of 1694, 1709, and 1825. It is given in the volume of Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, with the title, *Concerning the first spreading of the Truth, and how many were Imprisoned, &c.* in much the same words as here printed (pp. 338—344). In the edd. of the *Journal* of 1765 and 1836 it is given, with variations, among the addenda, and is headed, *A narrative of the spreading of truth, and of the opposition from the powers which then were, written by George Fox, in the year 1676.* The edd. of 1852 and 1891 place this piece under the date of 1676.

This date, 1676, is the latest record of time among the MSS. of the *Journal* in the handwriting of Thomas Lower.

339 1 This proclamation against drinking the King's health is dated May 30, 1660. It is thus summarized in the *Cal. of State Papers Domestic*, 1660—1, p. 2, "Proclamation against debauched and profane persons, who, on pretence of regard to the King, revile and threaten others, or spend their time in taverns and tippling houses, drinking his health."

339 2 There has never been any general objection among Friends to travelling on Sunday by road or rail to and from their places of worship (*Oliver Sansom*, 1710, p. 16; Ellwood, *Hist.* Crump ed. 1900, p. 43; *F. P. T.*; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910). See 314. 6.

340 1 "The Quakers felt that, since uncovering the head was the outward signification of their adoration towards God, it was not therefore right or fitting that it should be given to man. Barclay says, 'He that uncovereth his head to the creature, what hath he reserved for the Creator?' [*Apology*, 1678, prop. xv. sect. vi.]. Moreover, since it was considered a mark of especial respect to certain people...to take off the hat, Friends, who believed that all people were equally worthy of respect because all were children of one Father...bore testimony to this belief by refusing to take off their hats to any person" (H. W. Smith, *Unselfishness of God*, 1903, chap. x.).

A glance at the index to the *Journal* s.v. "Hat honour" will indicate the frequency of the reference to this subject and the weight of the sufferings this testimony entailed.

But it must be borne in mind that it was customary to wear the hat more continuously than in these days. During public worship the hat was often on the head, except at time of public prayer (*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Nov. 17, 1661; Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, 1907, p. 225; Spurgeon, *Lectures to my Students*, first series, 1877, p. 56; illustrations in Bugg's *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698, and Green's *Hist.* 1893, iii. 1334, but see frontispiece to Barclay's *Inner Life*, 1876). Even the preacher wore his hat while preaching (*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Sept. 28, 1662). In the house the hat was also worn, except in presence of "superiors" (Ellwood, *Hist.* Graveson ed. 1906, pp. xii, 26, 46 ff.; *Bulstrode Whitelock*, i. 145, 159, anno 1653; Lord Clarendon (1609—1674) says in his essay, *On the Decay of Respect for Age*, 1767, that in his younger days he never kept his hat on before those older than himself, except at dinner), or when grace was said at meals (*Thomas Story*, 1747, p. 501; *Samuel Bownas*, 1756, p. 52; Law, *Serious Call*, 1762, chap. iv.; *Memoirs of Sir James Paget*, 1901, p. 275; Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, under John Archdale; cp. Gay,

"Then breaking their chats off,
Say Grace with their hats off").

For references to the early Quaker view of hat-worship and its conse-

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quences, see *West Answering to the North*, 1657, pp. 112 ff.; *Declaration of Sufferings*, 1659; Fox, *Here you may see what was the True Honour amongst the Jewes to Magistrates, Kings, Fathers, Mothers, Masters, Dames, and Old Men, which did not use the putting off the Hat*, etc., 1660; Richardson, *Of Adoration in General; and in particular of Hat-Honour, their Rise*, 1680; *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. iv. v. vi.

The hat testimony was borne for many years, but it is now no longer maintained.

It was customary for the early Friends to remove their hats during public prayer, and the refusal of Perrot and other "hat men" to do so caused a serious schism in England and America.

340 2 A judicial oath is defined by John Milton as "an oath whereby we call God to witness the truth of what we say, with a curse upon ourselves, either implied or expressed, should it prove false" (*Christian Doctrine*, 1825). The position of early Friends regarding legal oaths is stated by William Penn, in his Preface to Fox's *Journal* (Ell. edd.):—"They uphold the Sufficiency of Truth speaking ...from Christ's express Prohibition to Swear at all (Matt. v.). And for that they being under the Tye and Bond of Truth in themselves, there was no Necessity for an Oath, and it would be a Reproach to their Christian Veracity to Assure their Truth by such an Extraordinary way of Speaking: But offering at the same time to be punnisht to the full, for false Speaking, as others for Perjury, if ever guilty of it." The determined refusal of the early Quakers to take an oath brought suffering and loss upon them when all other measures failed, for this refusal was often construed into disloyalty to the government, despite their strong assertions of willingness to conform to all law which did not violate their individual sense of right and wrong. But their persistence gradually overcame opposition and they obtained the liberty of affirmation for themselves first and then for all other conscientious non-jurors. The Toleration Act, 1689, permitted Friends to affirm their allegiance; the Affirmation Act, made perpetual in 1714, allowed them to affirm in civil cases, and was altered to cover criminal cases in 1828; in 1833, there was an extension of the power of affirming granted to Friends and to Moravians; and in 1888, the Amendment of Oaths Act enacted that "*every* person upon objecting to be sworn, and stating...either that he has no religious belief or that the taking of an oath is contrary to his religious belief, should be permitted to make his solemn affirmation...in the words, 'I, *A. B.*, do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm.'"

Penn and Richardson, *A Treatise on Oaths*, 1675; Dymond, *Essays*, 8th ed. 1889, pp. 158—183; *F. P. T.*; Rowntree, *Society of Friends, Its Faith and Practice*, 4th ed. 1908, *Life and Work*, 1908.

341 1 There is not now any document included in the *Journal* MSS. which can be described as a martyrology. That such there was once is evident from the marginal ☞ o × o, implying an insertion, and also from a numerical summary of deaths, which appears in those Ell. edd. which insert this survey and in the volume of Fox's *Epistles* (see 338. 3).

342 1 These three Acts were probably the Quaker Act, 1662, and the Conventicle Acts, 1664 and 1670. They "comprised the persecuting legislation specially enacted against Friends; the other persecuting Acts—the Corporation Act, 1661, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and

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the Five-mile Act, 1665—hardly affected Friends" (W. C. Braithwaite, LL.B., in *F. P. T.*).

342 2 Sarah Blackbury ( —1665) was the wife of William Blackbury of Austin's Parish, London. She appears to have been associated with James Nayler in his defection (*State Trials*, 1776, ii. 270, quoted in a note to Burton's *Diary*, 1828, i. 41) and also in the following year, 1657, when she wrote a short preface to his *How Sin is strengthened*, which tract is referred to in a curious writing of hers preserved among Swarth. MSS. (i. 41), endorsed, "This is to go forth in City & Country where ever y^t^ paper of Henry Clarke shalbe heard of." Sarah Blackbury was a preacher and was instrumental in the establishment of the Hammersmith Meeting (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 261, 347).

The circumstances causing the establishment of a Women's Meeting in London, at this early date, are detailed in the same words in Fox's volume of *Epistles*, 1698, p. 6, and there is also a reference to this Meeting in *An Epistle for True Love, Unity and Order*, by Anne Whitehead and Mary Elson, 1680, pp. 11—13. The "Women's Two-Weeks and Box Meeting" is still regularly held and it still fulfils the purpose for which it was set up (Beck and Ball, *op. cit.* pp. 144, 147, 177, 196, 206, 261 n., and especially p. 344).

Sarah Blackbury was present in Newgate with R. Hubberthorne at the time of his decease, 1662 (Hubberthorne, *Collection*, 1663).

342 3 Samuel Vosse (Vasse, Vaux) lived at the Sign of the Helmet in Basinghall Street, London, and it was doubtless at his house that the meeting was held. The London Burial Registers contain the entry:—"Samuel Voss, senr. d. 1696, aged 87, ph. of Magdalen, Bermondsey, Southwark. Bur. Chequer Alley."

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 36, 347; *F. P. T.*

344 1 This is the last of the documents in the handwriting of Lower, as they are now bound. There is no evidence of the position intended for it among the other MSS. It seems as if it should have had an earlier position assigned to it.

344 2 "By the Act 1 Mar. st. 2, cap. 3, the malicious disturbance of a preacher in his sermon or when celebrating divine service made the offender liable to three months' imprisonment" (W. C. Braithwaite, LL.B. in *F. P. T.*). See i. 17. 1.

345 1 This and other encounters between Richard Baxter (1615—1691) and Thomas Goodaire are given in *F. P. T.* A list of Baxter's anti-Quaker writings and of replies thereto is given in Smith's *Adv. Cata.* 1873, pp. 59—65. In Dr Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London, are papers relating to disputes between Penn and Baxter (*Guide to the Manuscript Materials for U. S. Hist. to 1783*, Washington, D.C., 1908, p. 343). But Baxter could appreciate the constancy of Friends—"In London, the Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time; for they were so resolute, and so gloried in their constancy and sufferings that they assembled openly...and were dragged away daily to the common jail. Thus the Quakers so employed...searchers and persecutors that they had the less leisure to look after the meetings of [other] men" (Orme, *Richard Baxter*, 1827).

*The Friend* (Phila.), 1836, pp. 10, 19, 25; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*

345 2, 3 An account of the sufferings in Cornwall of Joseph Coale, of Reading ( —1670) is to be found in *Some Account of the Life...of ...Joseph Coale*, 1706, but there is not any allusion to the St Tudy steeplehouse episode. Coale visited Friends in Launceston Gaol and

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then expostulated with Justice Anthony Nichols on the way they were treated, with the result that he was sent to join them. Coale, on one occasion, called at "the House of Priest Liverton, with a Letter to him from his Friend that was sent to Goal by the Priest's means, ...he called to his Servant to bring his Cassock-Staff; which being brought him, he held it up to strike him; but his Wife cried out and held his arms, and with much ado prevailed that he did not beat him" (*op. cit.*).

*West Answering to the North*, 1657, pp. 43 ff.

For information regarding Coale, see *Persecution Appearing...in William Armorer*, 1667, pp. 13 ff.; Pickworth, *Relation*, 1736, p. 111; *F. P. T.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 541; MSS. in D.

345 4 This Act was 39 Eliz. cap. 4, "an act for punishment of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggers." Under it any Justice might order any persons taken "begging, vagrant, wandering, or misordering themselves" to be "stripped naked from the middle upward" and "openly whipped until his or her body be bloody." A Pass was then to be written out, giving "some assured marks of the party, as his stature, colour of haire, complexion, or (if it may be) some apparent scar or other note" and the person named therein was to be sent from one parish officer to another till arrived at the place of his residence. In 1657, the Act was extended to all persons wandering without sufficient cause. Similar laws were enacted in the American colonies (Gummere, *Quaker in the Forum*, 1910, p. 63 f.). There are numerous instances in *F. P. T.* of suffering under this law, see esp. "Penal Laws affecting Friends."

Hubberthorne, *A True Testimony*, 1654; Farnsworth, *A Confession and Profession of Faith*, 1658; various tracts on Sufferings; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910.

347 1 The documents printed on pp. 347—371 relate to (i) matters of a testamentary character (pp. 347—367), (ii) a sealed epistle addressed to the Yearly Meeting (pp. 367—369), and (iii) Fox's death and burial (pp. 369—371) and they are all of later date than any of the previous MSS.

From this point to p. 355 the several sections, 347. 1, 349. 2 350. 3, 351. 1, 352. 2, 353. 1, 3, 354. 1, are all in one handwriting, well and clearly written, the various headings being somewhat bolder. The additions and corrections made by Sarah Meade in 347. 1, 350. 3, 351. 1, fix the time of writing as at or near the dates contained therein. These five leaves have evidently been folded together.

347 2 Sarah Meade (c. 1643—1714) was fourth daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor and wife of William Meade of London and Essex (162. 2). She doubtless was of great help to her husband in his work as one of Fox's literary executors. See 26. 1.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865; numerous MSS. in D.

348 1 Thomas Widders lived at Yealand in North Lancashire and was probably a son of Robert Widders (i. 5. 2). In 1678, a number of Friends wrote testimonies against the payment of "Tythe and Steeplehouse Lays"—Thomas, Robert and Christopher Widders are among the writers (*Extracts from Register Books*, p. 155, MS. in D.).

348 2 Steven Crisp, of Colchester (1628—1692), "was a typical example of the middle class, well educated (for he could write in fair Latin) diligent in business, and owning a competency sufficient to free him for those continual travels for the spreading of his new principles, in

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which his after life was spent" (Smith, *Steven Crisp and His Correspondents, 1657—1692*, 1892). He was a bays or baize maker by trade. He married his first wife, Dorothy, in 1648 (d. 1683). His parents, his wife, and he joined the Friends about the same time. His two children died of the plague, at Colchester, 1665—6, also his mother. From 1663, Crisp paid numerous visits to Holland and he also visited many parts of his native land in the service of Truth. He was actively engaged also in the business affairs of the Church. In 1685, Crisp married Gertrude Dericks Nieson (d. 1687), widow of Adrian van Losevelt, and sister of Annekin, wife of William Caton (i. 140. 3).

Crisp's numerous writings were collected and published by John Field in 1694—his *Short History of a Long Travel from Babylon to Bethel*, 1691 (his spiritual autobiography in the form of an allegory), has been many times reprinted, since first issued in 1711, also some of his sermons.

The prominent part which Crisp took in the controversy with those who had seceded from Friends on the question of the Discipline roused their enmity and it is to be hoped that the charges of immorality made by these seceders were founded on animosity rather than on fact (Bugg, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698, pp. 130, 137; *Saul's Errand*, 1728, p. 30).

*Memoirs*, by Samuel Tuke, 1824; Budge, *Annals*, 1877; *D. N. B.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 635; many MSS. at Colchester and in D.

348 3 Thomas Ellwood (1639—1713) was the son of Walter Ellwood, of Crowell, Oxfordshire, a Justice of the Peace (concerning which office the son writes, "It was no way beneficial, but merely honorary, and every way expensive"). Thomas was convinced of Quakerism, 1659, by association with Isaac and Mary Penington, whom he had known in their pre-quaker days in London and who now lived near his home. His father took great umbrage at his son's new ideas and attitude towards himself and others, and he was frequently ill-treated and at times confined to the house. Being desirous of improving his education, which in consequence of his father's extravagance had not been so good as that of his elder brother, his friends in 1662 procured him the post of Latin reader to John Milton, the poet (1604—1674), which ere long he exchanged for a tutorship in the Penington family and the general oversight of Mary Penington's affairs with those of her daughter, Guli Springett. Ellwood was several times imprisoned in London and in his native district. He was a keen controversialist, entering into wordy warfare by voice and pen, with various opponents of Quakerism. In 1669, he married Mary Ellis (c. 1623—1708)—their sober love-making is pleasantly pictured in his autobiography. His work in connection with the *Journal* will be described in the Introduction. His neat handwriting is to be found in local Minute Books and many other MSS.

*The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, an autobiographical record, was first published in 1714 and there have been many reissues, notably those edited by Henry Morley (1885), C. G. Crump (1900), and Samuel Graveson (1906). It is one of the most readable of all Quaker writings. Among his non-controversial writings may be noted his *Sacred History*, 1705—9, *Davideis, a Sacred Poem in Five Books*, 1712, and *Collection of Poems*, n. d. See also Webb, *Penns and Peningtons...Notices of...Thomas Ellwood*, 1867; *D. N. B.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, iii. 137; many MSS. in D.

348 4 John Field (c. 1647—1723/4) was a shopkeeper of George Yard,

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Lombard Street, probably a linendraper. He was also a man of some literary ability, the author of many controversial books and papers and editor of three volumes of the series *Piety Promoted*, published 1711, 1717, 1728. He also edited the works of Steven Crisp. Field is several times mentioned in connection with the Gibson Controversy (see Gibson, *Bigottry and Partiality*, 1705, pp. 16—18, 26). He was clerk to one of the London Meetings and his handwriting is well known; he appears to have from time to time assisted the secretaries regularly employed by the Yearly Meeting (*F. P. T.*). Field is referred to in letters to Sir John Rodes (c. 1670—1743), see Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, esp. pp. 184, 193. In 1716, he formed one of a deputation to King George I (Green, *Souvenir of Addresses to the Throne*, 1901, p. 44).

Field's father was also named John, and there may have been others of the same name. Present knowledge is insufficient to differentiate them with certainty.

The name John Field occurs in Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 659, 680; *Suff.*; Backhouse, *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849; Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 143, 360; MSS. in D.

348 5 Benjamin Antrobus (c. 1645—1715) was a London Friend, a linendraper, living at the Plough and Harrow in Cheapside. He was a frequent visitor at London meetings, his name appearing many times on the "Books of Ministering Friends" (MS. in D.). In 1686, with others, he wrote a Testimony respecting Anne Whitehead, and his name appears in the list of Friends who signed a Testimony to George Fox, from the Second Day's Morning Meeting, 26. xi. 1690/1 (Ell. edd.). He was active in the business affairs of the Church (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, MS. in D.; Minutes of Morning Meeting, i. ii. MS. in D.). In 1684, a volume of verse appeared, entitled *Buds and Blossoms of Piety...Collection of Several Papers, written by a young Man, some of them in the time of his Apprenticeship...some since and the latter part in his late confinement*, etc., reprinted 1691, 1716, 1743, 1766—a curious book containing rhymes on a variety of subjects with little of Quaker interest about them, written partly by B. Antrobus. See 352. 1.

348 6 The name given here is clearly Thomas *Robinson*, but no Friend of that name is known, who would rank with the other Friends, all so well known to students of early Quaker literature. No Friend named *Robinson* has been found among those engaged in the work of preparing Fox's writings for the press. The same name occurs in the list of Fox's literary executors given by Bugg (*Seasonable Caveat*, 1701, p. 26), but the list may have been copied from the Spence MSS.

However, in the official records of the Yearly Meeting of 1691 (Minutes, i. 290, MS. in D.), the name appears as "Tho: *Robbertson*" and is so printed in Bowden's *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting, 1681 to 1857*, 1858, i. 63. It seems therefore clear that the well-known Friend, Thomas Robertson (i. 246. 2), is intended. See *F. P. T.*

348 7 John Vaughton (c. 1644—1711/12) was an active preacher and worker among London Friends, living in Blackfriars, within the limits of Westminster Meeting. His name appears very many times in connection with Church affairs (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, MS. in D.; "Books of Ministering Friends," MS. in D.). Vaughton accompanied Samuel Waldenfield to Ireland in 1698 (*Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland, 1664—1765*, p. 18, MS. in D.). A sermon of his, preached

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at Gracechurch Street, 1694, was printed in *The Concurrence & Unanimity of the People called Quakers*, a collection of sermons and prayers, published 1694. His wife, Elizabeth (c. 1640—1728), signed, with other London women Friends, a letter to Margaret Fox, in 1695 (Spence MSS. iii. 195).

Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725 ; *Suff.* ; Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 131, 250, 253, 330 ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.

349 1 Thomas Dockray (c. 1632—1711) was born near Portinscale, Cumberland. He was "brought up a scholar and was reader at Withburne Chapel in that county" (*Piety Promoted*). His convincement took place c. 1653 (*F. P. T.*). He travelled in the ministry in the three kingdoms. For some years he resided at Swarthmoor, where doubtless his work in connection with Fox's papers was done. In 1683, he settled in Silverdale, Lancs., in the compass of Yealand Meeting. The Dockray and Waithman families intermarried (Foster, *Wilson of High Wray*, 1890).

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 329.

349 2 This occupies a page of the MS. There are several erasures, but nothing to denote by whom they were made. On the other side of the leaf are written the three paragraphs of 350. 3. See 347. 1.

The result of the great work of "Gathering up" Fox's books and papers partly appears in three folio volumes—(i) *A Journal or Historical Account...of...George Fox*, called "The First Volume," pp. 796, published 1694 ; (ii) *A Collection of...Epistles...Written on Sundry Occasions by...George Fox*, called "The Second Volume," pp. 572, published 1698 ; and (iii) *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books, given forth by...George Fox* (usually called "Fox's Doctrinals"), pp. 1107, published 1706. But the two thousand five hundred folio pages of print do not contain all that Fox wrote. In Smith's *Cata.* 1867, i. 644—697, about 345 items are credited to Fox, as sole or joint author. Francis Bugg deals very severely with the editors of Fox's writings, charging them with various omissions, "which they thought not for their Turn. Thus do they drop the Words and Pages of their own Founder" (*Finishing Stroke*, pt. iii. sect. viii. pp. 198 ff., sect. viii. being headed, "Shews the Multitude of Books, Fifty Seven in Number, said to be Writ by George Fox, from Anno 1653 to Annum 1660 ; several of which are large Folios and some of them great part in Latin, Greek and Hebrew ; which considering how Illiterate he was, was impossible for him to effect"). But it was quite reasonable that much of a temporary character should have been omitted from a permanent collection, and much evidence is still to be found in D. of the great care that was taken in above compilations.

The contents of the three volumes, with the addition of *The Great Mistery*, were reprinted in eight octavo volumes, in America, in 1831, as *The Works of George Fox*. A volume of *Selections from the Epistles...of George Fox* was prepared by Samuel Tuke and published in 1825, reprinted in 1848.

Only about a dozen of his pieces were reprinted separately, after the date of his death.

350 1 This was, perhaps, Elizabeth Bland, wife of Nathaniel Bland, linen-draper, of Lombard Street (married 1681), and daughter of Martha Fisher, of the Savoy (169. 2).

350 2 Mark Swanner (c. 1633—1713) was a clerk in Friends' London office. Numerous MSS. in his handwriting are extant in this country

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and America. In 1688, Swanner, when living in Hertfordshire, was appointed to "keep the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting-book and record all the things concerning the County" (Hertfordshire Minute Book, MS. preserved at Hertford). Early in the eighteenth century he returned to London, where he "died of Age" (Friends' Burial Register).

*Jnl. F. H. S.* i. ii. v.

350 3 These three paragraphs are written at the back of the leaf on which 349. 2 is written. The two insertions are in Sarah Meade's handwriting. See 347. 1.

351 1 The matter here printed occupies almost a page of the MS. There is not any writing at the back. Notice the insertions by Sarah Meade, mentioned in textual notes. See 347. 1.

351 2 Of John Loft no further information appears, unless he was the same person as the carrier of Tadcaster in Yorkshire, who wrote several letters to Fox in 1683 (*Suff.* i. 542 ff.).

351 3 John Fox (1629—1718) was the younger and perhaps only brother of George Fox. The Drayton Parish Registers state that he was baptized "Dec$^{r}$ y$^{e}$ 20$^{th}$ 1629." He is mentioned with his father in connection with the dispute at Fenny Drayton (i. 152—158). His home was at Polesworth, in the parish registers of which town there are many entries—*ffox, ffaux, ffawx.* Maria Webb states that some of his descendants went to Pennsylvania (*Fells*, 1865, p. 368). Samuel Smith (d. 1817), of Philadelphia, writes in his Journal, under date First Month (Jan.), 1791, of his visit to Polesworth:—"There also lives in this village, a son [?] to one of George Fox's brothers, and father to the two Fox's who went to Philadelphia, and got a sum of money [£500] from Friends on account of their claim to their great uncle's [?] estate." In the same district, this Friend saw "the staff, it is said, George Fox used to travel with—a large cane stick about four feet in length, and ivory head—looked as tho' it might have belonged to a country squire, and probably had been Judge Fell's" (Comly, *Friends' Miscellany*, 1837, ix. 139). See 352. 6.

For the claim of descendants of John Fox to land in America, see *The Friend* (Phila.), 1865.

351 4 Nothing further is to hand respecting Sarah Freckleton (Frickenfeld).

352 1 The maiden name of Mary Antrobus (c. 1650—1705) was Mary Burrall and her home Greenwich. She married Benjamin Antrobus (348. 5), at Devonshire House, in 1671.

352 2 This is written on one side of a folio leaf, the other side being occupied with 353. 1. See 347. 1.

352 3 Thomas Poultney (Puntley) lived at Polesworth. He was, apparently, married to a niece of George Fox (not mentioned however), but at this time without family. The term *cousin* was frequently used for *nephew* or *niece.*

352 4, 5 Katherine Fox appears to have been an unmarried sister of George Fox, or one who, if married, had no family, as, after her decease, the money and effects in her hands were to descend to the children of her brother, John.

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352 6 "Young George ffox" (1662— ) was the only surviving son of John Fox (351. 3), his elder brother, John, having died without issue. He had one son, Joseph (1685— ) and five grandchildren. The claim of his descendants, then in poor circumstances, to land in Pennsylvania (351. 3, 365. 1) is described in much detail in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1865.

352 7 The name, Samuel Fretwell, has not been found elsewhere. He was, perhaps, a member of the Derbyshire family of that name.

353 1 This matter occupies the verso of the sheet on which 352. 2 is written. See 347. 1.

353 2 Dorothy Fox, daughter of Christopher Fox, was baptized on the 9th of April, 1626 (Drayton Parish Registers). From the manner in which her name is here introduced it would appear that her death had taken place at the date of these family bequests.

353 3 This occupies nearly a page of a folio leaf, which has been frequently folded and is now, in consequence, in a tender condition. The other side is occupied by the matter given 354. 1. See 347. 1.

353 4 Daniel Abraham (1662—1731) was the only surviving child of John and Rachel (Owen) Abraham, of Manchester (*Jnl. F. H. S.* i.). He married, in 1682, Rachel, daughter of Thomas Fell (353. 5), and they resided with Margaret Fox at Swarthmoor Hall. He suffered much for the Truth's sake.

*Journal of James Dickinson*, 1745, p. 72; Green, *Henry Lampe, M.D.*, 1895, p. 60; *The Friend* (London), 1906, p. 572; MSS. in D.

353 5 That is, Rachel Abraham (1653—1732), seventh and youngest daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell (290. 2), and wife of Daniel Abraham, whom she married in 1682. Daniel and Rachel Abraham had one surviving child, named John (1687—1771), "from whom nineteen-twentieths of the living representatives of Thomas and Margaret Fell are descended" (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 411). Margaret Fox appointed her daughter, Rachel, the sole executrix of her will (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. 105). It was in Rachel's arms that her mother breathed her last (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 405; Testimony to Margaret (Fell) Fox). Rachel Abraham was for many years clerk of Swarthmoor Meeting.

Swarth. MSS.

354 1 This is written on the other side of the leaf on which 353. 3 appears. See 347. 1.

354 2 There were Friends of the name of Cockerell living at Whitby and Scarborough in Fox's time (*Whitby and Scarborough Register*, MS. in D.). In *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1676—7, p. 583, there is a reference, among ships to which passes were granted, to the *Patient Tryall* of Whitby. In a letter to Fox in 1669, Ellis Hookes writes, "Joseph ffuce hath left thee a Legacy of fifty pounds...I shall forbeare to give thee an account of my stewardshipp at present, hoping to see thee heere ere long. Only I paid ffifty pounds to Gerrard [Roberts] soon after thee wentst away, it being by thy desire towards a p$^{te}$ of that new shipp, but a sixteenth p$^{te}$ amounts to soe much y$^{t}$ thee and I cannot reach it soe...Gerrard must satifie thee for the use of thy money" (Swarth. MSS. i. 385).

354 3 Probably one of the Richardson family connected with the shipping industry of the Whitby and Scarborough district. See Boyce, *Richardsons of Cleveland*, 1889.

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354 4 Bridget Austill (c. 1637—1693) lived at South Street, in North Middlesex. Anne Whitehead (first wife of George Whitehead) died at her house in 1686 (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 166), and Bridget wrote a Testimony respecting her, printed in *Piety Promoted by Faithfulness*, 1686. Before 1689 she had moved to Tottenham High Cross, for in that year Fox proposed that a meeting should be held at her house there (Minutes of Morning Meeting, i. 107, MS. in D.). In the register of her burial she is described as a schoolmistress.

354 5 Perhaps John Plant was associated in business with Bridget Austill (see previous note). There was a Friend of this name, a vintner, of Bishopsgate (c. 1648—1718), and another of the same name, a "broad silk weaver," of Spitalfields, c. 1673 (Registers of London and Middlesex).

355 1 Francis Bugg, Charles Leslie, M.A., and other opponents of Quakerism have found much to amuse in the will of George Fox, its form and its contents, and they have brought it forward as a proof of the illiteracy of Fox. In Bugg's *Seasonable Caveat*, 1701, he prints Fox's will, "as it is of his own Hand-writing in the Prerogative-Office, both for Spelling and Pointing as near as I can" (pp. 88—96). In a copy of this tract, in D., is written by John Whiting:— "Memorand$^{\text{m}}$ y$^{\text{e}}$ 8: 9$^{\text{mo}}$ 1707 D. P. & I went to y$^{\text{e}}$ prerogative office & Compared this w$^{\text{th}}$ y$^{\text{e}}$ original & found 20 or 30 Errors or variations in y$^{\text{e}}$ spelling between this & y$^{\text{t}}$ wherein he has wronged y$^{\text{e}}$ Author. J W." Bugg complains that in this will there are (i) no proper beginning—"In the Name of God, Amen," (ii) no committing of his soul to God or his body to burial, and (iii) no confession of sin. Bugg had the will printed as a broadside with his comments.

The text as here printed is from an official copy of a smoothed copy of the will, the original having been pronounced illegible. It is written on a sheet of official paper, in the watermark of which the letters G. R. are distinguishable. In a strict sense it was not a will, but the writing consisted of three sheets of instructions, described by Henry Pickworth, as "only certain private Instructions to his Wife's Children and Relations, in several Distinct Papers, which caus'd his Name to be so often Inserted; as some of his Relations very lately inform'd me...'tis apparent, by his own Advice therein, to keep things private; together with his References to other Papers, as well as omission to name an Executor, &c that they were never design'd by him as a Formal Will...though by the Advice of a Counsellor at Law, it was occasionally prov'd afterwards to avoid Trouble" (*A Return to Francis Bugg's Pretended Letter of Reproof*, 1701, p. 15). See 357. 1.

355 2 Sir Nathaniel Meade, Knight (1684—1760), was the only son of William and Sarah Meade (née Fell). It was the intention of their fathers that Nathaniel and his cousin Richard Lower, son of Thomas Lower, should have as their tutor the learned Thomas Lawson, but Lawson's death (1691) prevented this arrangement from taking effect (Gibson MSS. v. 155, printed in *American Friend*, 1903). Young Meade early left his home at Gooseyes to study law in London, and he was admitted into the Society of the Middle Temple in 1700. At the time of his father's death (1713) he was a rising barrister. For some time, closing in 1732, he was banker of Barking Monthly Meeting. He sold the Gooseyes estate and distributed his father's Quaker library. He died at his house in Litchfield Street (*Lond. Chron.* April 17—19, 1760), probably without descendants.

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357 1 This, the last document as bound in Spence MSS., vol. ii., is a modern copy of the original will (355. 1). The original has been previously printed by Bugg in his *Seasonable Caveat*, 1701, also as a separate sheet seven times reprinted, c. 1701 to c. 1703, in *Quakerism Drooping*, 1703, and in his *Finishing Stroke*, 1712, pt. iii. sect. ix.; Leslie, *Works*, 1721, ii. 615; *Harleian Miscellany*, vii. 1811; *Irish Friend*, 1841; Webb, *Fells*, 1865; and see esp. *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1905. There are several MS. copies of the will in D.

358 1 This term is not understood. It may be an error for *R. R.* Chamber, as p. 350. "The Chamber" was the room occupied as the business centre of Friends in London, situate, probably, first at the Bull and Mouth, and later in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 97, 353; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. 16).

359 1 This is written in a cultivated hand on one side of the sheet. On the verso of the sheet is a calculation of the sum of certain amounts of money commencing with £2. 2*s.* 0*d.* opposite the name "Marg$^{t}$ ffox," and £4. 4*s.* 0*d.* opposite "John Rous his wife Mary [? should be *Marg.*] & Children ea. 21*s.*" The twelve other amounts have no names opposite them, but they appear to follow the order on the recto of the sheet. The total is £101. 9*s.* 6*d.*

360 1 Abraham Morrice ( —1704/5) was a prominent Friend of the city and county of Lincoln. He had several children by his first wife, Elizabeth, who died in 1687. In 1689, he married Isabel Yeamans, née Fell (360. 2), whose death took place a few months before his own. His name occurs frequently in the Minute Book of the Monthly Meeting of the South-West part of Lincolnshire (MS. in D.).

360 2 That is, Isabel Morrice ( —1704). Originally Isabel Fell, in 1664 she became the wife of William Yeamans (121. 2) and in 1689 she married Abraham Morrice, of Lincoln (360. 1), at which time she is described as "Isabell Yeomans of Stockdon widdow in y$^{e}$ County of Durham" (Minutes of Monthly Meeting of the South-West part of Lincolnshire, MS. in D.).

Isabel was a preacher among the early Friends. In 1677 she accompanied other Friends on a visit to Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate, of which visit Croese writes, "The Princess was especially pleased with Isabell's Discourse, who indeed had a curious voice and a freer way of delivering her self" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. p. 237), but this statement must be accepted with reserve owing to the many errors in this work.

Tanqueray, *Royal Quaker* [Jane Stuart, d. 1745], 1904, p. 16; MSS. in D.

360 3 Charles Fell (c. 1670— ) was the only son of George and Hannah Fell (i. 58. 1). On coming of age he sold the Swarthmoor and Hawkswell estates, etc., to his uncle, Daniel Abraham (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 295, 384). By the will of his grandmother, Margaret Fox, he and his sister received one guinea each, whilst most of the other grandchildren received two guineas each (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.). He married Mary, daughter of John Brown of Spelmorden, Kent. He appears to have resided in or near London, and to have lived so fast a life that but little remained for his young widow on his death, which took place in the West Indies. Charles and Mary Fell's only surviving son, Charles (c. 1693—1748), married Gulielma Maria, widow of Aubrey Thomas, only daughter of William Penn, Jun., and granddaughter of William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania

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(Barber, *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, 1894; Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn*, 1899, p. 127).

360 4 Isabella, only daughter of George and Hannah Fell, married James Graves. "Of her descendants nothing is known" (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 406). Isabella and her brother received one guinea each under the will of their grandmother, Margaret Fox, most of the other grandchildren received two guineas each (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.).

361 1 That is Mary Elson (c. 1623—1706), wife of John Elson, of the Peel (310. 5). She was one of the most active of the band of faithful women who undertook the care of imprisoned Friends. She left a bequest to the poor of Peel Meeting; a number of articles left by her for use in the Meeting House are detailed in the minutes of Peel Monthly Meeting (MS. in D.).

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 198, 199; MSS. in D.

361 2 Mary Woolley was the wife of Ezekiel Woolley (c. 1625—1693), a weaver, of Spitalfields, London, and was one of the active Friends in the work of Metropolitan Quakerism. She was among the first members of the Six Weeks Meeting, which was set up "to consider of such affairs relating to Truth...as might not be judged fit to be publicly discoursed of at the Fortnight's [Two Weeks] Meeting" (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 92). Her husband and she were also on appointments connected with the Wheeler Street Meeting (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, pp. 35, 41, MS. in D.). Mary Woolley wrote a Testimony to Anne Whitehead, 1686. A letter from her to Margaret Fox, 1677, is in the possession of Silvanus P. Thompson, F.R.S. For some reason, not apparent, Bugg included E. Woolley in his "cage of unclean birds."

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 331; *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.; MSS. in D.

361 3 This is written on three sides of a folio sheet. The signatures at the end are non-autographic.

361 4 The dwelling-house with land adjoining, here referred to, near Swarthmoor Hall, was once in the possession of John Petty and the occupancy of Susanna and Rachel Fell. It was purchased by Fox for seventy pounds and then conveyed to eight trustees for the benefit of Friends. The house was to be repaired for a meeting-house and the rent of the ground was to be devoted to the up-keep of the house after M. Fox's death (p. 359). Swarthmoor Meeting House is still in use, and several articles presented by Fox are still preserved there.

Janney, *Fox*, 1853, p. 391; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 340—342, 359; Bickley, *George Fox*, 1884; MS. preserved at Cartmel Meeting House.

361 5 John Haydock (1640—1719) was elder brother of Roger Haydock (see next note) and was convinced in 1667. He travelled as a minister in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, and was often imprisoned for his testimony to Truth. His death took place in Lancaster Jail after a week's illness. He wrote in 1697 "A Brief Account of the Life...of Roger Haydock," which was affixed to Roger's *Collection of...Writings*, 1700. In 1679, Haydock married Ellen Milner (d. 1711), of Blyth, Notts., daughter of Gamaliel Milner, late of Burton Grange, Barnsley, Yorks.

*Piety Promoted*; *John Taylor*, 1710, p. 45; *William Edmundson*, 1715; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; *John Richardson*, 1757, p. 183; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 295; *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.; *Biog. Memoirs*, iii. 589; Robson and other MSS. in D.

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361 6 Roger Haydock (Haddock) (1644—1696), younger brother of John Haydock (see previous note), was born at Coppull, Lancs., and became, according to Sewel, "a learned and intelligent man...a man of great parts, well read, and full of matter" (*Hist.* 1722). He joined the Quakers in 1667, through the arguments of his brother, John, and travelled on Gospel service in the three kingdoms, and in Holland (1686). In 1676, he had a dispute, by word and pen, with John Cheyney, a preacher living near Warrington, described in Cheyney's *Warning to Souls to beware of Quakers and Quakerism*, 1677, as "a late Dispute at Arley in Cheshire, between John Cheyney a Christian Minister and Roger Haydock a Sect-master and Speaker to the Quakers on Tuesday Jan. 23, 1676." Haydock's reply is entitled *A Hypocrite Unvailed, and a Blasphemer made Manifest*, 1677. In 1682, Haydock married Eleanor Lowe (d. 1723). His brother, John, sums up his Gospel labours thus :—"From the first of his going abroad in the Work of the Ministry, to the time of his departure from hence, was twenty four years and a half ; in which time, not withstanding his Imprisonment, Sickness, and Weakness of Body and Family, he travelled by Sea, and by Land, by Computation, Thirty Two Thousand Seven Hundred, Twenty Seven Miles ; and ministred in Two Thousand Six Hundred and Nine Meetings or Churches, as his Journal plainly makes appear." His writings were collected and edited by John Field, and published in 1700.

John and Roger Haydock had a brother, Robert, who was also a Friend.

*John Taylor*, 1710, pp. 54, 72 ; *William Edmundson*, 1715 ; *Suff.* ; Gough, *Hist.* 1789 ; "Annals of Pemberton Family," in Comly, *Friends' Miscellany*, 1835, vii. ; Backhouse, *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849 ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.

365 1 This is a comparatively modern copy of the Indenture.

Maria Webb gives the history of this American property, drawn from information sent by Friends in Philadelphia (*Fells*, 1865, pp. 366—369). Fox desired that a portion of the ground should be enclosed "for a garden, and to be planted with all sorts of physical plants, for lads and lasses to learn simples there, and the uses to convert them to—distilled waters, oils, ointments, etc." (*ibid.*), but the Friends of that City did not enter into the proposals made and the suggestions were not carried out.

A series of articles in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1865—6, probably written by Nathan Kite, describes "George Fox's Bequest to Friends of Philadelphia, and the Reasons why our City missed having the free Botanical Garden he intended for it."

367 1 Herbert Springett, of Lewes, Sussex, was younger brother of Sir William Springett, father of William Penn's first wife. He was not a Friend, but gave valuable advice and assistance to his nephew and niece (Webb, *Penns*, 1867, pp. 9, 227, 231, 406).

There is a parchment in D., dated 1681, signed by the same persons as here mentioned—Springett and Cox.

*Elizabeth Estaugh*, 1894, p. 23 ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.

367 2 There was a Thomas Cox, vintner, of Whitechapel, mentioned by Besse. The name appears elsewhere among records of London Friends (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, MS. in D. ; *First Days Meetings*, 1682/3, p. 177, MS. in D.).

367 3 It is interesting to have a copy of Fox's last letter, in the handwriting of his step-daughter, Sarah Meade, since the original is not found. This copy occupies a page and three-quarters. The epistle

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was read in the Yearly Meeting of 1691 and ordered to be printed and sent down with the epistle from the Meeting (Minutes, i. 259, 284—289, MS. in D.). The letter is also given by Sewel (*Hist.* 1722) and it appears in *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting, 1681 to 1857*, 1858, i. 60.

369 1 Abram R. Barclay writes of this letter, "It is stated to be recorded in a Register Book of Friends at North Shields" (*Letters of Early Friends*, 1841, p. 210). It seems probable that the leaf from which this letter has been transcribed and is here printed, now bound up with the Spence MSS., once formed part of a Register Book, especially as at the close of the letter occur the following entries :— "Lidia Grouefs the Daughter of Isaac Groues Departed this Life the 29th of the 5 Month 1688"—"John Grouefs the son of Isaac Grouefs Departed this Life ye 19th day of ye 12th Mo 1689"—"Robrt Lodge a Worthy Messenger for truth Dyed att his house Massom in yorkshire the 16th of the 7 month [margin : 1690] & worthy John Burnit dyed in Ireland abt the same Time & Robrt Bartly [Barclay] in Scotland"—"Thomas the Son of Thomas Ogston Deceased the Twenty Sixth of the 12mo 169$\frac{9}{4}$ [*sic*]."

The facts concerning the death and burial of George Fox are mainly drawn from four letters :

(i) From William Penn to Margaret Fox, dated 13th of Eleventh Month (Jan.) 1690/1, the evening of Fox's death (printed in *Fells*, p. 362, from the original in the Thirnbeck MSS.).

(ii) Anonymous letter to John Ayrey, dated 15th January (printed here ; also *Irish Friend*, 1838, i. 54 ; Barclay, *Letters of Early Friends*, 1841, p. 208).

(iii) From Henry Gouldney (c. 1657—1725) to Sir John Rodes, dated 15th of Eleventh Month (printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. ; Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, p. 51, from original in the possession of Mrs Godfrey Locker Lampson, née de Rodes).

(iv) From Robert Barrow ( —1697) to several Lancashire Friends, dated 15th (should be 16th, the day of the funeral) of Eleventh Month (printed in *Irish Friend*, 1839, ii. 46 ; Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 205 ; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 363 ; *The Friend* (London), 1902, p. 136 ; from the original in the Thirnbeck MSS.).

In a volume of modern transcripts, known as the Reynolds MSS. in D., is a letter from Robert Barrow to John Vaughton, dated from Birmingham on the 28th of the month, enclosing "the words & matter that was upon my heart in Gracechurch Street Meeting-house, when George Fox's Corpse lay there....The cause why I writ it was, at that time having a great cold & my Voice weak, I could not be intelligible to the hearers." The Friends who spoke at the meeting-house were James Parke, Robert Barrow, Ambrose Rigge, Jasper Batt, William Penn, Francis Camfield, Charles Marshall, Steven Crisp, John Taylor (York), Francis Stamper and George Whitehead, and Thomas Green ended in prayer. Testimonies at the grave at Bunhill Fields were given by William Penn, Jasper Batt, George Whitehead, John Vaughton and William Bingley.

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 155 ff., 330 ; *British Friend*, 1896, p. 215 ; *Extracts from Minutes of London Yearly Meeting*, 1905 ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii. 71 ; Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, p. 146.

369 2 John Ayrey (c. 1643—1712) lived at Shap, Westmorland, and belonged to Sedbergh Meeting (*Piety Promoted*). In c. 1688, John Ayrey married Ruth, widow of Christopher Yeats, and eldest

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daughter of Thomas Lawson (i. 49. 1). The three daughters of this union married into the Backhouse, Collinson, and Braithwaite families respectively (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 373 ff.; Foster, *Descendants of John Backhouse of Yealand*, 1894, p. 14).

370 1 John Taylor (c. 1637—1708), son of John Taylor, of Hunts., was convinced by George Fox in 1656 and soon began to publish abroad his new-found faith. In 1659, he sailed for America and the West Indies, remaining for some time on Shelter Island and Barbados and returning to London viâ Ireland in 1661. Shortly afterwards Taylor again sailed for the West Indies and remained during more than half a year on the island of Jamaica. In 1663, he married Frances Rither (d. 1696) and went, with her, once more across the Atlantic, arriving at Jamaica in First Month (Mar.) 1663/4, and remaining on the island above two years, engaged in business as well as preaching. In May, 1666, they removed to Boston and Taylor hired a house for himself and family, and a warehouse for his goods, but owing to difficulties with the authorities he left again, in about six months, with wife, children, negro servants and goods, for Barbados. Trials of various sorts and great losses attended him, and compelled him to return to Europe, leaving wife and family behind and after having lost negroes and goods from capture by a Dutch privateer. Towards the close of 1667, he was united again to his family in Barbados, where they remained about eight years. In 1674, Taylor was again in England, and after arranging for home and business in the city of York, he went across the ocean again to fetch his family, and in 1681 he opened a sugar-refinery in York. The remainder of his life was much occupied with travels, in which he was able to combine attendance at meetings and business calls. In 1698, he married Elizabeth Goddard, a sister of George Whitehead's second wife.

Several of Taylor's letters and MSS. are extant. A letter to Fox from Barbados in 1661 is in D.; letters relating to the Separation in York, connected with the names of John Cox, Edward Nightingale and John Hall, c. 1684, are preserved in that city; and a MS. account of the substance of his address to King William III, at Welbeck, Notts., 1695, is under the care of Friends in Nottingham. He wrote Testimonies to William Bayly, 1676, and George Fox, 1691. His *Loving & Friendly Invitation*, 1683, has already been mentioned (5. 1).

*Account of...John Taylor*, 1710, reprinted 1830; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 334.

370 2 William Bingley (c. 1651—1715) lived in Yorkshire in earlier life and later (prior to 1682) removed to London. He paid religious visits to Ireland in 1675 and 1682—3 (Rutty, *Hist.* 1751, pp. 146, 272) and in 1684 with Samuel Waldenfield to Holland and the Low Countries. In Francis Bugg's cartoon, "The Quakers Synod," he is represented as one of the prominent Friends (*Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698). He was one of those who, in 1693, on behalf of the body of Friends, signed the Declaration of Faith issued in that year. A sermon by Bingley, preached 4th March, 1693/4, was printed in a volume of Quaker sermons, 1694.

Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. p. 189; *Richard Davies*, 1710, p. 258; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; *Suff.*; [Ball] *Premonitory Extracts*, 1819, p. 206; Backhouse, *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849; MSS. in D.

370 3 Francis Stamper (c. 1656—1698), of the parish of St Edmunds, Lombard Street, a watchmaker, was a valued London preacher, and

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an active organizer. He was several times imprisoned and fined for attending meetings and preaching. Besse gives a lively account of a discussion between the Recorder of London and Stamper and other Friends, at the Old Bailey, in 1683, in which Stamper shews considerable knowledge of legal authorities (*Suff.* i. 457—460). He was the means of the convincement of John Estaugh, of Essex and New Jersey (1676—1742) (Estaugh, *Call to the Unfaithful Professors of Truth*, 1744, p. v). He married, in 1682, Mary Aire, of St Albans, (c. 1653—1723).

Thomas Ellwood writes of Stamper (MS. in D.):

* * * *

"God called him to his vineyard when a boy,
Taught him to dress it, while he was but young,
He did his time therein so well imploy,
That he grew very skillful, active, strong.
He handled well the pruning knife and hoe
To take away superfluous branch and weed,
His wat'ring pots did often overflow,
The tender vines to cherish and to feed."

* * * *

One of Stamper's sermons, preached in 1694, was printed that year and several times reprinted.

Hayes, *A Legacy, or Widow's Mite*, 1723, and reprints; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. 4; Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, pp. 9, 15, 130, 146; MSS. in D. Several of Stamper's letters are in the possession of John Eustace Harman, of London, barrister-at-law.

370 4 Samuel Waldenfield (c. 1652—1715) lived in Suffolk in early life and was convinced by Giles Barnardiston (c. 1624—1680), concerning whom he wrote a Testimony. In 1684, he married Mary (c. 1631—1721), widow of Nathaniel James, of London, and at the same time settled in London (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vii.). About 1706, he moved to Bush Hill, North Middlesex, where he died. He travelled as a minister some 40,000 miles, to the year 1700, besides many more later, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland and Germany. Several of his sermons were printed.

Croese, *Hist.* 1696, pt. ii. p. 189; *Piety Promoted*; MSS. in D.

370 5 John Butcher (Boucher) (1666—1721), of London, "was religiously educated in the way of truth...it pleased the Lord...to open his mouth about the fifteenth year of his age, in a public testimony" (*Piety Promoted*). He was educated at Waltham Abbey School (Taylor, *Testimony to...John Matern*, 1680, p. 29). He resided in the parish of Bartholomew the Great and was a member of Peel Monthly Meeting (see Minutes of this Meeting, MS. deposited in D., and Testimony), but later in life he removed to Palmer's Green, North Middlesex. His name is appended to numerous official Quaker documents. A sermon of his, preached at Gracechurch Street, 1693, was printed. MSS. in D.

370 6 It seems probable that this was Peter Price (i. 195. 1). He died at the house of George Barr, at Edmonton, on the 10th of First Month (Mar.), 1690/1, some two months after the date of this letter. His wife, Miriam, died in 1675; the deaths of children are, apparently, not entered in the Burial Registers for Wales.

# ADDENDA

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*12 2 The terms *ranters* and *ranterism* are used generally to describe views and actions of a lawless character, rather than specifically to denote a set or sect of persons. Of Seekers and Ranters, Dr Rufus M. Jones writes, "They were not, strictly speaking, sects...no 'founder' can be discovered for either movement; no 'origin' of them can be traced" (*Mystical Religion*, 1909, p. 452); and again "The Ranters got a bad name from everybody who came in contact with them, and there is no question that it was a 'degenerate' movement, though many of the so-called Ranters were honest, sincere persons, trying in their crude fashion to utter the profound truth of Divine indwelling. The central idea of Ranterism was the doctrine that God is essentially in every creature....They fell into a vague pantheism, which blurred the distinctions between good and evil, and which landed them in a moral (or immoral) topsy-turvey" (*ibid.* pp. 467, 469).

From the numerous references to Ranters in his *Journal*, it is clear that Fox had no favourable opinion of such persons; but Anthony Pearson remarks, in a letter to Fox from London in 1654, "Many honest hearts are among the Waiters, and some that are joined to the Ranters are pretty people" (quoted by Barclay, *Letters of Early Friends*, 1841, p. 13). One of their tenets was that "swearing, drunkenness, adultery, and theft were not sinful unless the person guilty of them apprehended them to be so" (quoted in *Com. and Prot.* ii. 2).

Fisher, *Baby-Baptism*, 1653, under the heading of "Anti-Rantism"; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5th ed. 1654; Farnsworth, *The Ranters Principles and Deceits Discovered*, 1655; Burrough, *A Trumpet Sounded*, 1656, under "To all you that are called Ranters"; Margaret Fell, *A Testimonie...Some of the Ranters Principles Answered*, 1656; Hickock, *A Testimony against the People called Ranters*, 1659; Chandler, *A Seasonable Word and Call...Ranters*, 1659; Nayler, *What the Possession of the Living Faith is*, 1664, under "To the Ranters"; Barclay, *Anarchy of the Ranters*, 1676, and later edd.; Penn, Preface to *The Journal of George Fox*, 1694, and later edd.; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876.

170 7 Richard Richardson (c. 1623—1689) is described in the register of his marriage at Ratcliff with Anne Mullins, of Bow, widow, in 1676, as "of Bishopsgate London, Schoolmaster." In 1679, he was a schoolmaster in Wheeler Street, Spitalfields. On the decease of Ellis Hookes in 1681, R. Richardson was appointed to the salaried clerkships of various Friends' committees and meetings, a position which he retained till his decease. His handwriting appears in many

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record-books. He was a valuable servant of the early Friends and a man of considerable learning. Several of his writings have already been mentioned. His public position made him the object of much verbal abuse, thrown at him by dissentients like Bugg, Rogers, Thomas Crisp and others (Bugg, *De Christiana Libertate*, 1682, pt. ii. pp. 47, 100, 119, 164, 177, 178, and *Painted Harlot*, 1683, pp. 28, 30; Rogers, *Christian Quaker*, 1682, pt. vii. pp. 7, 17, 20, 31, 34, 60, 61; Crisp, *Babel's Builders*, pt. v. c. 1682. Richardson's death took place at "Stratford-le-Bow" and his burial at Ratcliff. His widow died in 1695, aged sixty-two years.

*Jnl. F. H. S.* i.; MSS. in D.

227 39 According to Jones (*Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, p. 361), "The vacant dwelling which sheltered the party was the house, built in the Swedish fashion, of a Dutchman, Peter Jegou, who had received a tavern licence from Governor Carteret in 1668. The Indians plundered and drove him away for some offence in 1670; his neighbours apparently in alarm deserted the two other houses of which we have record at that point."

305 31 The Thomas Green mentioned here and on p. 495 was probably the London Friend of that name (c. 1633—1698/9). In early life he lived in Northamptonshire. He was for some time much troubled in soul, and "ran up and down, from Mountain to Hill, from one Sect to another, and yet found no rest" (*A Declaration...of my Travel and my Journey out of Ægypt into Canaan*, 1659), till, c. 1655, he was convinced of Quakerism by intercourse with William Dewsbury, then in Northampton Jail. Croese states that he was "in his youth a Coachman, but now a Dealer in Merchandize at London" (*Hist.* 1696, pt. i. p. 61) and also that, on one occasion, he "was suddenly set upon, and so despoil'd by the Invaders, of the goods of his shop (for he was a threadseller) that nothing was left but one Clue, which not willingly, but accidentally dropt from 'em" (*ibid.* pt. ii. p. 71). Green accompanied Giles Barnardiston to Holland (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 55). He was a prominent writer and preacher. John Tomkins, writing to Sir John Rodes, from London in 1701, conveys the information that "Tho: Greens Rich widow [Ellen Green] dyd sudenly, being found dead in her chamber...so Covetous, poor woman, could not affoard to keep a maid. A will was found, which has bequeath'd much money about, mostly to Friends" (Locker Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, p. 168).

Docwra, *Apostate-Conscience*, 1699, p. 38; Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 351; *F. P. T.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, iii. 537; MSS. in D.

480 7 Francis Bugg (1640—1724?), of Mildenhall, Suffolk, has been frequently mentioned in these notes in connection with his anti-Quaker writings. "He was but a Poor Man when he came first among us [became a Quaker], and Suffered Imprisonment several times...afterwards he grew Rich....He was a Wool-man, and used the Wool-Trade, and a Shop besides of Cloaths and Stuffs"—so writes Ann Docwra, of Cambridge, in *An Apostate-Conscience Exposed*, 1699, see *The Second Part*, 1700. About 1680, owing to financial trouble and disagreement with some Friends in Suffolk, Bugg dissociated himself from his quondam brethren, becoming, by word and pen, their bitter opponent. "Having once become a Quaker, Bugg was well acquainted with...the blots on the characters of some of its adherents. Of this knowledge he made unsparing use, and his allegations were the more difficult to refute, as they often retained, however distorted and exaggerated, a substratum of truth"

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(*D. N. B.*). About a score of books testify to his energetic opposition to Quakerism, the principal among them being *De Christiana Libertate*, 1682, *The Painted Harlot Both Stript and Whipt*, 1683, *Battering Rams against New Rome*, 1690/1, *The Picture of Quakerism Drawn to the Life*, 1697, *The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, 1698, *A Finishing Stroke*, 1712. Of the last-named, Daniel Defoe (d. 1731) remarks, "Let him go on with his large folio, which he says he is printing; I dare say nobody will give himself the trouble to reply, and not many to read him; for I am told it is very difficult for him to write anything he has not printed before, and that has not been often answered" (Wilson, *Defoe*, 1830, ii. 241 ff.). A portrait appears in *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

The large amount of early literature adverse to Quakerism, still extant in print and manuscript, has not yet received adequate attention, or been carefully studied in connection with the many rejoinders provoked by it.

Writings of Samuel Cater, Benjamin Coole, Edmund Elys, William Penn, George Whitehead, John Whiting and others; Noble, *Biog. Hist. of England*, 1806, i. 279; Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 177, 281, 391; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. iv. vi. vii.; original letters and MSS. in D.

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